





A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

DEDUCED FROM
The DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the Transactions of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium
præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

L O N D O N,

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the Oxford-
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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. FIFTH BOOK.

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§ I. **T**HE members of the privy council concealed the death of Mary for some hours, during which they deliberated upon the measures they should pursue. At length they imparted this event to the house of lords, who made no scruple of declaring for the princess Elizabeth, who succeeded according to the will of her father Henry, and was agreeable to the nation in general. The majority of the peers were either altogether indifferent with regard to religion, or secretly favoured the reformation; and the rest believed that popery was too firmly established to be overthrown by a female sovereign, who was so far from being a bigot, that she con-

conformed to the religion of her sister, and even declared herself a Roman catholic. The lords having deputed Heath archbishop of York, to signify Camden. their resolution to the lower house, it was unanimously approved by the commons; and Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed, amidst the acclamations of the people, in the five and twentieth year of her age. She forthwith repaired from Hatfield to London; and, after having received the compliments of the nobility, she sent ambassadors to the different powers of Europe to notify her accession to the throne of England. Lord Cobham was dispatched to Philip, whom she considered as her friend and ally; Sir Thomas Chalons set out for the imperial court; and she joined Howard lord Effingham to Thirleby bishop of Ely, and doctor Wotton, who were the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Cambray. Killebrew was sent to sound the protestant princes of Germany; and Karne had orders to make the pope acquainted with the death of Mary, and succession of Elizabeth. Then she formed her council, in which she retained thirteen of her sister's counsellors, to whom she joined eight persons who were attached to the protestant religion†. Philip of Spain was not a little alarmed at the death of his consort. He dreaded Elizabeth's marrying a protestant prince, in which case all his influence in England would vanish: he was not without fear that the French king would support the claim of Mary queen of Scots, and unite England, Scotland, and Ireland, to his own dominions. In order to prevent such an accession of power to his enemies, he sent the count de Feria to propose a match between him and Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding his promise to procure a dispensation from the pope, declined the proposal; though in such obliging terms, that the king of Spain could not justly take offence at her refusal. Indeed she had great reason to avoid a rupture with that monarch; for she was involved in a war with France and Scotland; the crown was overwhelmed with debts contracted in the two preceding reigns, and the finances of the kingdom were quite exhausted: besides, she was not a little embarrassed on the score of religion.

§ II. Her council being consulted on the situation of affairs, advised her to forward the negotiation for a peace with France and Scotland; in the meantime to fortify the frontiers, equip a strong fleet for the defence of the coast, and change the sheriffs and magistrates, in such a manner that a majority of protestant members should be returned to the next parliament, which was accordingly convoked for the twenty-fifth day of January. In the interim she employed doctor Parker to reform in private the liturgy of Edward VI. then published a proclamation, allowing divine service to be performed in the vulgar tongue, and her subjects to read the Scriptures. In the beginning of the year the marquis of Northampton, condemned in the late reign, was restored to his honours; Edward Seymour, son of the duke of Somerset, was created An. Ch. 1559. baron Beauchamp and earl of Hertford; Thomas Howard, second son of the duke of Norfolk, was promoted to the honour of viscount Howard of Bindon; her kinsman Henry Cary of Hunsdon, and Oliver St. John of Bletchington, were elevated to the rank of barons. These promotions were succeeded by the

† The old members were Heath archbishop high admiral; lord Howard of Effingham, of York; Pawlet Marquis of Winchester, lord chamberlain; Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir William high treasurer; Fitz-Allen earl of Arundel; Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, Stanley earl of Derby; Nicholas Wotton, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackville, and Herbert earl of Pembroke; the lord Clinton, queen's

queen's coronation, which was performed in the church of Westminster. The archbishop of York, and some other prelates, refusing to assist at the solemnity, and the see of Canterbury being vacant, the crown was placed upon her head by Oglethorpe bishop of Carlisle.

§ III. The session of parliament was opened with a speech by Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, who, after having sounded forth the praises of the new queen, and the misconduct of the last ministry: he gave the members to understand that it was the queen's pleasure they should regulate the affairs of religion; and, in so doing, chuse a middle course between the extremes of superstition and irreligion, that the nation might be re-united in one kind of worship: he concluded his harangue by representing the necessities of the government, and recommending a supply to her majesty. The commons, though they had been harrassed by impositions in the late reign, cheerfully granted the tonnage and poundage, together with a large subsidy on funds and moveables. And for the support of the queen's royal estate, they passed a bill for restoring the first fruits and tythes to the crown; the revenue of which was likewise improved by the dissolution of all the abbeys, nunneries, hospitals, and chantries, founded since the reign of Edward. On the fourth day of February, the commons had presented an address to the queen, advising her to marry, for the benefit of a quiet succession: and, in her reply, she said she was obliged to them for having forbore to mention any time or person; but that she looked upon herself as married to her people; that she had no inclination to alter her condition; and that she should be very well pleased with the thoughts of their inscribing on her tomb, "Here lies a queen, who lived and died a virgin." The parliament of England enacted a statute, recognizing Elizabeth to be the lawful sovereign, by virtue of the act passed in the thirty-fifth year of her father's reign. But the sentence of divorce between that king and Anne Boleyn was not reversed; nor the act which confirmed the sentence, repealed. Then both houses converting their attention to the affairs of religion, passed several laws ordaining that service should be performed in the vulgar tongue: That the supremacy of the church of England should be vested in the sovereign: That all the acts relating to religion, which had passed in the reign of the last Edward, should be renewed and confirmed: That the nomination to bishoprics should be vested in the queen, who might exercise her supremacy by any person she should think proper to appoint for that purpose: That all persons in office should take the oath of supremacy; and that no person, under severe penalties, should, by word or writing, support any foreign authority in this kingdom: That there should be an uniformity of worship: That, on the vacancy of any bishopric, the queen might resume its manours and temporal possessions, making a just recompence to the see of personages impropriate. Elizabeth abused this power, by stripping the sees of all their best manours, under the colour of giving equivalents in other impropriations. She was, by another act, put in possession of all religious houses; and they passed a statute declaring that the condemnation of the Romish bishops, in the reign of Edward VI. was both just and lawful.

§ IV. Elizabeth being vested with the supremacy, erected a tribunal called the High Commission-court, composed of a certain number of commissioners, who acted with the authority of the vicegerent appointed in the reign of the eighth Henry. Some ecclesiastics having preached against the reformation,

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Burnet.

Camden.

the queen forbade all persons to preach without licence under the great seal; and this prohibition irritated the lower house of convocation to such a degree, that, in a petition to her majesty, they maintained the doctrines of the Roman church. They afterwards proposed a public dispute between nine doctors of each party; but, when the disputants assembled for this purpose, the Roman catholics declared they would not, without the pope's permission, dispute upon points which were already decided. Of nine thousand four hundred ecclesiastics, who held benefices in England, those who chose rather to renounce their livings than the Roman catholic religion, amounted to fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about fourscore of the inferior clergy: their places being filled with protestants, the church of England was entirely reformed.

Burnet.

§ V. While the queen effected this sudden change in religion within her dominions, the plenipotentiaries of France and England continued their negotiation at Cateau in the Cambresis; and the envoys of Philip II. who still entertained some hope of espousing Elizabeth, insisted upon Henry's restoring Calais to the English: but, when he saw the reformation established in England, and met with a final repulse from the queen, he abandoned her interest, and compromised his difference with the French monarch. Elizabeth, finding herself thus deserted by the king of Spain, concluded a treaty with France, importing, that Henry should retain Calais, and the other places he had wrested from the English, for eight years; at the expiration of which they should be restored to the queen of England: That he should give security for paying to Elizabeth, or her successors, the sum of five hundred thousand golden crowns, in case those places should not be restored at the appointed time; and that, over and above this payment, Henry and his successors should be obliged to restore Calais, and the other places, according to the stipulations of the treaty: That the French king should give hostages for the performance of this article: That neither he, nor the king and queen of Scotland, nor Elizabeth, should attempt any thing against each other, directly or indirectly, to the prejudice of this treaty: That the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others raised in Scotland since the treaty of Boulogne, should be demolished: That all the other pretensions of the contracting parties, should remain in full force, until all differences could be amicably compromised: And that they should not encourage or protect the rebellious subjects of each other. At the same time a separate treaty of peace, to the same purpose, was concluded between the queens of England and Scotland, and ratified by Mary, and her husband Francis the dauphin.

§ VI. Henry would not have granted such favourable terms to Elizabeth, had he intended to observe the articles of the treaty: but his sole design in consenting to this peace, was to humour Philip, who, from a notion of punctilio, would not ratify his own peace with France, until he had mediated a treaty between the French king and Elizabeth. Not that he preserved the least regard to the interest of England, or desired that Henry should adhere to the articles of the peace; but he thought his honour required that he should effect an apparent accommodation in favour of his ally. Immediately after the peace of Cateau, the dauphin and his consort Mary queen of Scots, assumed the title of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland; and caused the arms of England to be engraved on their seals and plate. Sir Nicholas Throg-

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Throgmorton, the English ambaffador at Paris, complaining of this insult, received a very frivolous answer; and he repeating his remonftrance, the French miniftry told him, the king and queen of Scotland had as good a right to affume the arms of England, as Elizabeth had to arrogate the title of queen of France. Though the conftable of Montmorency, who hated the Guife faction, prevailed upon Henry to lay afide this diftinction, Elizabeth, from this period, confidered Mary as a formidable rival, and the princes of Lorraine as her mortal enemies. Certain it is, they endeavoured to raife their niece Mary to the throne of England; and perfuaded the French king, that through her means he would in time be able to unite all England and Ireland under his dominion.

§ VII. This vaft project flattered the ambition of Henry; and, as a preparatory ftep, he endeavoured to render his fon abfolute in Scotland. The queen regent of that country was very well difpofed to concur with his meafures: but the attachment of her brother the cardinal to the Roman catholic religion, and her own biafs to thofe principles, defeated their fcheme. The reformation had made great progrefs in Scotland, under the auspices of John Knox, and others, poffeffed with the fanatical fpirit of Calvin; and the French miniftry concluded that they fhould never be able to carry their point, until they had totally fuppreffed thofe religious republicans who would never join in favour of a Roman catholic prince, againft Elizabeth, who was a profeffed proteftant. Henry II. at the infligation of the Guifes, directed the queen-regent of Scotland to fuppreff the proteftants; and ſhe published an edict for that purpofe, which involved the whole kingdom in confufion. Not contented with this ftep, ſhe convoked the eftates at Stirling, and proceeded fo feverely againft ſome minifters of the reformed religion, that Knox and his affiliates openly preached againft the catholic doctrine. He inflamed the people of Perth to ſuch a degree, by his remonftrances, that they pillaged the churches, burned the images and ornaments, and deftroyed the monaſtery of the Carthuſians. The regent, incenſed at theſe proceedings, aſſembled ſome troops, by means of the earls of Argyle and Athole, and began her march for Perth; but underſtanding that the earl of Glencairn, with ſeveral other noblemen, were encamped in the neighbourhood of that place, with a view to oppoſe her progrefs, ſhe propoſed terms of accommodation; and the peace was concluded, on condition that the diſputes about religion ſhould be referred to the determination of parliament. The confederates had no ſooner diſmiſſed their troops, than ſhe re-eſtabliſhed the maſs at Perth, and ſecured the town with a ſtrong garrifon. It was on this occaſion that the earl of Argyle, and James Stuart prior of St. Andrew's, natural ſon of James V. declared againſt the regent, and joined the proteſtant party. While they were employed in levying forces, the inhabitants of Cupar, St. Andrew's, and ſeveral other towns, publicly renounced the Roman catholic religion, and committed the moſt barbarous exceſſes againſt the churches and convents, ſacrificing every thing they contained, not even excepting the archives, in which the moſt material tranſactions of their nation were recorded. The confederates aſſembled another army, made themſelves maſters of Perth, Scone, Stirling, and Linlithgow; and their forces daily increaſing, the queen-regent, and D'Oyfel, who commanded two thouſand French auxiliaries, retired with precipitation to Dunbar. Religion was the pretence which covered all theſe commotions; and, in fact, the motive which animated the people:

people: but the chief actors were influenced by far other considerations. The French king wanted to crush the protestants, because they were attached to queen Elizabeth, whom he designed to dethrone. She, on the other hand, perceiving his drift, supported the reformers in Scotland, that they might employ all the forces he could send into that kingdom. The Scottish nobles declared for the protestant religion, in hope of one day enjoying the lands of the church; and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, is said to have thrown himself into the same scale, that he might, on the ruin of his sister Mary, ascend the throne of Scotland. The reformed clergy were generally wrong-headed fanatics, employed by more designing heads to kindle a spirit of madness and enthusiasm, which they converted to the purposes of their own interest. Melvil.

§ VIII. Such was the situation of affairs in Scotland, when Henry II. of France being accidentally slain in a tournament, the crown of that kingdom devolved upon his son Francis I. who had married the queen of Scotland; and her uncles engrossed the whole administration. They forthwith sent a reinforcement of three thousand men, under La Brosse, to the queen-regent, who now compelled the confederates to retire in their turn, and harassed them in such a manner, that they had recourse to queen Elizabeth, whose assistance they solicited in an address, which was presented to her by William Maitland of Lidington, lord secretary of Scotland. Cecil, who was the queen's chief counsellor, employed Henry Percy as an agent with the Scottish confederates, who stiled themselves the congregation; and they canted in such a manner about the gospel, and the extirpation of idolatry, that Elizabeth believed they were all hypocrites at bottom. Nevertheless, it was so much her interest to prevent the French from getting footing in Scotland, that she dissembled her sentiments, and promised to support them against the enemies of the true religion. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to confer with Percy concerning the defence of the Marches; and proper directions were communicated to Sir James Crofts, governor of Berwick. The duke of Norfolk was appointed lord lieutenant of the northern counties; William lord Gray constituted warden of the Middle and East Marches; Thomas earl of Suffex sent back as lord lieutenant of Ireland, which he had formerly governed with great conduct and moderation; and William Winton, master of the naval stores, was promoted to the command of a squadron, with which he sailed into the Frith of Forth, destroyed several French ships of war, and annoyed the forces of that kingdom, which were in garrison in the isle of Inchkeith. While Elizabeth took these measures for supporting the protestant interest in Scotland, Philip II. of Spain began to execute a resolution he had formed, to exterminate that religion from the Low-Countries, which he meant to enslave. He secured the principal towns with Spanish garrisons, contrary to the privileges of the country. When he set out for Spain, he left the government in the hands of his aunt, Margaret dutchess of Parma, so as to excite the resentment of the prince of Orange, and the count of Egmont, who aspired to that dignity: but they were still more incensed at his leaving as her chief counsellor the cardinal of Granville, their professed enemy, whom they considered as the author of the scheme for enslaving their country. In the course of this year, pope Paul IV. dying, was succeeded by cardinal Angelo de Medicis, who assumed the name of Pius IV. Grotius.

§ IX. The situation of Elizabeth at this juncture was extremely perplexing and precarious. The pope and the French king were her professed enemies.

Mary of Scotland claimed her crown by a title which many of the English subjects privately recognized. Philip of Spain had conceived an antipathy to her, from the repulse he sustained at her hands, and the alteration she made in the established religion of her country: the Irish were arrogant, ferocious, and blindly devoted to the papal authority; and all the catholics in England were averse to her dominion. In this emergency, she laid down two maxims, from which she never swerved through the whole course of her reign. The first was to conciliate the affection of her people; and the other to find work for her enemies in their own dominions. She was endowed with a great share of natural penetration: she had observed the characters of mankind. Knowing how to distinguish merit, she made choice of able ministers: she administered justice impartially, without respect of persons: she regulated her expence with such oeconomy as could not but be agreeable to her subjects, who had been fleeced under the preceding reigns; and having been accustomed to dissimulation, she not only assumed the utmost complacency in her deportment, but affected such an ardour of love and regard for her subjects, as could not fail to produce the warmest return of confidence and affection. Her frugality was not so much the effect of her natural disposition, as the result of good sense and deliberate reflexion; for, when she thought the interest of her kingdom was at stake, she distributed her wealth with uncommon liberality, in forwarding the troubles of France, Scotland, and the Low-Countries, to employ her foes in such a manner as would prevent them from uniting for her destruction.

§ X. Influenced by these principles, Elizabeth understanding that the princes of Guise were employed in making great preparations for sending an army into Scotland, concluded a treaty with the earl of Arran, Duc de Chateleraud, and the rest of the Scottish confederates, whom she promised to support against the French forces, which still continued to pursue them among their mountains and morasses. Martigues had arrived from France, with a fresh reinforcement, and a very considerable armament was daily expected, under the command of the marquis D'Elbeuf: but his fleet being dispersed in a storm, he was obliged to return and refit; and domestic troubles intervening in France, the troops were converted to another purpose. The French forces in Scotland, after their expedition against the lords of the Congregation, returned to Leith, which they had fortified; and the confederates marched towards Haddington, to join the English army under the lord Gray, amounting to eight thousand men. In the mean time the queen-regent, afraid of being shut up in Leith, retired to Edinburgh-castle, where she was honourably received by Erskine, the governor; though he still retained in his own hands the command of the fortress. Lord Gray, being reinforced by the Scottish malecontents, resolved to undertake the siege of Leith; which was accordingly invested. During these transactions, the French king sent Monluc, bishop of Valence, as his ambassador to England, with instructions to desire Elizabeth would recall her troops from Scotland. And this prelate even proposed to restore Calais, if she would comply with the request. To this embassy the French king added De Seure, who joined Monluc in pressing her upon the same subject. She said she was ready to withdraw her troops from Scotland, provided Francis would recall those he had sent thither: but, in the mean time, she declared she would not put a poor

An. Ch. 1560.

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poor fishing-town, such as Calais, in competition with the safety of her kingdom. The siege of Leith was still carried on by the English, though they made but little progress against such a numerous and gallant garrison.

§ XI. At length the duke of Norfolk arrived in the camp of the besiegers with a new reinforcement; notwithstanding which, they would have found it a difficult task to reduce the place, had not the conspiracy of Amboise been detected in France; and the princes of Lorraine found it necessary to recall their troops from Scotland. Monluc and the count of Randan were sent thither with full powers to conclude a treaty with Elizabeth and the malecontents. Secretary Cecil and doctor Wotton were appointed plenipotentiaries for the English. The conferences were begun at Edinburgh; and, in the mean time, both parties agreed to a truce, during which the queen-regent died in the castle. The French plenipotentiaries refused at first to treat with the Scottish confederates, alledging they were in a state of rebellion: but an expedient was found to remove this objection. Namely, that Francis and Mary should make some concessions to the confederates, purely as the effects of their royal grace and favour; but that these should be nevertheless confirmed in the treaty with the queen of England. They agreed that the French troops should in twenty days be reconveyed to their own country in English bottoms: That Leith should be evacuated, and its fortifications demolished: That the works raised by the French at Dunbar should be dismantled: And that the king and queen of Scotland should grant an amnesty in favour of the confederates, to be confirmed by the parliament of Scotland. The French, however, were at liberty to leave sixty men in the isle of Inchkeith. The treaty with Elizabeth imported, That for the future the king and queen of Scotland should refrain from assuming the title and arms belonging to the sovereign of England and Ireland: That the acts or patents which they had expedited under that title, should be altered or annulled: That a conference should be held in England, between the commissioners of the two crowns, in order to determine what further satisfaction was due to the queen of England: That, if they could not agree on this subject, the difference should be referred to the decision of the king of Spain: And that the king and queen of France and Scotland should be obliged to confirm the concessions which had been made by the French plenipotentiaries to the Scottish confederates. After the conclusion of the treaty, the French and English retired from Scotland; the works of Leith and Dunbar were demolished; and the amnesty was confirmed by the estates of Scotland, which enacted divers laws in favour of the reformation. Though Francis and Mary confirmed these laws, they refused to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth, on pretence that she had treated with their rebellious subjects, as if they had formed an independent state: but the real design of the princes of Lorraine was to wrest the crown of England out of the hands of the present possessor. Elizabeth was well aware of their intention, for which she, in the sequel, wreaked her revenge upon their niece, the unfortunate queen of Scotland.

§ XII. Notwithstanding the queen's declaration touching her resolution to live unmarried, people in general believed her sentiments on that subject would change; and not only sovereign princes, but even some of her own subjects, aspired to the honour of a matrimonial crown. Charles archduke of Austria, second son of the emperor Ferdinand, the king of Sweden, and the duke of Holstein, were numbered among those who demanded her in marriage.

The earl of Arran, son to the duke of Châteleraud, presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland, flattered himself that Elizabeth would prefer him to all his competitors, from a prospect of uniting the two kingdoms. The earl of Arundel trusting to his noble birth and ancient lineage, entertained hopes of espousing his sovereign. Sir George Pickering having received some particular marks of her esteem, amused himself with the notion of having captivated her affection: but, of all the courtiers, lord Robert Dudley, son of the late duke of Northumberland, enjoyed the greatest share of her favour. At her accession to the throne, she appointed him master of the horse; and he was admitted into the order of the Garter. She seemed to take pleasure in distributing her favours through the canal of this nobleman, who was distinguished at court by the appellation of My Lord, as if he alone was worthy of that title. He was made acquainted with all the secrets of state affairs. The ambassadors reported the success of their negotiations to him as to their sovereign; and to him all solicitations were addressed. In a word, it plainly appeared that Elizabeth felt something more than bare esteem for Dudley, whose character by no means justified her favour. He inherited all his father's vices, and had nothing but personal accomplishments to recommend him to a lady of Elizabeth's penetration. Nevertheless, her behaviour with regard to him was such as afforded subject for the most scandalous insinuations to the prejudice of her reputation; and he was said to have poisoned his own wife, that he might be at liberty to wed his sovereign. Besides Dudley, she had two other favourites of another kind, namely, Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal; and William Cecil her secretary, a minister of consummate judgment, extensive knowledge, indefatigable, impenetrable, and implicitly attached to the interest of his sovereign.

Burleigh's Papers.

Camden.

§ XIII. Elizabeth found herself the more necessitated to employ able ministers at home, as she had scarce an ally abroad upon whom she could place the least dependance. Montague, whom she had sent as her ambassador to Philip, met with a very cold reception. That prince bewailed the alteration which had been made in religion within the queen's dominions; restored the collar of the order of the Garter, which he would no longer retain, and declined renewing the alliance with England. The pope sent Vincent Parpaglia, abbot of St. Sauveur, with instructions, and a brief to queen Elizabeth, exhorting her to return within the pale of the church; promising that a general council should be convoked with all convenient expedition. The nuncio is said to have promised that the pope would annul the sentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, confirm the English liturgy, and allow the people to communicate in both species at the sacrament. But all those offers were rejected, because the queen had no opinion of the pope's sincerity. While the protestants in England enjoyed liberty of conscience, and the most agreeable repose, the Calvinists in France were persecuted without mercy, until they formed a conspiracy against the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, who were their professed enemies. The prince of Condé was said to favour them in private; and a gentleman called La Renaudie laid a scheme for carrying off the duke and the cardinal from the court at Amboise. This design being discovered, was interpreted into a conspiracy against the king, and twelve hundred persons were put to death, for having been concerned in the contrivance. The estates of the kingdom being convoked at Orleans, the king

king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, went thither; though they knew themselves suspected and hated by the princes of Lorraine. The first was so narrowly watched that he could not escape; the other was imprisoned, and afterwards condemned to lose his life by the hands of the common executioner: but the death of Francis II. saved him from that ignominious fate. This event produced a total revolution in the politics of the French court. Charles IX. who succeeded his brother Francis, being still a minor, his mother, Catherine de Medicis, assumed the regency, with the consent of the king of Navarre, who, as first prince of the blood, was intitled to that office. In order to maintain her power she fomented the factions. The catholics were headed by the duke of Guise, the constable of Montmorency, and the marechal de St. André: the chiefs of the Huguenots or protestants, were the prince of Condé, the admiral de Coligny, and his brother D'Andelot; and the king of Navarre fluctuated between the two parties. The princes of Guise having occasion for all their power, to support their interest at home, laid aside all thoughts of the scheme they had formerly projected in favour of their niece Mary of Scotland, who, finding herself slighted by her mother-in-law, resolved to return to her native land; and, in the mean time, quitted the title of queen of England, which she had hitherto assumed since the treaty of Cateau.

§ XIV. Elizabeth mean while employed her attention in making necessary regulations for the welfare of her people. She issued a proclamation, commanding anabaptists and heretics to quit the kingdom in twenty days, on pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. She published another against those sacrilegious persons who, under colour of abolishing superstition, defaced ancient monuments and epitaphs, and robbed churches of bells, leaden roofs, and other appurtenances. She converted Westminster-abbey into a collegiate church; and the coin, which had been debased in the reign of her father, she now reduced to its intrinsic value. Shan O'Neal, an Irish nobleman, raising a rebellion in that kingdom, a body of forces was sent over to reduce him. After some skirmishes, finding himself unable to cope with the government, he laid down his arms, by the advice of his kinsman the earl of Kildare, and submitted to the queen's mercy. Elizabeth was no sooner apprised of the death of Francis, than she sent the earl of Bedford into France, with compliments of congratulation to the new king, and instructions to desire Mary queen of Scots would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. This demand, however, Mary eluded, by saying, that as she was altogether without advisers, she would wait the arrival of some Scottish noblemen, whom she expected in France; and, with their concurrence, give satisfaction to the queen of England.

§ XV. In the interim, that princess quitted the court of France, and retired to Rheims, where she spent part of the winter with her uncle the cardinal. There she was visited by Martigues, La Brosse, and D'Oysel, on their return from Scotland, who advised her to conciliate the affection of her bastard-brother James Stuart prior of St. Andrew's, the earl of Argyle, secretary Lidington, and the laird of Grange; and to confide in her protestant subjects, who were much more numerous and powerful than the catholics. On the other hand, John Lesley, afterwards bishop of Ross, to whom she granted an audience in her journey to Nancy, gave her to understand that he was com-

Mezerai.

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An. Ch. 1561.

Melvil's Memoirs.

Buchanan.

missioned by the catholics of Scotland, to assure her that she would find them ready to rise in a body under her royal banner, and re-establish the ancient religion by force of arms: they therefore intreated her to repair to Aberdeen with all convenient speed; and to distrust the prior of St. Andrew's, whose ambition aspired at the throne she possessed. Next day she was at Joinville visited by the prior, who had gone over to France to present his respects to his sovereign. He confirmed her in the resolution to return to her native kingdom, and found means to ingratiate himself with her to such a degree, that she empowered him by patent to assemble the states, that they might pass such acts as should be found necessary for the good of the kingdom. He forthwith returned to Scotland; then convoking the parliament, the reformation was established by law, and all the monasteries were demolished. Mary being resolved upon her voyage, dispatched D'Oysel to queen Elizabeth, to solicit a safe-conduct, which was refused, except on condition that the queen of Scots should previously ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. This refusal was deeply resented by Mary, who complained to Throgmorton, the English ambassador, that Elizabeth, not contented with having supported her rebellious subjects, wanted to hinder her from returning to her own dominions; an insult which she had no reason to expect from any crowned head, much less from one to whom she was so nearly related. With respect to the treaty of Edinburgh, she said it had been concluded during the life of her husband; and if he refused to ratify it, the fault ought to be imputed to him only; that since she had been a widow, the council of France did not chuse to intermeddle in the affairs of Scotland; and that the Scottish subjects who attended her were private persons, whom she neither could nor would consult in an affair of such importance.

§ XVI. Although she had reason to believe that Elizabeth would endeavour to intercept her at sea, she ventured to set sail for Scotland, where, though she arrived in safety, amidst the acclamations of her people, she had the mortification to see such severe laws in force against her religion, that it was with difficulty she herself was permitted to celebrate the mass in her own private chapel. There was nothing liberal, generous, or disinterested, in the first Scottish reformers. They were actuated by a gothic spirit of ignorant fanaticism, which they had imbibed from Calvin, and the apostles of Geneva. Among the noblemen of Scotland, the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, and Sutherland, still adhered to the old religion; and the duke of Chateleraud seemed quite neutral. The Roman catholic lords and prelates did not doubt but that, with the countenance and protection of the queen, they should be enabled to restore the papal authority. As a previous step to this event, they endeavoured to prepossess their sovereign with a bad opinion of her natural brother James Stuart, to whom she had in a great measure committed the administration of her affairs. In the mean time, Mary had been instructed by her uncles to cultivate a friendship with Elizabeth, in hope of prevailing upon that princess to declare her the successor to the crown of England. Accordingly Mary dispatched Maitland as her ambassador, to inform her sister queen of her happy arrival in her own dominions, and solicit the friendship of Elizabeth. He likewise delivered a letter, subscribed by the principal noblemen of Scotland, who, after a profusion of compliment, advised the queen of England to declare

clare her cousin Mary her presumptive heir; a declaration that would produce a perfectly good understanding between the two nations. Elizabeth expressed her surprize that the queen of Scotland had not ratified the treaty of Edinburgh since her arrival; but she admitted the excuse of the ambassador, who told her that Mary had not yet found leisure to deliberate upon a matter of such importance. With respect to the letter she had received from the Scottish lords, she flatly refused to make any declaration that would expose her to the risque of seeing her subjects adore the rising sun. She said she had no intention to deprive the queen of Scotland of her right; but that she would not allow her to pluck the crown from her head; and expected, in the mean time, that Mary would make proper satisfaction for having usurped her arms and title. Nevertheless, she agreed to maintain a correspondence with her; and many letters passed between them, filled with professions of the most unre-served friendship, while they hated each other in their hearts, with all the rage of jealousy and disdain.

Negotiations
of Walsing-
ham.

Melvil's Me-
moirs.

§ XVII. The pope, notwithstanding the answer which had been made to Pargaglia, appointed the abbot Martinengo his nuncio in England, to go thither and notify to Elizabeth that the council of Trent would be continued, and desire that she would send some English bishops to that assembly. The queen forbidding the abbot to enter her dominions, her ambassador Throgmorton was desired by the nuncio at Paris, to communicate this intimation to his sovereign; who answered, that she had no business with the pope; that she wished with all her heart to see an oecumenical council assembled: but that she would never acknowledge a council convoked by the bishop of Rome, who had no more power than any other bishop. She was utterly destitute of allies, and had reason to dread every thing from the enmity of Philip, who, now that Francis II. was dead, made no scruple of avowing his animosity, excited partly by the repulse he had sustained when he demanded her in marriage, and partly by his resentment for her having suppressed the catholic religion. He solicited the pope to denounce the sentence of excommunication against her; he treated her ambassadors with contempt, and allowed the officers of the inquisition to persecute the English traders in his Spanish dominions. Elizabeth expected a storm from that quarter. She doubted the sincerity of the Scottish queen, who still eluded the ratification of the treaty, and carried on a correspondence with the catholics of England: it was therefore time to take the wisest precautions for the defence of her crown and dignity. She equipped a noble fleet, which secured the empire of the sea; she erected forts for the protection of her harbours; she augmented the garrisons, and strengthened the fortifications of Berwick; she trained the national militia to the exercise of arms; she encouraged trade and manufacture, reformed the oeconomy of her household, and won the favour of her subjects, by avoiding demands of subsidies, and administering justice with the utmost impartiality.

Camden.

§ XVIII. It was not without reason that she exerted her endeavours in this manner. The catholics began to cabal in private, and form schemes for the re-establishment of their religion. The queen found upon inquiry that Mary of Scotland maintained a correspondence with the malecontents, and that the earl and countess of Lennox had some secret communication with the queen of Scots; and therefore committed them close prisoners to the Tower of London.

She

She afterwards discovered that Arthur Pole, nephew to the late cardinal, with his brother Edmund, and Anthony Fortescue, had engaged in a conspiracy against the government: that their intention was to repair to France, where the Guises promised to supply them with five thousand men, to be transported into Wales; and there they designed to proclaim Mary queen of Scotland, while Arthur Pole should be declared duke of Clarence. They were immediately arrested, with their accomplices, and confessed they had formed such a scheme; but protested they had no design to put it in execution before the death of queen Elizabeth, which, from the prediction of two pretended astrologers, they believed would happen in the spring. They were upon their own confession condemned; but the queen pardoned them, in consideration of their illustrious origin. She did not manifest the same clemency towards Catherine Gray, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and sister to lady Jane, who had been beheaded in the preceding reign. This lady having been married to the earl of Pembroke, and divorced from him for political reasons, afterwards espoused in private the earl of Hertford, who went to France upon his travels, after the marriage, which was discovered by Catherine's pregnancy. Elizabeth, who looked upon this lady as a rival in her title to the throne, was so incensed when she heard of her condition, that she sent her prisoner to the Tower, whither also her husband was committed when he returned to England. As he could not prove his marriage by legal evidence, it was annulled by a sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury. Nevertheless, the earl found means to visit Catherine after her delivery; and she conceived again. Then he was accused and convicted of having escaped from prison, corrupted a princess of the blood, and cohabited with a woman from whom he had been separated by a legal process. He was fined in five thousand pounds; and, after a long confinement, obliged to relinquish Catherine by a formal deed: but the queen never could forgive his wife, who died in prison.

Camden.

§ XIX. She had a much more formidable competitor in the person of Mary, whose uncles, of the house of Guise, now began to renew their old scheme in her favour. They had engaged the king of Navarre, and the constable Montmorency, in their interest: they detained the king and the queen-mother in captivity: they covered their designs with the pretext of religion, and even massacred the Huguenots at Vassy. The queen-regent had written to the prince of Condé, conjuring him to assist her and the king in their distress; and that prince, putting himself at the head of the protestants, surprized Orleans. A civil war immediately commenced, and the Huguenots being severely handled in the first campaign, deputed the vidame of Chartres to implore the assistance of Elizabeth. She was glad of an opportunity to foment the divisions of France, for her own preservation; and forthwith concluded a treaty, by which she engaged to furnish the Huguenots with one hundred thousand crowns in money, and six thousand foot soldiers, for the defence of Dieppe, Rouen, and Havre de Grace, which last place she intended to keep, until Calais should be restored, according to the stipulation in the treaty of Cateau and Cambresis. Paul de Foix, ambassador of France at the English court, demanded that the vidame and all his attendants should be delivered into his hands, as traitors to their country; but Elizabeth rejected his request. In September, the earl of Warwick was sent to Normandy with the promised reinforcement; and Rouen being

Mezerai.

being at that time besieged by the king of Navarre, he divided them between Dieppe and Havre de Grace, of which the queen had appointed him governor. Rouen was taken by assault, in which the king of Navarre was mortally wounded. The prince of Condé having received another reinforcement from the protestant princes of Germany, advanced to the neighbourhood of Paris, where he was amused by the Guises with a negotiation, until the city was rendered defensible, and fortified too strongly for him to attempt the siege; so that he retired towards Normandy, whither the enemy attended his motions. Immediately after Condé's departure from the neighbourhood of Paris, war was proclaimed in that city against Elizabeth; but the king, and queen-regent who was by this time reconciled to the Guises and the constable, finding themselves unprepared for hostilities, disowned the proclamation; and Elizabeth was satisfied with a letter from the king on that subject. Yet, on this occasion, she acted contrary to the advice of Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who exhorted her to seize this opportunity of recovering Calais, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition, and the place almost destitute of a garrison. In the latter end of the year a battle was fought at Dreux, between the catholics and Huguenots, with doubtful success. In the beginning of the action, the constable Montmorency fell into the hands of the protestants, who conveyed him to Orleans; but afterwards the prince of Condé, being deserted by the German auxiliaries, was taken by M. Damville; and the duke of Guise encamped on the field of battle, though his loss exceeded that of the protestants.

§ XX. Elizabeth was just recovered of the small pox, when the parliament meeting in January, petitioned, in an address, that she would alter her condition, and settle the succession, in order to avoid the calamities which a competition might produce. She did not chuse to declare her sentiments with regard to marriage; but assured them that, before her death, she would provide for the safety of the nation. Several laws were made for the relief of the poor, and the encouragement of commerce and agriculture; and the parliament indulged her with an entire subsidy, and two fifteenths, foreenabling her to counter-work the efforts of her enemies. The convocation likewise granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, and drew up a confession of faith in thirty-nine articles, as an improvement upon those established in the reign of the sixth Edward. While Elizabeth thus regulated her domestic affairs, the duke of Guise invested Orleans, which was defended by D'Andelet, brother of the admiral, who marched into Normandy with the Huguenot army, to make a diversion in favour of the besieged, and receive supplies of men and money which he expected from the queen of England. Orleans was almost reduced to extremity, when the duke of Guise was mortally wounded with a pistol bullet, by a young gentleman called Poltrot. The duke finding his end approaching, expressed a deep-felt remorse at the remembrance of his having excited a civil war, and exhorted the queen-regent to conclude a peace with all possible expedition. Both sides were by this time weary of the war, and a pacification ensued, in which Elizabeth was not comprehended. Nay, the Huguenots, whom she had assisted, actually joined the forces of the French king, which undertook the siege of Havre de Grace, occupied by the earl of Warwick at the head of an English garrison. The place was defended with uncommon courage

Forbes.

Mezerai.

An. Ch. 1563.

Camden.

courage and perseverance, until the plague insinuated itself among the besieged; and then they were obliged to capitulate. The remains of the garrison carried over the infection to London, where it swept off above thirty thousand of the inhabitants; and the reduction of Havre de Grace was succeeded by a truce between the two nations.

Mezerai.

§ XXI. The death of the duke of Guise produced a great change in the affairs of the Scottish queen. Charles IX. of France was now governed by the counsel of his mother, who subjected Mary to divers mortifications. The payment of her jointure was intermitted; the Scottish guard disbanded, and the duke of Chateleraud deprived of his French revenue. Her uncle the cardinal fearing that this treatment would provoke her to a sincere coalition with Elizabeth, pressed her to marry Charles archduke of Austria, brother to Maximilian king of the Romans; and she seemed to relish the proposal, which, as an instance of confidence, she communicated to the queen of England. Elizabeth, alarmed at the prospect of such a powerful match as might enable her rival to execute the scheme which the cardinal had projected, ordered Randolph, her minister in Scotland, to tell Mary in her name, that out of sisterly affection and regard for her interest, she could not help exhorting her to consider that such an alliance might remove her for ever from the throne of England; as the English would never run the risque of being subject to the house of Austria: she ought therefore to consult her own interest, in conciliating the affection of the English people, by matching with some popular and distinguished nobleman of their country. Though Randolph pointed at no particular person, he insinuated to Mary's natural brother, by this time created earl of Murray, and to secretary Lidington, that he believed his queen had lord Dudley in her eye, as a proper husband for their sovereign. Mary imparted this answer to her uncle the cardinal, who vehemently dissuaded her from contracting a match so unworthy of her dignity, and flattered her with the promise of an alliance in her favour, to be formed by the pope, the kings of France and Spain, and the English Roman catholics. Mary was not a little perplexed by these opposite counsels; at length she resolved to think no more of the match with the archduke, and to decline the hinted proposal of Elizabeth, without interrupting the correspondence between them, which afforded opportunities of cultivating her English friends; and these were now become very numerous by the death of Frances Brandon dutchess of Suffolk, who was her rival in the succession, as having been granddaughter of the seventh Henry.

Camden.

An. Ch. 1564.

§ XXII. The truce between France and England was at length improved into a peace, negotiated by Sir Thomas Smith and Throgmorton, who had been arrested in France at the declaration of war. The treaty, which was concluded at Troye in Champagne, made no mention of the restitution of Calais; but imported that the hostages should be set at liberty on the payment of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns to Elizabeth; and that peace and amity should subsist between the contracting powers, with full reservation of their mutual rights and pretensions. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, Charles IX. was created a knight of the garter, and the lord Hunsdon sent over to Paris to invest him with the ensigns of the order. England at this juncture enjoyed the most profound tranquillity. Her trade with the Low-Countries had been interrupted by the intrigues of cardinal Granville, who, foreseeing

foreseeing a war in the Netherlands, wanted to remove the English, and persuaded the government to prohibit the importation of English broad cloth; a branch of traffic which was carried on to a prodigious extent. But Philip perceiving this prohibition was in all respects as detrimental to his own subjects as to those of England, desired the old treaty, made in the reign of Maximilian, might be renewed; and the affair was determined to the satisfaction of both nations.

§ XXIII. The repose of queen Elizabeth was still invaded by the apprehension of Mary's designs upon her crown and dignity. She could not bear the thoughts of competition for the throne she possessed: she had not forgiven that princess for having assumed her arms and title, and refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: she dreaded her marriage with some Roman catholic prince, who might be able to assert her pretensions; and she was even weak enough to repine at the fame of her beauty and personal accomplishments. On the other hand, Mary had been taught to consider the queen of England as a bastard, an heretic, a usurper, who intercepted her right to one of the fairest kingdoms of Europe, and fomented rebellion in the heart of her dominions. These causes of animosity subsisting, there was no room for sincerity of friendship and mutual confidence; nevertheless, both found their account in dissembling their real sentiments. Elizabeth, in order to dissuade her from marrying the archduke, made use of some arguments which gave offence to Mary; and she, in her answer, used expressions of disgust that incensed the queen of England; so that, for some time, their correspondence suffered an interruption. Mary reflecting how much it was her interest to maintain an intercourse with Elizabeth, sent Sir James Melvil to London, with a letter containing some concessions; and a proposal of renewing their former friendship. The queen of England, who surpassed her in dissimulation, admitted her excuses with great good humour, expressed the warmest affection for her royal kinswoman; and, in order to prevent her espousing a foreign prince, endeavoured to engage her in a negotiation for a marriage with lord Dudley, to whom she plainly alluded, though she never mentioned his name. Not that she wished this match might really take effect: she loved Dudley too well to part with him to a detested rival; but her aim was to detach the queen of Scotland from the alliance with the house of Austria, and amuse her with a treaty which never would be brought to perfection.

Melvil's Memoirs.

§ XXIV. Mary, far from thinking seriously of espousing Dudley, had already resolved to give her hand to the lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lennox, who had married the daughter of Margaret queen of Scotland, and Archibald Douglas her second husband. Henry VIII. who was this lady's uncle, bestowed her in marriage upon Matthew Stuart earl of Lennox, who, in his reign, took refuge in England; so that the queen of Scots purposed to unite the rights of the two families by her marriage with lord Darnley, who, as well as herself, was a grandchild of the seventh Henry. Suspecting that Elizabeth would thwart her in this design, should she discover it, she acted with great circumspection; and, as a previous step, recalled the earl of Lennox into Scotland, that he might be put in possession of his lands, which had been confiscated during the regency of the duke of Chateleraud. The queen of England perceived her drift, though she seemed entirely ignorant of her

Camden.

Keith.

purpose; for she was not sorry to find she had cast her eyes on a young nobleman whose father possessed a great estate in England, consequently would be so far subject to her will and pleasure, that she could prevent the marriage without interrupting the treaty. Mary disguised her sentiments with equal art: she pretended to be guided entirely by the counsels of Elizabeth; and, even after she resolved to wed the lord Darnley, appointed commissioners to treat with those of England on the subject of her marriage, though she very well knew that Elizabeth would propose Dudley, whom she had by this time created earl of Leicester. Accordingly, the earl of Bedford being appointed commissioner, conferred with the earl of Murray, and secretary Lidington, at Berwick, where he recommended Leicester as a proper husband for queen Mary: but the proposal was received so coldly by the Scottish deputies, that he did not think proper to insist upon it, especially as the earl of Leicester had desired he would not press the affair, either because he knew it would be disagreeable to Elizabeth, or would interfere with the design he harboured of espousing his own sovereign. Sir James Melvil, at his return to Scotland, assured his mistress that there was no sincerity in the professions of Elizabeth, who never intended that she should marry Dudley; but only amused her with such proposals, that she might be diverted from the Austrian match. He gave her to understand that the queen of England had sent the earl of Suffex to the imperial court, on purpose to prevent the marriage, by insinuating that she herself was well disposed to accept the archduke for her husband; and this discovery did not diminish the hatred of Mary towards Elizabeth. The emperor dying in the course of this year, was succeeded by Maximilian, who had been always averse to the Scottish match; so that Elizabeth, having nothing farther to fear from that quarter, began to discover her real sentiments. Mary, in order to sound her inclinations, had promised to comply with her desire in wedding the earl of Leicester, provided she would declare her presumptive heir of the English crown; and now Elizabeth instructed Randolph, her ambassador in Scotland, to tell her cousin Mary, that she would raise Leicester to all the honour she could bestow upon a subject, and favour the title of the queen of Scots in every thing but the inquisition of her right, and the declaration of her succession, in which she would do nothing until she herself should either marry, or notify her determination on that subject. Though Mary had never reposed any real confidence in her sincerity, she was so shocked at this message, that she could not help bursting into tears, and reviling Elizabeth for her double-dealing.

§ XXV. By this time the queen of Scotland was in a great measure directed by David Riccio, an obscure Piedmontese, who came to Scotland in the service of the count de Moretto, the ambassador of Savoy. He was first employed as musician at the court of Mary, with whom he soon ingratiated himself by his insinuating address, and was promoted to the office of secretary for the French language. He afterwards became her chief favourite and counsellor, and attracted the envy and hatred of the nobility, who looked upon him as a presumptuous upstart, intoxicated and rendered insolent by the favour of their sovereign; and all the protestant lords detested him as an agent of the pope. In all likelihood this stranger had a considerable share in persuading Mary to espouse the lord Darnley, who was a professed Roman

catholic,

catholic, and therefore agreeable to the cardinal of Lorraine; though he affected at first to disapprove of the marriage. Darnley having obtained leave from Elizabeth to make a journey into Scotland, was received by queen Mary with extraordinary marks of esteem; and the beauty of his person soon made an impression upon her heart. He forthwith engaged in the strictest intimacy with Riccio; and now the credit of Murray, who was at the head of the protestant party, visibly decreased. All his enemies were called to court; and he entered into an association with the duke de Chateleraud, the professed enemy of Lennox, the earls of Argyle, Rothes, Marr, Glencairn, and several other noblemen, to oppose a marriage which they believed would be fatal to the reformed religion. Mean while Mary obtained a dispensation from the pope, together with a formal approbation of the marriage, signed by the noblemen who were devoted to her interest and inclination; then she wrote a letter to Elizabeth, communicating her intention, against which she seemed to think her sister and cousin could have no objection. Camden.

§ XXVI. The queen of England immediately convoked a council, to deliberate on this affair; and the result of their consultation was, that the marriage would endanger the religion and safety of England, in establishing the Roman catholic doctrine in Scotland; and uniting the interest of two houses which pretended to the English crown. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was immediately dispatched with instructions to expostulate with Mary against the match; and represent that by such a step, which was extremely disagreeable to the English nation, she would run the risque of seeing all her hopes of the succession defeated. Mary replied, that she had gone too far to recede; and that queen Elizabeth had the less reason to complain, as she had followed her advice, in chusing for a husband an English nobleman of the royal blood of both kingdoms. The queen of England finding her remonstrances ineffectual, sent orders to the earl of Lennox and his son to return, on pain of forfeiting their estate; but they did not think proper to obey her command: then she directed Throgmorton to encourage the malecontents of Scotland, with the promise of her assistance and protection; but, notwithstanding all her endeavours, the marriage between the Scottish queen and Darnley was celebrated on the twenty-ninth day of July. Mary putting herself at the head of some troops, pursued the malecontents from place to place, until they were obliged to take refuge in England. Murray being chosen their deputy, repaired to London and solicited the protection of Elizabeth, who gave him to understand, by her emissaries, that he had nothing to expect from her, unless he would publicly own that she had no concern in their revolt. Having extorted such a confession from this Melvil. mean-spirited nobleman, in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, she reviled them as rebels and traitors, and forbade them to appear before her face: nevertheless, they found protection in her dominions; and the earl of Bedford, by her private order, supplied them with money for their subsistence. Mean while Mary convoked an assembly of the estates of her kingdom, that the fugitives might, by an edict, be degraded and banished. Negotiations of Walsingham.

§ XXVII. As Mary and her new husband engaged in fresh schemes against the interest of Elizabeth, this princess sent a person called Tamworth, with a letter to the queen of Scots, demanding that the lord Darnley should be delivered into her hands, according to the stipulation in the last treaty, by which

Keith.

Melvil.

Thuanus.

the two queens obliged themselves to give up the rebellious subjects of each other. To this letter Mary replied, that she would attempt nothing in England during the life of Elizabeth, provided she might be declared presumptive heir of the crown by act of parliament. She had, however, sent Yoxley to the court of Spain, and put herself and her husband under the protection of Philip. After the dissolution of the council of Trent, the pope had endeavoured to form a league with the courts of France, Spain, and the empire, for the extirpation of the reformed religion: at length, in a conference between the queen of Spain and her brother the French king, who met on the frontiers; and, by means of a correspondence between the queen-mother and the duke of Alva, the resolution was taken, and measures were concerted for crushing the Huguenots in France, the protestants in the Low-Countries, and the reformation in all parts of Europe. This league, thus formed at Bayonne, was sent over to Scotland, and subscribed by Mary; and her relations, of the house of Guise, pressed her to proceed with rigour against the fugitive lords. These solicitations were supported by her minister Riccio, who maintained a correspondence with the pope; and Mary's council agreed that the forfeiture of the rebels should be proposed in the parliament, which had been prorogued immediately after its last meeting. In a word, the Roman catholic interest now prevailed at court: she admitted the earls of Huntley and Bothwell into her council and confidence, and every thing seemed to portend the re-establishment of the old religion.

An. Ch. 1560.

Crawford.

Keith.

§ XXVIII. Almost all the common people of Scotland were protestant fanatics. The majority of the nobles had embraced the same religion, because they found their account in possessing the church-lands, which they seized at the beginning of the reformation. Some of these reformers still maintained an influence at court; namely, the earl of Morton, and the lords Ruthven and Lindsay. They dreaded the forfeiture of the fugitive lords, which would have ruined the protestant interest in Scotland. They perceived the king was disgusted at Riccio, on the supposition that he had hitherto prevented him from obtaining the matrimonial crown: that he engrossed too great a share in the queen's favour, and assumed the whole administration. Henry was weak, giddy, and inconstant; dissolute, proud, and imperious. He had solicited the matrimonial crown with the utmost impatience, and treated the queen in the most insolent manner. Mary could not help despising his character, and resenting his presumption. The earl of Morton knew his disposition, and tampered with his passions, by means of his emissary George Douglas, the king's natural uncle. His resentment was inflamed against Riccio, whom they represented as his inveterate enemy, who would alienate the queen's affection from him, and entirely supersede his authority, unless he would form a balance of power in his own favour, by procuring the pardon of the exiled lords. In which case they would not only fix the matrimonial crown upon his head, but also pass an act of parliament for continuing the royal succession in his person, should he survive queen Mary. They resolved upon the death of Riccio, as a necessary step towards the success of this alliance. Henry took an oath of secrecy. Articles were drawn between him and the rebel lords. He bound himself to obtain their remission, restore them to their estates, espouse their just quarrels, and concur with them in supporting and establishing the protestant religion.

religion. They obliged themselves to procure for him the matrimonial crown, and to maintain his title to the succession, should the queen die without issue. He likewise signed a bond, declaring, that as the murder of Riccio was undertaken at his own desire, he would bear the perpetrators harmless. These articles being settled, the king, on the ninth day of March, about seven in the evening, entered the queen's apartment, while she was at supper with the counsellors of Argyle, her natural brother the commendator of Holyrood-house, David Riccio, and several other persons. He was followed by Patrick Ruthven, who commanded Riccio to follow him, in the king's name. Mary asking if her husband had given such orders; and he answering in the negative, she ordered Ruthven out of her presence, declaring that Riccio should appear before the parliament, and answer to what might be laid to his charge. Then Ruthven attempting to seize the secretary, he fled for refuge behind the queen's chair. At that instant George Douglas, with a party of armed men, rushing into the apartment, struck him with a dagger over her shoulder, while the queen attempting to interpose in his defence, was withheld by her husband. He Melvil. was then dragged into another chamber, and butchered by the conspirators. Ruthven returning to the queen, upbraided her with following the counsellors of Riccio; with having favoured the Romish religion; admitted Huntley and Bothwell into her council; engaged with foreign powers for the destruction of the protestants; and with having attainted the fugitive lords, who were expected in Edinburgh next day, in consequence of the king's pardon and message. While the conspirators acted this tragedy, the earl of Morton secured the Keith. gates of the palace with a body of troops. Huntley, Bothwell, and some others, escaped out at windows; but the earl of Athol, secretary Lidington, Tullibardin, and Sir James Balfour, were permitted to retire. The queen was detained all night a prisoner in her apartment. Next morning Henry issued a proclamation, commanding all the lords spiritual and temporal convened to parliament to retire in three hours from Edinburgh; and, in the evening, the earls of Murray and Rothes, with their friends, arrived from England. A council being held, it was resolved that the queen should be sent under a guard to the castle of Stirling, to remain in custody until she should approve in parliament of all they had done, establish the protestant religion, bestow the matrimonial crown upon the king, and resign the whole administration into his hands.

§ XXIX. Mary, in this deplorable situation, had recourse to the friendship of her brother Murray, who, rather than incur any share of the odium resulting from the murder of Riccio, refused to join the perpetrators. The king, who was extremely fickle and irresolute, began to repent of that barbarous transaction; and the queen perceiving him fluctuating, proposed an accommodation, which they were now glad to embrace. When the articles were drawn up, she observed that it would be of no force should she sign them while she remained in captivity; and the guard being withdrawn, she escaped to Dunbar, whither she was accompanied by her husband. Having thus recovered her liberty, she pardoned the earls of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn; as for the duke of Chateleraud, he had parted from them before their flight to England. Then she gave vent to her indignation against the murderers of Riccio. Morton, Ruthven, and Douglas, fled to Newcastle; but some

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some of their accomplices were executed; and now she laid aside all marks of regard for Henry. Indeed, when we consider, over and above the former provocations she had undergone from his insolent behaviour, this last additional outrage, we cannot suppose that any woman of spirit and sensibility could help looking upon him with abhorrence and detestation. He had even contrived the murder of her favourite in such a manner as would most conduce to her horror and affliction. He insisted upon Riccio's being assassinated in her presence, although she was at that time six months advanced in her pregnancy; allowed her to be insulted by Ruthven, while her mind must have been in the utmost agitation; and afterwards confined her in a chamber, secluded from her attendants, when most she needed their assistance and consolation. No wonder then that she now treated him in her turn with indifference and disdain. When she assembled a body of forces and returned to Edinburgh, he disowned the transaction in the privy-council, and signed a declaration to this effect, which was published by way of proclamation; so that he incurred the universal contempt of the people. The queen effected a formal reconciliation between the fugitive lords and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell; though it does not seem to have been sincere on the part of the latter, who endeavoured to persuade her that Murray intended to bring back Morton and his confederates, while she should be confined in child-bed.

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§ XXX. On the nineteenth day of June Mary was delivered of a son, in the castle of Edinburgh; and Sir James Melvil immediately dispatched to the court of England, to notify this event to Elizabeth, who was desired to stand godmother to the prince of Scotland. The ambassador found Elizabeth at Greenwich, where he was graciously received; and the queen expressed uncommon joy at the news of Mary's delivery. But this was all affectation; for when Cecil made her acquainted with the event on the preceding evening, while she was engaged in a ball with her nobility, she forthwith dismissed the company, and exhibited marks of sorrow and mortification. She seemed to think Mary's pregnancy a reproach upon her own barrenness. She looked upon that princess with the eyes of jealousy and envy. She had been lately seized with a disorder; and during her indisposition, the ministry began to cabal about the succession. Both parties, though ignorant of each other's resolution, had determined, in case of Elizabeth's death, to raise Mary to the throne of England. Perhaps the queen had received some intimation of their design, and considered the birth of this child as an event that would corroborate the interest of her rival. Her fears from that quarter were lately increased by the intelligence received by one Rookby, whom Cecil employed as a spy at the court of Mary. This man pretended to be a refugee from England, and professed the deepest rancour against Elizabeth. He found means to insinuate himself into the confidence of Mary, and discovered all her practices in England to his patron Cecil. Sir Robert Melvil, the Scottish ambassador at London, was forbid the court, for having caballed in favour of his mistress among the English malecontents. He, being informed of Rookby's real character, gave notice to his mistress, who ordered the spy to be arrested, and seized upon his papers, among which were some of Cecil's letters in cypher. Sir Henry Killigrew had been sent to Scotland as ambassador-extraordinary, to congratulate Mary upon her recovering her liberty; and to assure her that the queen of England had, by a proclamation,

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clamation, ordered the earl of Morton and his accomplices to quit her dominions: notwithstanding which proclamation, they were privately assured of her protection. Killigrew was likewise instructed to complain of some disorders upon the border; of Mary's corresponding with O'Neal of Ireland, to spirit up a rebellion in that country; and of her protecting Rooksby, who was a rebellious subject of England. This last article of complaint furnished the Scottish queen with a pretext for arresting Rooksby; but Killigrew hearing of the discovery she had made, communicated the particulars to Cecil, and Elizabeth thought proper to drop the affair.

§ XXXI. These circumstances considered, the two queens must have hated one another with the most implacable animosity. Yet they still preserved the external marks of friendship. Mary, in order to efface the impressions which Rooksby's Camden. intelligence must have made upon the mind of the English queen, wrote a letter to Sir Robert Melvil, forbidding him to maintain any correspondence with the malecontents of England; and sent another to secretary Cecil, protesting that she would give them no sort of countenance. Elizabeth, on the other hand, consented to stand godmother to the young prince of Scotland, who was baptized by the name of James, at Stirling, in presence of the ambassadors from France, England, and Savoy. After the ceremony, the earl of Bedford, who Walsingham. was Elizabeth's ambassador, pressed the queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: but Mary declined complying with this request. Nevertheless, she offered to sign a new treaty, importing that she should not assume the title or arms of the queen of England, during the life of Elizabeth and her posterity. By this time her husband was treated with such indignity, that the earl of Bedford, when he departed from Scotland, desired Sir James Melvil to tell the queen from him, that she ought to live in another manner with the king, for the sake of her own reputation. He is even said to have been kept destitute Melvil. of decent apparel, so that he could not appear in public; while the earl of Bothwell flourished in the queen's favour, and shone with the utmost magnificence, to the manifest dissatisfaction of the people, who looked upon him as an ambitious and profligate nobleman, devoid of principle and decorum.

§ XXXII. About this period Elizabeth visited the university of Oxford, where she was magnificently entertained for a whole week, during which she assisted at several academical exercises. She answered a Greek oration in the same language; and, in a Latin speech, assured the university of her constant Camden. favour and protection. She had been at Cambridge on a former occasion; and, in the same manner, testified her approbation of that university. On her return to London from the summer progress, the parliament was assembled; and a motion was made in the lower house for petitioning her majesty, that she would be pleased to marry, and settle the succession of the crown. This motion was suggested by the earls of Pembroke and Leicester, who had openly declared for the succession of queen Mary, as well as by the duke of Norfolk, who acted more covertly in her behalf; yet, in the debates which it produced among the commons, no mention was made of that princess. Some maintained the claim of Catherine Gray countess of Hertford; others proposed her younger sister the countess of Cumberland. Cecil opposed the motion, and was reviled without doors, in lampoons and defamatory libels. The populace inveighed against the queen's physician Dr. Huic, who was said to have dissuaded her from marrying, on account of some bodily infirmity; and some members within

within the house ventured even to charge her with abandoning her country and posterity. The address being presented, she signified her intention to marry; but observed that she could not declare her successor without danger to her own person. The commons, dissatisfied with this answer, began to resume the matter; and she sent two messages, requiring them to proceed no further. At length she remitted the third payment of a subsidy they had granted, in hope of prevailing upon her to declare her successor; and dismissed them with a speech, in which she reprimanded them sharply for their officious interposition. She knew, that although they had not named Mary, she was the person at whom they aimed: she could distinguish the friends and abettors of that princess; and the earls of Pembroke and Leicester were for some time disgraced on account of their attachment to the queen of Scotland. Nor was it without reason that Elizabeth declined taking any open step in favour of Mary's succession, if there was any truth in the assertion of Melvil, who affirms the friends of the Scottish queen were increased to such a degree in England, that some whole counties were ready to take up arms in her favour, under officers already named by the chief nobility.

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§ XXXIII. These steps taken in behalf of Mary, by her friends in England, were frustrated by an unfortunate event which about this time happened in her own kingdom. She had for some time lived unhappily with her husband, whose folly, caprice, and presumption, seemed daily to increase. He had lost all credit at court, and of consequence hated those who seemed to have superseded his influence. Among these were Bothwell, Murray, and Lidington, who had by this time prevailed upon the queen to pardon Morton and Lindsay, for the murder of Riccio: Ruthven would have enjoyed the same favour, had not he died at Newcastle before the remission could be obtained. Henry was so incensed against Murray, that he threatened to take away his life; and the other receiving intimation of his design, is said to have contrived a scheme for anticipating his purpose, by assassinating the king himself. That this project might operate the more effectually for his own interest, he is said to have engaged Bothwell in the execution of the murder, by soothing his vanity and ambition with the hope of espousing his sovereign. He looked upon this nobleman as the rival of his interest; and therefore sought to raise him to a dangerous pinnacle of power, from which his fall would be the greater. Morton and Lidington were the confidants and abettors of Murray in this enterprize. They had proposed a divorce to the queen, and she could not be averse to a separation from the man whom she could neither love nor esteem: but she charged them to take no step which should hurt her conscience, or blemish her reputation. The king being taken ill at Glasgow, of a distemper which some people believed to be the effect of poison, administered by these confederates, Mary hastened thither, and attended him with the most conjugal tenderness, until he was in a condition to travel; then he was conveyed in a litter to Edinburgh; and, as the air of Holyrood-house was damp and unhealthy, lodged in a higher situation, at a place called the Kirkfield, on the south side of the city. The house being undermined, was blown up with gun-powder in the middle of the night, and his body found at some distance under a tree. The earl of Murray had set out for St. Andrew's on the preceding day, on a visit to his wife, who had miscarried: but, as he declared to one of his attendants, that the lord Darnley would lose his life before morn-

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ing, many people suspected that he was accessory to the murder. But the voice of the public became so clamorous against Bothwell, that he could not help taking some steps for his own justification.

§ XXXIV. Mean while Murray, being informed of the king's fate, returned to court, where he found the queen inconsolable: yet Bothwell still engrossed the greatest share of the administration. He offered to maintain his innocence in single combat; and a paper was fixed up in several public places accepting his challenge, provided he would fight in a neutral place, where his own influence did not predominate. The earl of Lennox wrote a letter to the queen, impeaching Bothwell of the murder, and demanding justice of her majesty: on the other hand, Murray, and several other noblemen, recommended him to the queen, as a proper person for her husband, both on account of his antient family and faithful services. A proclamation had been issued for detecting and apprehending the perpetrators of the king's murder; and Murray having concerted proper measures with his associates, obtained leave to retire from the kingdom, that his absence might the better screen him from suspicion. He accordingly set out for France, taking his way through England, where his conduct seems to have been countenanced. That he was concerned with the regicides, we may conclude from his declaration above mentioned, which the lord Herries affirmed to his face, at his own table, a few days after the murder; from the protestation of the earls of Huntley and Argyle to queen Elizabeth, in which they accused Murray, Morton, and Lidington, as the contrivers of the assassination; and from many other circumstances of Murray's character and conduct. At the same time we must own, it is very strange that neither Bothwell on his death-bed, nor Morton in his confession, nor any one person concerned in the murder, directly accused Murray of having been an accomplice. The earl of Lennox continuing to importune Mary for justice on Bothwell, and the other assassins of his son, this nobleman applied himself to the earl of Argyle, lord justiciary of Scotland, desiring that he might be brought to his trial. The day was accordingly fixed, and intimation given to the earl of Lennox: but this accuser, conscious of his own weakness in point of interest, did not think proper to appear against Bothwell, who had the whole power of the kingdom in his hands. He desired that the trial might be postponed; and his request being denied, contented himself with sending an agent to protest against the proceedings of the court; notwithstanding which protest, Bothwell was acquitted, as no person appeared to carry on the prosecution; and his acquittal afterwards approved and confirmed by parliament. Then a good number of the nobility engaged in a bond of association to maintain his innocence with their bodies, heritage, and goods, and to promote and advance his marriage with her majesty. Camden.

§ XXXV. Thus supported, Bothwell resolved to marry the queen by force, provided he could not obtain her voluntary consent: with this view he raised a body of eight hundred horse, and intercepting her on her return from Stirling, conveyed her to his castle of Dunbar, where he completed his rape. He forthwith commenced a suit for a divorce from his wife, who was sister to the earl of Huntley, on pretence of consanguinity, in the court of the archbishop of St. Andrew's; and she prosecuted him at the same time, before the commissary-court, for adultery with his maid-servant. He was convicted of the Keith.

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adultery, and sentence of divorce awarded against him; and the archbishop declared his marriage null and void, because he had, without a dispensation, married a person within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Being now separated from his wife, in due course of law, he conducted the queen to the castle of Edinburgh, where she pardoned him for the rape, created him duke of Orkney, and finally married him, on the fifteenth day of May, contrary to the general sense of her people, and that regard which she ought to have preserved for her own reputation. Notwithstanding the forgeries and calumny of her enemies, she appears to have been not only innocent and ignorant of the design against her husband's life, but also convinced of Bothwell's integrity. Nevertheless, we cannot vindicate her from the charge of indiscretion, in espousing a profligate nobleman, equally notorious for insolence and bad morals, supposed by the generality of her people guilty of her husband's murder; one who had presumed to ravish her, while his wife was still living, and his marriage in force; and who was afterwards convicted of adultery with another woman. This was undoubtedly an imprudent and fatal step, by which she entailed upon herself numberless mortifications, misery, and ruin. Bothwell, not satisfied with the honour of espousing his sovereign, endeavoured to make himself master of the person of the young prince, who had been committed to the care of the earl of Mar; but this nobleman refused to part with his charge. On the contrary, he engaged in an association against Bothwell, with those very lords who had bound themselves to maintain his interest.

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§ XXXVI. He had now rendered himself odious to the nation; and Murray, by whose instigation they acted, thought it was high time to labour at his destruction. Having formed a league at Stirling, they raised a body of troops, on pretence of defending the young prince from the machinations of his father-in-law; and they had well nigh surprised the queen and her husband at Holyrood-house, from whence she escaped with difficulty to the castle of Borthwick: there she was beleaguered by the earl of Home; but he could not prevent her escaping again to the castle of Dunbar. Mean while the rebel lords entering Edinburgh, declared, by proclamation, their design was to take vengeance on Bothwell for murdering the king, ravishing the queen, and conspiring against the life of the prince. From hence they proceeded against the queen, who had levied forces, and advanced as far as Prestonpans. The confederates found her posted upon Carberry-hill, and both sides prepared for an engagement. De Croc the French ambassador endeavoured in vain to effect an accommodation. After his miscarriage, she desired to speak with Kirkaldy, laird of Grange, who assured her the confederates desired nothing else than that she would send away the murderer of her husband. Bothwell challenged any man that would tax him with that crime. His challenge was accepted successively by Kirkaldy, Tullibardin, and the lord Lindsay: but his heart failed, and he chose to retire. The queen having complied with the conditions proposed by the confederates, was conducted to Edinburgh, where the populace treated her with the utmost indignity. From her palace of Holyrood-house, she was sent under a strong guard to the castle of Lochleven, belonging to W. Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray, who received an order, signed by the associated lords, to detain her in safe custody. She was accordingly closely immured, and cruelly insulted by Murray's mother, who pretended she had been lawfully married to James V. and that Murray was the legitimate fruit of that marriage.

§ XXXVII.

§ XXXVII. The lords having taken this rebellious step against the person of their sovereign, apprehended several persons supposed of having been concerned in the murder of the king; and among these W. Blackadder, who was convicted and condemned by a packed jury, and declared at his death that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but that he believed Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the regicide. They allowed Bothwell time to escape to the Orkneys, and then they set a price upon his head by proclamation. The laird of Grange equipped two vessels; and, being accompanied by the bishop of the Orkneys and the laird of Tullibardin, sailed directly to those isles, from whence Bothwell escaped with difficulty to Norway: but they took one of his ships, with some of his adherents and servants, who were afterwards executed for the regicide. Some noblemen, who disapproved of the proceedings of the confederates, assembled at Hamilton, to deliberate upon means for releasing their sovereign; and to these the general assembly of the kirk, then sitting, sent an invitation to come and assist in regulating ecclesiastical affairs; but they refused to trust themselves in a place where they imagined their persons would not be safe. The queen of England being informed of Mary's imprisonment, affected to resent such an outrage offered by subjects to their sovereign; and perhaps she actually felt an emotion of jealousy at their presumption against the regal power, though from the beginning she had certainly fomented the troubles of Scotland. She dispatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to intercede for the captive queen, and to express her displeasure at Mary's confinement. He was instructed to threaten, in her name, that she would release their queen by force, should they refuse to set her at liberty on reasonable terms. He was furnished with a plan of accommodation between their sovereign and them; and directed to propose that the young prince should be educated in England. He was not permitted to see the queen, and all his endeavours proved ineffectual. Perhaps Elizabeth was not sorry for his miscarriage.

§ XXXVIII. Knox, and the other presbyterian preachers, exerted all their talents and influence to inflame the minds of the people against the perpetrators of Darnley's murder; and did not scruple to accuse the queen as an accomplice in that assassination. The rebel lords prepared three instruments to be signed by the queen; namely, her resignation of the crown to her infant son; a commission appointing the earl of Murray regent during his minority; and another nominating a council to govern the realm, in case of that nobleman's death, or his declining the office of regent. These deeds she was compelled, by the most brutal usage, to subscribe; and Morton accepted her resignation, in the name of the three estates of Scotland, though he was vested with no such power by that assembly. Then they proceeded to crown the prince, who was but thirteen months old; and the ceremony was performed at Stirling, by Adam Bothwell bishop of Orkney; but Throgmorton refused to assist at the coronation, and was, in a very little time after this transaction, recalled by queen Elizabeth. The lords assembled at Hamilton, now entered into an association for effecting the queen's release; and, had they been unanimous, they might have saved that unhappy princess from destruction: but when Murray returned, and assumed the regency, they endeavoured singly to make peace with him; and he perceiving their disunion, compelled them to accept of such terms as he thought proper to propose. In his way through England, he was indulged with a pension from queen Elizabeth. When he visited his sovereign

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at the castle of Lochlevin, far from comforting her under her affliction, he reviled her with the most injurious reproaches, and treated her so barbarously, that from thence forward she considered him as her mortal enemy. His regency being confirmed, in a parliament convoked by him at Edinburgh, he signed a warrant for the execution of Dalgleish, Powry, and two other servants of Bothwell, who had been tried and convicted of assisting in the king's murder. They solemnly protested, before God and his angels, they had heard Bothwell declare that Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the murder; and that the queen was entirely innocent.

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§ XXXIX. The French king being informed of Mary's misfortune, was so incensed at her rebellious subjects, for such an outrage against the royal prerogative, that he sent over Pasquier to London, to concert measures with the queen for compelling the Scottish rebels to set their sovereign at liberty. Elizabeth declined using violent methods, on pretence that they would endanger the life of her dear cousin; but she proposed that the Scots should be entirely prohibited from trading with France and England, until their queen should be released. This was the only measure in which Elizabeth and the French king were likely to concur. The term of eight years since the treaty of Cateau being now expired, Sir Thomas Smith was sent over to Picardy, with Winter master of the ordnance for the sea-service, to demand the restitution of Calais, which they accordingly claimed by sound of trumpet, at one of the gates, in presence of a notary, and several witnesses. Then Smith proceeded to Paris, where, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norreys, the English resident at that court, he made the like demand of Charles, who appointed the chancellor de L'Hopital to signify the reasons which hindered him from restoring Calais. These arguments were answered and refuted by Smith; and the affair produced a long dispute, which was not finished when the civil wars broke out in France: but the place was never restored. Mean while the emperor Maximilian sent the count of Stolberg into England, to renew the treaty for a marriage between his brother Charles the archduke, and queen Elizabeth, who had often expressed her approbation of such an alliance: but, after long debates touching the maintenance of Charles, his assuming the title of king, and the settlement of the succession, it was wholly broke off, on account of their differing in point of religion; and Charles espoused Mary, daughter to the duke of Bavaria. At the same time ambassadors arrived from John Basilowitz emperor of Russia, with rich presents of furs to the queen, and assurances of friendship and protection to the English merchants, who should settle or trade in his dominions. Anthony Jenkinson, an Englishman, who had travelled through great part of the Russian dominions, accompanied the ambassadors, with directions from the czar to propose an offensive and defensive alliance with the queen of England, against all the world. Though she civilly declined such a league, he indulged the Russia company with an exclusive trade to Archangel; and the English merchants in general with a monopoly for their cloth and other commodities throughout all his dominions.

§ XL. About this period, Sir Henry Sidney, the queen's lord lieutenant for Ireland, extinguished some dangerous commotions which had arisen in that country. Shan O'Neale had tyrannized over the inhabitants of Ulster, reduced Armagh to ashes, expelled Macguire from his paternal inheritance, ravaged the lands of Macguire and others, who were under the protection of the

the English, and openly rebelled against Elizabeth. But, upon his submission, she created him baron of Dungannon and earl of Tyrone. Not satisfied with these honours, he assembled an army of his vassals, assumed the title of king of Ulster, and offered to hold the kingdom of Ireland under the sovereignty of Mary queen of Scotland. Randolph, a brave officer, being sent against him by the lieutenant, routed him with great slaughter at Derry, though the victor lost his life in the engagement. Shan fled to the bogs and fastnesses, while Sir Henry Sidney built some forts to straiten him in his quarters, and re-established O'Donnel, who had been driven from his country. But Sidney being called away to compromise a quarrel between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, Shan re-assembled a body of troops, and attacked Dundalk, from whence he was repulsed by the garrison. Then he carried off O'Donnel's wife, and retired to Clandeboy, to solicit the assistance of the Scottish highlanders, who had formerly joined his enemies, and been defeated by his forces. He had even slain two brothers of the highland chieftains, who received him with seeming courtesy; but, whether they had determined to make away with him, or he provoked them over his cups with brutal language, touching the chastity of their mother, they slew him with all his company. Though he left two legitimate sons, his estate was confiscated by the Irish parliament, and Tirlagh O'Neile was, by the queen's permission, elected chief of the sept, by the appellation of O'Neile. Nevertheless, as a check upon this new chieftain, she received into favour Shan's nephew Hugh baron of Dungannon, a young man of a very intriguing genius. The disorders of Ulster being thus appeased, the quarrel between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, who had fought a battle near Dromille, was partly quelled by the authority of the lieutenant, who was afterwards obliged to surprize Desmond and his uncle near Kilmallock, and send them prisoners to England.

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§ XLI. By this time the kings of France and Spain seemed to have engaged in a league to exterminate the protestants from their dominions. The duke of Alva entering the Low-Countries, at the head of a powerful army, committed unheard-of cruelties upon those who professed the reformed religion. The court of France levied six thousand Swiss, in order to crush the Huguenots. The prince of Condé and the admiral re-assembling some forces for their own defence, attempted to surprize the king at Meaux: but, failing in that enterprize, the prince blocked up Paris; and, in the neighbourhood of that capital, engaged the constable, who was slain in the action. The prince was afterwards joined by Casimir count Palatine, with ten thousand horse and foot; and La Noue, one of the chiefs of the Huguenots, made himself master of Orleans. Queen Elizabeth, looking upon her own safety as inseparably connected with the protestant interest, ordered Norreys, her ambassador, to intercede with Charles in behalf of the Huguenots; and to assure him that she would not tamely suffer them to be oppressed. This insinuation, together with the succours they received from Germany, induced the French court to consent to a pacification; the terms of which, however, they had no intention to observe. Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother, foreseeing a speedy rupture, endeavoured to alienate Elizabeth from the interest of the French protestants; and for that purpose proposed a marriage between the English queen and her son the duke of Anjou, who was then but seventeen years

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years of age. While this was in agitation, Philip king of Spain took occasion to manifest his disgust to the English nation. Man, who was Elizabeth's ambassador at Madrid, was forbid the court, and confined to a country village, for having dropped some disrespectful expressions concerning the pope and the Roman catholic religion; and Sir John Hawkins, who commanded a fleet of merchant-ships in the bay of Mexico, was attacked by the Spaniards, who slew a great number of his men, and took and plundered three of his vessels. The queen was not a little incensed at these outrages, though she found it convenient to suppress some part of her resentment. Her attention was turned upon events that still more nearly affected her interest.

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Jebb.

§ XLII. Mary queen of Scotland having escaped from the castle of Lochlevin, by the means of George Douglas the governor's brother, repaired to Hamilton, where she found herself, in a few days, at the head of six thousand men, assembled by the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Errol, Montros, Crawford, Argyle, Cassils, Rothes, and Eglington, the lords Somerville, Yester, Livingston, Borthwick, Herries, Sanquhar, Rofs, Boyd, Ogilvy, Oliphant, Drummond, Elphinston, Sinclair, Cathcart, Claude Hamilton, and a great number of bishops, abbots, lairds, and persons of distinction. These engaged in an association for the defence of her person, and the support of her royal authority: she issued a proclamation, declaring that the instrument she had signed at Lochlevin was extorted from her by the fear of death; and the lords there assembled adjudged her resignation to be null and invalid, as the effect of compulsion. Murray was at that time within eight miles of Hamilton, holding a justice-court at Glasgow, attended by the earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, the lord Sempill, and others of the council. He forthwith sent for a supply of five hundred men from Stirling, and was joined by the earl of Home, with six hundred men from the Merse and Lothian; so that he resolved to give battle, though his army did not exceed the number of four thousand. The queen sent John Beaton to England to solicit the assistance of Elizabeth; and he was ordered to proceed to the court of France on the same errand: but the queen of England, who did not relish her application to the French monarch, assured this envoy that she would assist his mistress; and, in her instructions to Leighton, whom she dispatched to Scotland with offers of her mediation, she directed him to tell Mary's rebellious subjects, that the whole power of England should be employed in her behalf. In the mean time the loyalists advised the queen to march towards Dumbarton, which was a strong fortress, where she could remain in safety, until all her faithful subjects should assemble in arms for her defence. In their route, they found Murray advantageously posted at Langside; and, attempting to dislodge him, were defeated.

§ XLIII. The queen fled with the utmost precipitation to the abbey of Dundrenan, near Kirkcudbright, in Galloway; and embarking with the lord Herries, and a train of sixteen persons, landed at Wirkington in Cumberland. From thence she was conducted to Cockermouth, and afterwards conveyed to the castle of Carlisle by Lowther, deputy-governor of that fortress. On her first arrival in England, she wrote a letter to Elizabeth, giving a detail of her misfortunes, intimating her confidence in her sister's princely affection and assistance; and requesting that she might be conducted immediately into her presence. Sir Francis Knolles was sent to comfort her with a verbal promise

promise of assistance; but she declined seeing her, on pretence of her being charged with divers atrocious crimes, of which it would be necessary to acquit herself. From Carlile, Mary sent the lord Herries with another letter, renewing her request of being admitted into Elizabeth's presence, that she might answer to the crimes laid to her charge. It was but reasonable, she said, that a princess so near to her in blood, should hear and relieve her in her distress; she therefore desired that Elizabeth would either assist her against her rebellious subjects, or allow her to solicit succour in some other country; observing it was unjust to detain her a prisoner in the castle of Carlile, as she had voluntarily come into the kingdom, confiding in the affection of her majesty, so often expressed by messengers, letters, and remembrances. The council of England were not a little perplexed at this event. They foresaw that should Mary be allowed to retire, she would find refuge in France, and the Guises would revive her claim to the crown of England; the old alliance between France and Scotland would be renewed; and the English faction in this last kingdom be wholly suppressed. On the other hand, her detention in England would be condemned all over Europe as an act of the most inhuman barbarity and injustice; and perhaps excite the compassion of the English, so as to produce some dangerous commotion in favour of a princess whom the majority of them esteemed as the presumptive heir to the crown. Notwithstanding this apprehension, they determined to detain her as a prisoner, until she should renounce her present claim to the crown of England, and vindicate herself from the charge of being accessary to the murder of Lord Darnley, who was a natural subject of England. This determination may be ascribed to the political maxims of Cecil, whose constant aim was to embroil all the neighbouring kingdoms; but in all probability it was influenced by the private passions of Elizabeth, who hated Mary as her rival in royalty, and her superior in beauty and other female accomplishments. She wanted nothing but a pretence for detaining this illustrious captive with some shadow of justice; and she seemed to be ashamed of founding her detention upon the accusation of rebellious subjects, against whose treason it was her duty to have protected her kinswoman. Besides, she had no right to exercise any jurisdiction over an independent sovereign, who was moreover intitled to all the rights of hospitality; and, by admitting the charge of notorious rebels against their mistress, she would have created a precedent equally disgraceful and dangerous to regal authority. On these considerations, she tampered with Margaret countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, who had been imprisoned on account of her son's marriage, and released after his decease. This lady, who entirely depended upon Elizabeth, was persuaded to present a petition to the queen, praying that Mary of Scotland might be prosecuted for her husband's murder. The countess, afterwards being convinced of Mary's innocence, implored forgiveness of that princess, assuring her she had been deceived with false suggestions, by the express command of Elizabeth, and the persuasions of the lords of the privy-council.

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§ XLIV. The earl of Murray in the mean time punished the Hamiltons, and all who were concerned in the queen's defence, with the utmost rigour: he had spies among the pretended friends of queen Mary, who persuaded her to forbid all her loyal subjects to carry on hostilities in her behalf, and to rely
entirely

entirely on the assistance of Elizabeth, who sent Mr. Middlemore to summon the earl of Murray, either in person or by proxy, to appear in England, and shew cause for the cruel treatment to which he had subjected his own sovereign, and her kinswoman; otherwise she would assist her to the utmost of her power against all her enemies. Murray, who was perfectly well acquainted with the real sentiments of queen Elizabeth, caused a commission to be expedited under the great seal of Scotland, empowering himself, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Lindsay, and the abbot of Dumfermling, to meet the English deputies, and explain the reasons which induced them to proceed in such a manner against Mary. To these commissioners, James Macgill, Henry Balnaves, and the celebrated George Buchanan, were joined as assistants. They were accompanied by the bishop of Murray, secretary Lidington, the lairds of Pittarrow, North-Berwick, and Cleish, Nicholas Elphinston, and John Wood secretary to the regent. They were met at York, in the beginning of October, by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffolk, and Sir Ralph Sadler, appointed commissioners by Elizabeth, to hear and examine all disputes between Mary and the regent. At the same time the Scottish queen sent thither John Lesley bishop of Ross, the lords Livingstone, Boyd, and Herries, Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning, with the lairds of Lochinvar, Kirling, Roslin, and Garntully, as her friends and commissioners, to promote an agreement, under the mediation of Elizabeth; for they did not at all expect that the queen of England intended to act the part of a judge. When they were undeceived in this particular, they entered a protest in the name of their sovereign, importing, that though she had consented to her cousin's hearing and terminating in person or by commissioners, the differences between her and her rebellious subjects, she did not acknowledge herself subject to any judge upon earth, being a free princess, and holding her imperial crown of God alone. The English commissioners made a protest in their turn, for saving the superiority which England claimed over Scotland. Next day Mary's agents exhibited a paper, containing a detail of the rebellions which had been raised against her. This was answered by Murray, who alledged that the lords had taken arms to revenge the death of king Henry upon Bothwell; and that the queen, being weary of the toils of government, had voluntarily resigned the crown to her son, and appointed the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom during his minority. Mary's commissioners refuted these allegations, and requested that the queen of England would assist and support their mistress in the recovery of her crown, and the suppression of such rebellious attempts: they likewise presented an attested copy of the protestation made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, charging Murray and Morton as the contrivers of the king's murder.

§ XLV. The duke of Norfolk, a nobleman of an amiable character, who had ever been zealous for Mary's succession to the crown of England, was so scandalized at this renunciation, and apprehensive of its being used to the prejudice of the Scottish queen, that he contrived an expedient for putting a stop at once to the proceedings. He contracted a friendship with the regent; and, in a private conference, represented the disgrace and injury that would accrue to him and his nation, as well as to the young prince, from this accusation of his mother. He gave him to understand that queen Elizabeth would not de-
termine

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termine either for or against the queen of Scots, whether she should be found innocent or guilty; and he advised him to demand, at their next meeting, whether or not the English commissioners had authority to pronounce a definitive sentence, in case of conviction. Murray, who began to fear, not only that he should fail in his endeavours to give an air of probability to his allegations, but also that Mary's agents would retort the guilt upon his own head, resolved to comply with the duke's advice; and next day, when he was called upon to produce his evidence against Mary, he desired to know whether they had power to pronounce the Scottish queen guilty, or not guilty; whether, in case of her conviction, she should be delivered into his hands, or detained in England; and whether or not queen Elizabeth would maintain the authority of the young king, and his own regency. When the commissioners answered they had no such power, but the queen's royal word was sufficient, Murray refused to proceed, until he should see the queen's hand and seal for the performance of what he required; and this demur produced a delay, during which the duke of Norfolk and the regent agreed that this last should not accuse queen Mary; that the duke should restore Murray to the queen's favour, and obtain her confirmation of his regency; and that these two new friends should labour jointly for the good of both nations. Elizabeth, without taking the least notice of Murray's demands, evoked the whole affair to London, and constituted a new commission, from which the duke of Norfolk was excluded, because the Scottish deputies represented him as a favourer of Mary, who entertained thoughts of marrying that princess. She had been conveyed from Carlisle to Bolton, in Lancashire; but this county being full of Roman catholics, who might raise a rebellion in her favour, she was now, at the request of her accusers, removed to the castle of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and committed to the charge of the earl of Shrewsbury. The duke of Norfolk had found means to make Mary acquainted with what had passed between him and Murray; and she communicated the transaction to one of her confidants, who was a spy employed by Morton, to whom it was immediately imparted. He forthwith discovered it to the earl of Leicester, who durst not conceal it from the queen; and she was incensed against Norfolk, who candidly owned the correspondence, and declared his zeal for the succession of young James to the throne of England; while Morton was exasperated against the regent for having taken such a step without his privity and concurrence.

§ XLVI. Murray wanted to return to Scotland, on pretence of a scheme which he said the earl of Argyle had formed for surprizing the castle of Stirling, in which the prince resided: but now the real cause of his backwardness to proceed in the accusation being discovered, he was importuned in such a manner by his own colleagues, who reproached him with his falling off, and so artfully cajoled by the English ministry, that he at length, with an appearance of reluctance, exhibited his charge, containing the pretended confessions of Dalglish, and those whom he had put to death as accessory to the king's murder; the queen's extorted resignation of the crown; the decrees of his own faction assembled in parliament, and some copies of letters and verses, without date or subscription, said to be written by the queen's own hand to Bothwell, and found in a box given by Sir James Balfour, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, to Bothwell's domestic Dalglish, upon whom it was

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seized, before he could convey it to his master. These letters and verses, produced in order to prove a criminal correspondence between the queen and Bothwell, even before the death of her former husband, were forged for the purpose by Murray and his confederates; and now reinforced by a paper called *The Detection*, written by Buchanan, to the eternal disgrace of that incomparable genius. It contained a most virulent accusation of the queen's conduct, founded upon false and malicious misrepresentations, and the pretended confession of some unhappy people who were executed as accessaries to the king's murder.

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§ XLVII. Elizabeth, although pleased with these calumnies, which stained the character of her rival, could not help despising and detesting the authors of such treachery and slander. She even wrote a letter to Mary, comforting her in her affliction, declaring she believed the accusation was false and malicious, and exhorting her to be patient under her gentle confinement, where she was nearer the crown of England, than she would have been in her own country. Notwithstanding this profession of friendship, she paid no regard to the remonstrances of Mary's commissioners, who desired, in her name, that she might be heard in person before the English nobility, and the ambassadors of foreign princes; in which case, she did not doubt of being able to clear her own innocence, and prove the guilt of her adversaries. Perceiving she had nothing to hope from the impartiality of Elizabeth, who treated her so cruelly, she inhibited her commissioners from proceeding farther in what related to the difference between her and her rebellious subjects of Scotland. The commission for hearing the cause was dissolved; but the queen of England did not think proper to pronounce any sentence. Before a stop was put to the proceedings, the bishop of Ross delivered to the council a message from his mistress to queen Elizabeth, importing, that should she be admitted to the presence of her good sister, as her adversaries had been, she would undertake not only to vindicate her own character from their aspersions, but even to prove that they themselves were the authors of that murder which they had laid to her charge. The accusers were not a little startled at this declaration; and lord Patrick Lindsay sent a person to give lord Herries the lie, and challenge him to single combat, should he charge him with the king's murder. Herries replied, that he did not charge Lindsay in particular; but the names of the guilty should be specified in proper time; and then, if Lindsay would undertake their defence, he (Herries) should be ready to accept his challenge. The bishop of Ross persisted in his proposal, and demanded a copy of the process and allegations produced against his mistress, that she might know how to frame her answers; but the council excused themselves from complying with these demands. M. de la Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador, interposed in her behalf, and importuned Elizabeth and her ministers to grant Mary's request; but he was amused with evasive answers, and general professions of Elizabeth's good will towards her gentle sister.

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§ XLVIII. By this time Murray, through the mediation of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and secretary Lidington, was admitted again into the favour of the duke of Norfolk, who communicated his intention of marrying the queen of Scots, and effecting a match between young James and his only daughter Margaret. He likewise became bondsman to Elizabeth, for two thousand pounds.

pounds lent to the regent, which he was afterwards obliged to pay. He made Mary acquainted with this new bond of friendship; and, as he had, in the first emotions of his resentment, engaged the earl of Westmoreland to cut off the regent in his return to Scotland, he now desired that nobleman to let him pass unmolested. In return for all this generosity, the perfidious Murray betrayed the correspondence to Elizabeth, who engaged in a verbal league with the traitor, for the defence of the young prince, and the maintenance of his own administration. She accommodated him with the loan of five thousand pounds, promised to supply him with three times the sum, and permitted him to retire into Scotland. Before his departure from London, the duke de Chateleraud arrived in that city from France, where he had resided during the late troubles in his own country, and demanded of the English court that Murray should be degraded from the regency, on account of his spurious birth, and ambitious practices. He told Elizabeth, that should the regency be conferred upon him, to whom it of right belonged, according to the custom of the country, he would soon put an end to the civil war, and restore his sovereign, without bloodshed. This proposal was far from being agreeable to the queen of England, who declared she would oppose him by force of arms, should he pretend to any share in the administration, or refuse to acknowledge the young prince's authority. She would not even allow him to see his captive mistress at Tutbury; but caused him to be detained at York, until he was released, at the instances of Mary and the French ambassador. When he returned to Scotland with the lord Herries, and the commendator of Kilwinning, he raised some forces, by virtue of a commission from his sovereign: but in a conference held at Edinburgh, with Murray and his partisans, touching a pacification, he was arrested, and, with the lord Herries, committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh.

Rymer.

Crawford.

§ XLIX. During these transactions, the court of France, notwithstanding the late accommodation with the Huguenots, formed the design of surprising the prince of Condé in his own house; but he received intimation of the scheme, and escaped to Rochelle. Then the king forbade the exercise of the protestant religion, and banished all the ministers who preached up that doctrine. The persecution raged at the same time in the Low Countries; and the prince of Orange was obliged to take refuge among the French Huguenots, whom Elizabeth succoured with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns, and a fine train of artillery. A great number of Flemish families removed to England, and settling under the queen's protection, in different parts of the kingdom, contributed greatly to the improvement of commerce. Towards the latter end of the last year, some Biscayan vessels being taken by French pirates, who carried them into English harbours, Elizabeth understanding that there was a considerable sum of money on board, for the use of the duke of Alva, who was the great enemy of the protestants in the Low-Countries, seized it for her own purposes, by way of loan, and gave security to the Spanish ambassador for the payment. The duke of Alva demanding it in a peremptory manner, and receiving nothing but evasive answers, caused all the English merchants in the Netherlands to be arrested, and seized upon their effects. Elizabeth retorted this act of hostility upon the Flemings in England, and published a proclamation on this subject, which was answered by

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the Spanish ambassador, who likewise circulated scandalous libels, which affected the queen's reputation. She ordered him to be put under a guard for two days, and complained of his insolence to Philip; from whom, however, she received no satisfaction. This quarrel having interrupted all commerce between England and the Low-Countries, the English merchants sent their commodities to Hamburgh; and the duke of Alva not only forbade all communication between the Flemings and Elizabeth's subjects, but appointed spies to inform him of whatever should be transacted contrary to this prohibition. Among these was an English papist called Story, who had been a violent persecutor in the reign of Mary, and taken refuge in the Low-Countries, at Elizabeth's accession. He was now extremely active against his countrymen, till at length being decoyed on board of a vessel, said to be loaded with contraband goods, he was brought over to England, and afterwards executed for treason. Mean while the English ships in Spain were confiscated, and the crews either confined in the inquisition, or sent to the galleys. Philip prohibited the importation of oil, allom, sugar, and aromatics, from his dominions into England; and tampered with the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Ormond to excite domestic disturbances: but they rejected his proposals, and discovered his designs to their sovereign, who granted letters of marque against the subjects of Philip, until such a number of prizes were taken, that she found it necessary to recall the commissioners, rather than involve herself in a war for which she was not provided.

§ L. At this period, a storm was brewed against Cecil, by the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Northampton, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke. They resented his great influence in the council; and, on the supposition that his design was to interrupt the advantageous commerce with the Low-Countries, and engage the nation in an expensive war with a powerful enemy, they resolved to call him to account for his evil administration, and the falsehoods by which they affirmed he had misled her majesty. They were even joined by the earl of Leicester, who complained to the queen of Cecil's management; but he met with a very cold reception from Elizabeth, who espoused the cause of Cecil, because he had always flattered her private animosity against the queen of Scotland. The earl of Murray, in his return to Scotland, had sent Sir Robert Melvil to Mary, with protestations of the most dutiful regard, and a proposal of marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk, which could not but be agreeable to queen Elizabeth, as well as to her own subjects, and be attended with her immediate restoration. To this message he received a favourable answer from his mistress, who confided in his sincerity, which had been vouched by Norfolk; and she not only sent orders to Chateleraud, Argyle, and Huntley, to dismiss the forces they had raised against the regent; but also furnished lord Herries with instructions to accommodate matters with him in a private treaty. Elizabeth, with whom Murray corresponded, had begun a treaty for the release and restoration of Mary, with monsieur de Fernelon and the bishop of Ross, who acted as the ambassador of the captive princess. This prelate presented articles to the council, which were deemed not unreasonable, though some few alterations were made. To these Mary took no exceptions; but she desired time to procure the approbation of the French king, without which her friends in Scotland would not agree to the treaty.

treaty. In this interval, her English partisans, at the head of whom were the earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, sent Mr. Candish to Mary, with a letter recommending Norfolk to her as an husband, and assuring her of their attachment and assistance touching her succession to the crown of England. When she accepted of their recommendation in good part, they secured the approbation of the earls of Derby, Suffex, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland: the duke of Norfolk prosecuted his suit with Mary by letters, messages, and tokens; the French ambassador obtained the consent of his master, of the duke and dutchess, and cardinal of Lorraine; and Mary signed the contract, which was deposited in the hands of monsieur de Fenelon.

Lesley's Negotiat. ex Anderson.

§ LI. Mean while the public treaty between Elizabeth and the Scottish queen was interrupted by the mutual jealousy and distrust of the parties. Mary suspected Elizabeth of a design to secure the person of her son, together with some of the fortresses in Scotland. Her couriers had been intercepted, and her letters seized upon the English border, while those of her adversaries passed to and fro unmolested. On the other hand, the queen of England dreaded Mary's intriguing with the kings of France and Spain, in consequence of the league of Bayonne, formed for the destruction of the protestant religion. She apprehended a double invasion from France and Flanders; and pretended to have received intimation that Mary had ceded her pretensions to the crown of England, in favour of the duke of Anjou, whom she proposed to marry. The Scottish queen not only denied this cession and purposed alliance, but even procured a declaration from the French king, the queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, and the cardinal of Lorraine, importing that no such cession had ever been made or intended. Then the French ambassador Fenelon, and the bishop of Ross, insisting upon the performance of Elizabeth's promise to release and restore queen Mary, she delayed giving her final answer, until she should have considered this declaration; and afterwards craved longer respite, until she could hear from the earl of Murray. She accordingly received letters from that nobleman, intimating that the estates of Scotland would not consent to their queen's restoration upon any terms whatsoever; and making her acquainted with the progress of the projected match between Mary and the duke of Norfolk.

§ LII. Elizabeth was equally chagrined and perplexed at this intelligence. She wished that Mary was removed from her dominions, where she acquired new interest every day; and she could not bear the thoughts of releasing that detested rival, who might join her enemies and endanger her royalty. Leicester, who attended the queen in her progress, pretended to be taken ill at Titchfield; and, when the queen visited him in his apartment, he, in consequence of the measures he had taken with his confederates, disclosed to her the whole design of the marriage. On all other emergencies, she could dissemble her sentiments; but, when Mary was the subject of the discourse, she could not command her temper. Even in presence of foreign ambassadors, her passion sometimes vented itself in very indecent terms. On this occasion she stormed with extraordinary violence. Arundel and Pembroke had retired from court; but Norfolk was loaded with reproach, for presuming to treat of such an alliance without her knowledge, and ordered to desist from the pursuit, on pain

pain of her highest displeasure. He retired abruptly from the court at Southampton to London, where, being apprised of the queen's menaces, he repaired to his house of Kenninghall in Norfolk. He was so much beloved in that country, that he could have assembled a considerable army in his own defence: but he piqued himself upon his loyalty, and quietly accompanied a lieutenant of the band of pensioners, who was sent to bring him up to London. He was confined at Burnham near Windsor, where he underwent divers examinations touching the marriage: his coffers were searched, his papers seized, and then the queen committed him prisoner to the Tower of London. Leicester, after an examination, obtained his pardon. Pembroke, Arundel, and Lumley, were confined to their houses; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and Robert Ridolphi a Florentine merchant, were imprisoned; the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland made their submission to the earl of Suffex, lieutenant of the northern Marches. All these noblemen, as well as the bishop of Ross, agreed in declaring that the marriage had been proposed by the earl of Murray; and that neither the queen of Scots nor they would have concluded the match without the knowledge and consent of Elizabeth.

Lesley.
Melvil.
Fenelon.

§ LIII. The queen did not think proper to declare all she knew relating to this confederacy: but hearing that a design was formed for the escape of Mary from Winkfield, she issued orders for removing that princess to Tutbury, where she was close confined, under the joint charge of the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon; notwithstanding the remonstrance of the bishop of Ross, who represented the injustice of putting the person of his mistress in the hands of the earl of Huntingdon, he, as a pretender to the succession, having an interest in her death. The scheme for her escape was projected by Leonard Dacres, uncle to the lord Dacres of Gilleland, who undertook to conduct her safely into Scotland. But, when she communicated this design to the duke of Norfolk, he opposed it with all his influence, fearing that should she escape by means of the papists, they would dissuade her from marrying him who was a protestant, and promote a match between her and Don John of Austria, which had been proposed by Philip king of Spain. This plot miscarrying, Mary solicited the assistance of the duke of Alva towards her deliverance; and that nobleman promised to supply her with a body of forces, and a sum of money, to support any insurrection that should be raised in her favour. But this expedient was declined by her English friends, who declared, that whatever inclination they had to release her from captivity, and settle her succession to the crown, they would never assist the Spaniards in making a conquest of their country. Nevertheless, the duke of Alva assembled a body of forces, to be transported to England, in case of any disturbance. La Mothe, governor of Dunkirk, was sent to sound the English harbours, in the disguise of a sailor; and the marquis of Cetona was dispatched to London, in the character of a public minister, on pretence of demanding the money which Elizabeth had intercepted, and compromising the differences between the two nations; though his real errand was to watch the progress of the expected rebellion, and take the command of the Spanish forces on their arrival from the Netherlands.

Lesley's Negotiations.

§ LIV. The malecontents of the north were certainly ripe for revolt. The earl of Northumberland, a bigotted Roman catholic, had been exasperated by the queen's seizing a copper mine which was found on his estate. He and

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Westmoreland had been concerned in the scheme of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots; and though they had excused themselves in such a manner as to satisfy the earl of Suffex, they were still suspected by Elizabeth, who had received some dark hints of an intended rebellion. She sent an herald to summon the two earls to appear at court, on pain of being deemed rebels: but, before they received this citation, the earl of Northumberland was beset in his house by some gentlemen of the country, who resolved to signalize their loyalty on this occasion. He found means, however, to make his escape to Brancepath, the seat of the earl of Westmoreland, where the Roman catholics flocked to them in great numbers, and pressed them to take arms in their own defence. Thus stimulated, they published a proclamation, declaring their design was to re-establish the catholic religion: but this was soon followed by another manifesto, in which they pretended their motive for taking arms was to settle the succession of the crown, and prevent the destruction of the antient nobility. They dispatched an officer to Brussels, to implore the assistance of the duke of Alva; but they had engaged in the rebellion so precipitately, that he had not provided vessels for transporting his troops, and he listened to their solicitations with great coldness and indifference. In the mean time, the insurgents entering Durham, caused the Bible and book of Common Prayer to be torn in public, a crucifix to be erected in the cathedral, and mass to be solemnly celebrated. They proposed to seize York and Newcastle; but were prevented by the vigilance of the earl of Suffex. Their numbers daily increasing, they detached five hundred horse to release the queen of Scots; but, before their arrival, she was removed to Coventry. Then they reduced Bernard-castle, and fortified Hartlepool. Their army now amounting to eighteen thousand men, they made excursions to the gates of York, in which the earl of Suffex, the lord Hunsdon, and the marshal of Berwick, were shut up with five thousand men, who could not pretend to keep the field against such numbers: but, as they were destitute of money, they neither could prosecute their scheme of marching to London, nor keep their forces together. A considerable desertion ensued among their troops; notwithstanding which, they made a shift to maintain their ground, until Suffex was reinforced with a strong body of forces, raised by Sir George Bowes in the palatinate of Durham; and the earl of Warwick, with the lord admiral Clinton, approached at the head of another army, levied in the midland counties. Then the rebels being intimidated, retired to Hexham, and from thence to Naworth in Cumberland, where they dispersed. The two chiefs, with the principal gentlemen, and five hundred horse, took refuge in Scotland, where Northumberland was apprehended by the regent, and sent prisoner to the castle of Lochleven; but the earl of Westmoreland escaped to Flanders.

§ LV. The insurrection being thus suppressed, Elizabeth affected to laugh at it as a ridiculous enterprize, while the earl of Suffex, and Sir George Bowes, caused a great number of the insurgents to be tried by martial law, and hanged in different places. Leonard Dacres had raised three thousand men, on pretence of assisting the government; but he privately encouraged the rebels with a promise of joining them, after he should have cut off the lord Scroop, warden of the western Marches, and the bishop of Carlisle. Finding himself, however, unequal to this enterprize, he surprized the castles of Greystoke, Naworth, and

Strype.
Camden.
Fenelon.

and other houses belonging to the Dacres family, as his right of inheritance, tho' they were in effect the property of his two nieces, contracted to the sons of the duke of Norfolk their father-in-law. As he had now pulled off the masque, and appeared a declared rebel, the lord Hunsdon marched against him with the garrison-troops of Berwick; and Leonard meeting him at the little river Gelt, was defeated after a very obstinate engagement. He retired to the nearest part of Scotland, from whence he was conveyed to Holland, and ended his days miserably at Louvain.

§ LVI. In the course of the war that still raged between the French ministry and the Huguenots, the prince of Condé was slain in the battle of Jarnac; and the admiral receiving a reinforcement of Germans under count Mansfeldt, engaged the king's troops at Montcontour, where he was defeated. Then he demanded succours of Elizabeth, who lent him some money, on the jewels of the queen of Navarre, and permitted a company of English gentlemen to serve as volunteers in his army: but, notwithstanding all his efforts, the king made himself master of St. Jean d'Angely; with the conquest of which the campaign ended. In the Low-Countries, the duke of Alva established the inquisition, and seized, in behalf of the king, all the privileges of the towns, universities, and provinces. He laid grievous impositions on the people: those who presumed to complain were severely chastised: in a word, the provinces were treated as a conquered country, and the subjects driven to despair.

§ LVII. Queen Elizabeth had engaged in a treaty with the regent of Scotland, obliging herself to deliver Mary into his hands, on condition of his surrendering some of the Scottish fortresses, and the person of the young prince, to the queen of England: but the execution of this treaty was prevented by the northern insurrection. Murray having seized the person of Northumberland, sent Sir Nicholas Elphinston to London, to propose that queen Mary should be exchanged for this nobleman, and some Scottish hostages as a security for Murray's adhering to the interest of England, in case of a war between France and Elizabeth. This scheme being vigorously opposed by the bishop of Ross, Murray accused him of having maintained intelligence with the rebels; and he was committed prisoner to London-house, where he remained four months in custody of the bishop. The proposal of Murray was debated in council, and all the members being enemies to the Scottish queen, it was favourably received; but the effect of their deliberation was prevented by the death of the regent, who, in passing through Linlithgow, was shot by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had been forfeited after the battle of Langside. The estate of his wife, who was an heiress, Murray gave away to one of his favourites; and the officers who took possession acted with such inhumanity as deprived the unhappy woman of her senses. The husband was so exasperated against the regent, on account of this melancholy event, that he vowed revenge, posted himself at a window before which he knew Murray would pass, shot him in the belly, took horse, and escaped into France. Elizabeth was transported to an excess of grief, when she received the tidings of Murray's death. She shut herself up in her chamber, weeping and lamenting that she had lost the most serviceable friend she had in the world.

§ LVIII. Montluet ambassador-extraordinary from France, sent over to press the conclusion of the treaty for the restoration of the Scottish queen, having

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having an audience at this juncture, the queen complained of Mary's practices with the earl of Northumberland; said she was not obliged to give an account of her actions to any person upon earth; that the queen of Scots should be tenderly treated; and with respect to her being set at liberty, she (Elizabeth) would signify her resolution to the French king by her own ambassador. Immediately after Murray's death, Thomas Carr of Fernherst, and Walter Scot of Buccleugh, staunch adherents to Mary, assembled a number of borderers, and joining the English rebels, laid waste the frontiers with fire and sword. Elizabeth, who would let slip no opportunity of maintaining the civil war in Scotland, dispatched Thomas Randolph with complaints of this outrage to the assembled states of Scotland, and with intimation that if they could not suppress those disturbers of the peace, on account of the disorders of their kingdom, she would send forces to chastise the offenders. In the mean time, she ordered the earl of Suffex to raise an army, and invade Scotland, on pretence of punishing Carr and Scot, though her real design was to foment the troubles of Scotland. The laird of Grange, who commanded in the castle of Edinburgh, had set at liberty the duke of Chateleraud, lord Herries, and others of the queen's party, who had been confined by Murray in that fortress; and the chiefs of the two factions engaged in a negotiation, on pretence of re-establishing the peace of the kingdom; though nothing was farther from their thoughts than a coalition for the good of their country. Mary's partisans expected assistance from the king of France, and the duke of Alva; and the other party, headed by Morton, depended upon the protection of Elizabeth. When Huntley and Argyle heard of her preparations, they endeavoured to divert her from her purpose, by demanding a truce, which she refused.

§ LIX. In the month of April, the earl of Suffex, with the lord Hunsdon, and Drury, marshal of Berwick, entered Scotland at the head of an army, ravaged the lands of Fernherst and Buccleugh, burned above three hundred houses, and fifty castles; and garrisoned Home and Fastcastle, belonging to lord Home, who had hitherto observed a kind of neutrality. The estates of Scotland assembling in the beginning of May, deputed Robert Pitcairn to conciliate the favour of Elizabeth, and assure her they were disposed to elect such a regent as should be agreeable to her inclination. This assembly, however, was composed of Mary's enemies. Those who adhered to that unfortunate princess, convened in the west, and attacked the castle of Glasgow, that it might not serve as a retreat or fortress to the earl of Lennox, who was expected from England, where he had for some time resided. The place was vigorously defended by the friends of that earl, until Suffex sent Drury to its relief. The besiegers retiring at his approach, he joined a party of the Scots who were averse to Mary, ravaged the lands of the Hamiltons, and took the castle of that name, plundering and burning the adjacent country. During these transactions, Pitcairn returned with Elizabeth's answer to the estates, proposing a conference for an accommodation between the two parties; in which case, she offered herself as mediatrix; and she desired they would postpone the election of regent, until they should see the success of that expedient: but, as the nation could not be governed without a chief, they chose the earl of Lennox lieutenant or interrex; and he was afterwards confirmed regent, with the approbation of Elizabeth, who knew he would not venture to act contrary to her

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her inclination, while his wife remained as an hostage in England. The duke of Alva, by order of Philip, sent a supply of arms and ammunition to the duke of Chateleraud, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, who acted as Mary's lieutenants in Scotland; so that they were enabled to take the field, and Huntley fortified the castle of Brechin, which, however, was soon reduced by the regent. They at this juncture dispatched lord Seaton, as their queen's ambassador, to the duke of Alva, whom they solicited for further assistance in troops and money; and he amused them with fair promises, while a truce was concluded in Scotland, at the desire of Elizabeth.

§ LX. The bishop of Ross having recovered his liberty, still laboured for the release of his sovereign; and the French and Spanish monarchs ordered their ambassadors to join him in his remonstrances to the court of England. Elizabeth's hatred to the queen of Scots was now become habitual; she imputed all the dangers and disquiets she had undergone since her accession to the throne, to the ill offices of Mary and her adherents; and she was in particular irritated by the conduct of pope Pius V. who, without any previous admonition or citation, issued a private bull against her and her heretical adherents, excommunicating herself, absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and denouncing an anathema against all who should yield her obedience. This bull was fixed on the gate of the bishop's palace in London, by one Felton, who being detected and apprehended, gloried in the fact, and was hanged for his officiousness. The same punishment was inflicted upon John Throgmorton, and two other persons, who formed a scheme to set the duke of Norfolk at liberty, by assembling forces at Hurleston fair. That nobleman, owning he had been guilty of indiscretion, and giving bond and security that he would proceed no farther in the marriage between him and Mary, without his queen's consent, was released from the Tower, and permitted to reside in his own house, under the eye of Sir Humphrey Nevil. About the same time Thomas and Edward Stanley, sons to the earl of Derby, together with Thomas Gerard, Rollston, Hall, and other natives of Derbyshire, contrived a scheme for delivering the queen of Scots; but this being discovered by Rollston's son, who was one of the band of pensioners, the conspirators were imprisoned before they could execute their resolution.

§ LXI. Notwithstanding these provocations, Elizabeth consented to the renewal of the treaty for the Scottish queen's release and restoration: but the true motive of this condescension was her apprehension from France, where a peace was likely to ensue between the king and the Huguenots. In that case, she knew Charles would be more at liberty to take effectual measures for the assistance of the captive queen: she knew he was well disposed towards that princess; and, in order to amuse him, she consented to a renewal of the negotiation, though she was determined against setting Mary at liberty. She affected great good humour and affection for her kinswoman, favoured the bishop of Ross with a most gracious reception, and sent by him certain proposals to his mistress, who forthwith dispatched the lord Livingston to communicate them to her friends in Scotland. That nobleman, after having been detained twenty days at Alnwick by the earl of Suffex, who had returned from his Scottish expedition, at length found the queen's lieutenants, with some other noblemen of her party, at Strathtay in Athol, where they considered the articles, and

and appointed deputies to assist at the treaty in London. Mean while Elizabeth pretending to have received intimation that a body of troops was ready to embark in France for Scotland, she ordered admiral Clinton to put to sea with a squadron of ships of war, and the earl of Suffex to re-enter Scotland, where he ravaged Annandale with fire and sword, until the queen's lieutenants, Chateleraud, Huntley, and Argyle, obliged themselves by bond to abstain from all acts of hostility against the English: then he returned to England, and was appointed one of the queen's privy council. Fenelon assuring Elizabeth that the report of the French armament was entirely without foundation, she revoked her order to the admiral, received with uncommon civility M. de Joigny, whom the French king had sent over to press the conclusion of the treaty, and declared her resolution to restore her dear cousin. Nevertheless, when she heard the peace between Charles and the Huguenots was concluded, and that some of the articles were kept secret, she sent Sir Francis Walsingham to the French court, on pretence of assuring the king of her good will towards Mary; but he had instructions to learn the tenour of those private articles; and, if possible, to discover the real intention of Charles with regard to the queen of Scotland. At the same time she sent Sir Henry Cobham to Brussels, with compliments to Anne of Austria, daughter to the emperor, who arrived in the Low Countries in her way to Spain, as a wife to Philip; and Howard, with a squadron of ships, escorted this princess through the English channel. Cobham proceeded to the court of the emperor, to make him acquainted with the affairs of Scotland, the differences between England and the Low-Countries, to obtain his protection for the English merchants settled at Hamburgh, and endeavour to renew the negotiation for a match between Elizabeth and his brother Charles; though she certainly had no intention to conclude such an alliance.

Camden.

Fenelon.

Id.

C H A P. VII.

§ I. Proposals offered to the queen of Scotland. § II. Elizabeth presents her with a ring in token of friendship. § III. The negotiation proves ineffectual. § IV. Proposal of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou. § V. Statutes enacted in parliament against the papists. § VI. The earl of Lennox slain in Scotland, and the earl of Mar elected regent of that kingdom. § VII. Conspiracy of Ridolphi. § VIII. The duke of Norfolk is committed to the Tower, and his confession published. IX. The bishop of Ross is harshly treated. § X. The duke of Norfolk is tried and condemned. The Spanish ambassador commanded to quit the kingdom. § XI. Elizabeth concludes a treaty with Charles of France at Blois. § XII. The protestants massacred in Paris, and other parts of France. § XIII. The earl of Morton chosen regent of Scotland. § XIV. The duke of Norfolk is beheaded. § XV. Rancour of the English parliament against Mary queen of Scots. § XVI. Progress of the prince of Orange in the Low Countries. § XVII. Accommodation between Elizabeth and Philip of Spain. § XVIII. The duke of Anjou is elected king of Poland. The duke of Alençon succeeds his brother as the lover of queen Elizabeth. § XIX. Morton besieges the castle of Edinburgh, and puts the laird of Grange to death. § XX. The duke of Anjou succeeds to the throne of France, by the name of Henry III. § XXI. Skirmish on the border, between the English and Scottish wardens of the Marches. § XXII. Affairs of the Low Countries. § XXIII. Martin Forbisher sails in quest of a north-west passage to the East Indies. § XXIV. The king of France subscribes the league against the Huguenots. § XXV. Matthias, brother to the emperor, is chosen governor of the Netherlands, by the revolting provinces of that country. § XXVI. Black assize at Oxford. § XXVII. Dissension among the confederates of the Low Countries. Don John of Austria dying, is succeeded in the government by the prince of Parma. Elizabeth receives a splendid embassy from France, touching her marriage with the king's brother, now duke of Anjou. § XXVIII. Morton is obliged to resign the regency of Scotland. § XXIX. James claims the succession of his grandfather the earl of Lennox, with regard to his English estate. § XXX. The marriage between the queen and the duke of Anjou seemingly in great forwardness. § XXXI. Esme Stuart lord D'Aubigny arrives in Scotland, and becomes chief favourite of James. § XXXII. Establishment of the Turkey company. Death of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and of Sir Thomas Gresham. § XXXIII. The prince of Orange effects the union of Utrecht. § XXXIV. Rebellion in Ireland by James Fitzmorris. § XXXV. Practices of the Jesuits against Elizabeth. § XXXVI. Francis Drake arrives from his voyage round the globe. § XXXVII. The earl of Morton is condemned, and beheaded in Scotland. § XXXVIII. Articles of the marriage-contract between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou. § XXXIX. The queen sends Walsingham to France, in order to protract the conclusion of this affair. § XL. The duke of Anjou arrives in England, and is caressed by Elizabeth, who nevertheless breaks off the match in a very abrupt manner. § LI. Stubbs is severely punished, for writing a satire against the marriage. § XLII. The duke returns to the Netherlands.

lands, and disconcerts the affairs of the confederates. § XLIII. The duke of Lennox is obliged to quit Scotland. § XLIV. Melancholy situation of Mary queen of Scots. § XLV. Conditions offered by Elizabeth to that princess. § XLVI. The earl of Arran regains his interest at the Scottish court. § XLVII. Elizabeth sends thither her secretary Walsingham. § XLVIII. Mediates a peace between the emperor of Russia and the king of Sweden. § XLIX. John Somerville is executed for a design against the queen's life. State of France and the Low Countries. § L. The earl of Gowry beheaded in Scotland. Elizabeth sends Davison as ambassador to James. § LI. Francis Throgmorton is arrested for corresponding with queen Mary. § LII. He is condemned and executed. The Spanish ambassador obliged to quit the kingdom. § LIII. Creighton's conspiracy detected. § LIV. General association for the defence of Elizabeth. Hardships inflicted on Mary. § LV. State of the Low Countries, and of France. § LVI. Parry is executed for a design to assassinate the queen. § LVII. Severe statutes enacted against Mary queen of Scots, and the Roman catholics of England. § LVIII. The house of commons tenacious of their privileges. § LIX. The earl of Arundel committed to the Tower. The earl of Northumberland makes away with himself. § LX. Elizabeth sends Wotton into Scotland. § LXI. Sir Francis Russel is slain upon the border. § LXII. Wotton attempts to carry off the king of Scotland. § LXIII. Elizabeth engages in a treaty with the estates of the Netherlands. Sends Drake to the West Indies. § LXIV. The prince of Condé arrives in England. § LXV. Treaty offensive and defensive with Scotland.

§ I. **T**HE ambassadors of Mary, France, and Spain, continuing still to importune her on the score of the treaty, she appointed Cecil, and Sir Walter Mildmay chancellor of the exchequer, her commissioners to treat with the queen of Scots; and they accordingly set out for Chattefworth, where that princess was confined. Walsingham returning from France immediately after their departure, assured her that the French king was warmly attached to the interest of Mary; and he extolled the capacity of Charles in such a manner, that Elizabeth being afraid of embroiling herself with such an antagonist, dispatched an express to Cecil, with orders to proceed in earnest on the treaty. The minister thus instructed, offered the following propositions for effecting a lasting peace between the two kingdoms: That the treaty of Edinburgh should be ratified: That Mary should renounce her claim to the crown of England, during the life of queen Elizabeth, and her heirs lawfully begotten: That she should not enter into any confederacy against England; nor permit foreign forces to land in Scotland; nor maintain correspondence with the English or Irish, but with the knowledge of Elizabeth: That she should deliver up the English fugitives who had taken refuge in Scotland, and repair the damage done to the English frontier: That she should punish the murderers of her husband and the earl of Murray, and send her son to be educated in England: That she should not marry an Englishman, without the consent of Elizabeth, nor any other person, except such as should be approved by the estates of Scotland: That her subjects should not cross the sea into Ireland, without permission from the queen of England: That this treaty should be signed by Mary and her delegates: That, for the ratification of the articles, six hostages, to be named by Elizabeth, should

should be sent into England: That Mary, by engaging in any attempt against the queen of England, should forfeit all title to the succession of the crown: That Hume castle and Fast castle should remain three years in possession of the English, and some other fort in Galloway or Cantyre be delivered up to Elizabeth, for preventing the Scots from infesting Ireland: and, lastly, that the estates of Scotland should ratify these articles by act of parliament. Queen Mary referred Cecil and Mildmay for an answer to the bishop of Ross, her ambassador, the bishop of Galloway, who was uncle to the earl of Huntley, and William lord Levingston, delegates from her lieutenants in Scotland. These agreed to some of the articles, but refused to renounce the antient league with France, because the queen would lose her dowry, and the Scottish nation forfeit the valuable privileges they enjoyed in that kingdom. They promised that no foreign troops should be admitted into Scotland, except in case of a rebellion, which could not be suppressed by the domestic forces of the nation. That the queen of Scots should not maintain any correspondence with the subjects of England to the prejudice of Elizabeth, provided this last would enter into the same engagement with respect to the subjects of Mary. They said they could not deliver the prince to Elizabeth, because they were not masters of his person. That the demand with respect to their queen's marriage was altogether unreasonable, considering she was an independent princess. That the Scots should not molest Ireland, provided the Irish were prohibited from making descents on Scotland. That any hostages required should be given, except the duke of Chateleraud, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Athol. That Mary should forfeit her title to the crown of England, according to the proposal on that subject, provided queen Elizabeth should be restrained by the same penalty from attempting ought to the prejudice of the Scottish queen: but they absolutely insisted on Elizabeth's restoring Hume castle and Fast castle to the proprietor, and refused to deliver any fortress either in Galloway or Cantyre into the hands of a foreigner. After these articles had been debated twenty days successively, the English commissioners returned, and made such a report to Elizabeth, that she declared herself perfectly well satisfied with the answers of the Scottish queen; and said she did not doubt that the only difference remaining would be removed at the arrival of the commissioners from the regent of Scotland, without whose consent the young prince could not be conveyed to England.

Camden.

Lesley.

§ II. In the mean time the proposals and answers were by Mary communicated to the kings of France and Spain, with intimation, that she should be obliged to submit to the conditions, unless they would send immediate succour to her friends in Scotland. But all she reaped from this remonstrance was their intercession with Elizabeth, whom they pressed by letters and embassies to hasten the conclusion of the treaty. Charles of France had never heartily engaged in the interests of Mary, and at present his whole attention was employed in lulling the Huguenots into a false security by an insidious peace. And the duke of Alva saw himself on the brink of a severe war, maintained by the prince of Orange, who had raised an army in Germany to join the malecontents of the Netherlands. Mary queen of Scots being seized with a dangerous distemper, Elizabeth sent two eminent physicians to attend her; and, upon her recovery, presented her with a ring, as a token of her friendship renewed; but, in fact, she had no intention

Lesley.

to relieve that unfortunate princess. The commissioners appointed by Lennox and his faction arriving in London, refused to give up the prince on any conditions; and desired the treaty might be laid aside. Elizabeth was not only resolved against releasing her rival, but also averse to the son's being educated in England, where his presence might strengthen his mother's interest; and Lennox and his confederates now acted by her particular direction.

§ III. When the Scottish commissioners arrived, with Morton at their head, An. Ch. 1571. the conferences were opened in presence of the lord keeper, the lord chamberlain, the lord admiral Clinton, the earls of Leicester and Suffex, Cecil, lately created lord Burleigh, sir James Crofts, Knolles, Mildmay, and Sir Thomas Smith, now appointed secretary of state in the room of Cecil. These in the name of their sovereign demanded that the duke of Chateleraud, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, the lords Hume and Herries, should be detained three years as hostages in England, and the castles of Dumbarton and Hume be delivered for the like cause, to be kept as a security for the performance of articles. The bishop of Ross and his colleagues rejected these demands, alledging, that a compliance with them would rob their mistress of her best friends and places of security. The lord keeper told them, in a contemptuous manner, that their whole kingdom, though delivered up, would not be a sufficient security; and declared, that if his advice might be followed, the queen should not release Mary on any condition whatsoever. The bishop observed, that if queen Elizabeth was of the same opinion, it would be needless to proceed in the treaty, and desired to know her resolution in that particular. The English deputies promised to consult her majesty on the subject; and in the mean time, having conferred with Morton and his associates, declared at their next meeting, that the commissioners from Lennox refused to treat about the delivery of the prince, or the restoration of his mother, alledging that their commission did not extend so far; but that Morton would return to Scotland, in order to procure full powers from the parliament of that kingdom. The bishop of Ross could not help recapitulating the particulars of Elizabeth's evasive conduct and insincerity, since the beginning of this dispute; and then declared he and his followers had no power to agree to any further delay. The English commissioners insisted upon having the concurrence of the whole Scottish nation for her security. The conferences were broke up: the bishop of Ross was ordered to withdraw from London; but his mistress commanded him to remain in that city, as her ambassador and agent. Camden. Lesley.

§ IV. After the miscarriage of this negotiation, Catherine de Medicis, queen mother of France, proposed a match between her second son Henry, duke of Anjou, and queen Elizabeth, who expressed no aversion to the alliance. She agreed to bestow upon him a matrimonial crown, with a share in the administration of public affairs; but she would not consent to his hearing mass even in private; and this difference was the pretext for breaking off the treaty; but indeed there was no sincerity on either side. The queen mother of France wanted to divert Elizabeth from a rumoured match between her and the king of Navarre, and to create a false confidence in the chiefs of the Huguenots, whom she had devoted to destruction; while, on the other hand, Elizabeth's aim was to amuse the king of France with a negotiation, which would prevent him from sending succours to Mary's friends in Scotland. After this treaty Fencelon. was

was laid aside, Francis duke of Alençon, younger brother to Henry of Anjou, was proposed as a husband to the queen of England; but the same difficulties about religion recurred. Elizabeth objected to his youth; and declared she would not engage in any contract of marriage, before she should have seen the person proposed for her husband. The plague, which had raged two years in London, being now abated, the queen made a public entry into that capital; and visiting the structure which Sir Thomas Gresham had raised for the convenience of merchants, it was denominated the Royal Exchange, by found of trumpet.

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§ V. In the beginning of February*, the lord Buckhurst was sent to congratulate Charles IX. of France, on his marriage with Elizabeth of Austria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian; and a new parliament was summoned to meet on the second day of April. The first law enacted was levelled at those who should attempt any thing against the queen, or question her right to the crown, or call her heretic, schismatic, infidel, or usurper, either by word or writing, or maintain during her life, that any person was or ought to be her successor, except the natural issue of her body. Another law denounced the pains of high treason against those who should obtain, publish, or execute, any papal bull or writing, or reconcile any person to the church of Rome; it likewise decreed the penalties of a premunire against the aiders and abettors of such offenders, and those who should introduce into the kingdom, or receive agnus dei, crosses, pictures, beads, or any thing hallowed by the bishop of Rome; and all those who should conceal such bulls and offenders were pronounced guilty of misprision of treason. By a third statute, all natives and denizens of the realm departing the kingdom, and not returning within six months of the proclamation, were subjected to forfeiture of personal or real estate, to be restored however on their submission; and it annulled all fraudulent deeds and conveyances, executed in order to prevent the queen's enjoying the benefit of their confiscation. The attainders of the earl of Westmoreland and fifty-seven other persons, concerned in the northern rebellion, were confirmed, and the forfeited estates vested in the queen, to reimburse her for the expence of quelling that insurrection. Some other acts were passed, to prevent the fraudulent deeds of ecclesiastics, defrauding their successors of remedy for dilapidations; to regulate the leases of lands belonging to spiritual promotions, as well as the admission of persons presented to benefices. The commons voted a large subsidy, and the convocation followed their example, after having revised the thirty-nine articles, which were subscribed by all the members of both houses.

D'Ewe.

§ VI. Mary, queen of Scotland, having lost all hopes of being delivered from her confinement by fair means, resolved to avail herself of the assistance which the pope and the king of Spain had offered during the treaty. The lords of her party in Scotland had lost the fortress of Dumbarton, which was surprised by Lennox; and John archbishop of St. Andrew's, brother to the

* On the seventeenth day of February, at six o'clock in the evening, Marcleys-hill, in the neighbourhood of Hereford, was moved from the place where it stood, and continued in motion from Saturday till Monday, when it rested. It carried along the trees, hedges, and sheep, that grew and fed upon its surface; overturned Kynaston chapel, which stood in its way, left an opening where it stood, forty feet in depth, and eight ells in length, and formed a large hill twelve fathom high, in the place where it rested. Camden.

duke

duke de Chateleraud, being found in the castle, was shamefully put to death, for having rebelled against the young prince in behalf of his mother. The war being renewed between the two parties, Lennox was worsted in several engagements: the friends of Mary convoked a parliament at Edinburgh, in which the queen's resignation was declared of no force or effect; and all subjects were enjoined to obey the queen as their lawful sovereign. Sir W. Drury, marshal of Berwick, was ordered by Elizabeth to march with a body of forces to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where he found both parties drawn up in order of battle: he interposed his good offices to prevent mischief; and they consented to wheel about and retire from each other, when he should throw up his hat for a signal. Accordingly, the queen's party turned their faces towards Edinburgh; when Morton, perceiving that they marched in a careless and tumultuous manner, fell upon their rear, and pursued them to the gates of the city. This treachery the Scots ascribed to the instigation of Drury. It was denominated Drury's peace, or the black Saturday; and that officer became extremely odious to the Scottish nation. Mary's friends had dispatched one Mr. Chiffolme to solicit succours from the French king, who sent M. Verac with a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, part of which fell into the hands of the regent; but he did not long survive this good fortune. While he held a parliament at Stirling, he was surprised by the earl of Huntly and lord Claud Hamilton, who, at the same time, seized the earls of Morton, Glencairn, Cassils, Eglington, Montross, and Buchan, together with the lords Sempill, Cathcart, and Ochiltree; but the earl of Mar, sallying from the castle, retook all the prisoners alive, except Lennox, who was slain in the tumult; and his death being known, the lords chose their deliverer Mar regent in his place. Crawford.

§ VII. At this period, a new conspiracy was hatched in England, by Robert Ridolphi, a Florentine merchant and banker, who long resided in London, and acted privately as agent for the pope. He had, at the desire of the Scottish queen, conferred with the bishop of Ross about the offers which had been made to her by the pope and the king of Spain; and the substance of this conversation was sent in cyphers to the duke of Norfolk. They were conveyed to him by Bannister and Barker, two of his domestics, in whom he chiefly confided, and decyphered by his secretary Hickford. Ridolphi, being introduced to the duke, pressed him to head an enterprize which he had projected for the release of Mary. This was no other than an insurrection at home, raised by the friends of that princess, and supported by an invasion of Spanish troops from the Low-Countries. The duke of Norfolk, who was a good protestant and a loyal subject, could not relish a scheme patronized by the pope and the catholic interest; but he civilly told Ridolphi, that he would do every thing in his power for the relief of the Scottish queen; and that his project was feasible. He absolutely refused to sign letters of credence, which Ridolphi had prepared, to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva. He would not even confer with the noblemen whom the Italian represented as friends to the undertaking; and he ordered Hickford to burn the papers which he had received; though, in this particular, the secretary did not obey his master's command. Ridolphi repairing to Brussels, imparted the project to the duke of Alva, who promised to recommend it in the strongest manner to his master the king of Spain. Then the Italian explained the result of his conversation

with the duke of Alva, to one Charles Bailiff, in the service of queen Mary, who was at that time in Brussels, and ready to depart for England. This man he likewise intrusted with letters to the queen of Scotland, the duke of Norfolk, the Spanish ambassador, the lord Lumley, and the bishop of Ross. Being searched at Dover, he was committed to the Marshalsea, after all his packets had been seized. When put to the torture, he confessed the whole transaction. The bishop of Ross was immediately examined; and, though he had previously secreted all the letters of any consequence, the council dismissed all his servants but two, and confined him to Ely-house in Holbourn.

§ VIII. While he continued in custody, the French ambassador having occasion to send a supply of money to Verac the agent in Scotland, it was intrusted to the care of one Browne, a domestic to the duke of Norfolk, in order to be forwarded to the frontiers. This man being a spy in the family, delivered the money to the council, declaring he had received it from Hickford; and that it came from the French ambassador. Hickford being committed to the Tower, and asked if he knew of any letters which had passed between the queen of Scots and his master, owned that he had secreted some papers under the mats of the duke's bed, where they were immediately found; and the whole correspondence was discovered. Barker being apprehended and threatened with the rack, confessed all he knew of the transaction between Mary, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Ross, and Ridolphi. The duke himself, supposing all the letters had been burned, according to his directions, denied at first that he maintained any correspondence with the queen of Scotland by letters. Nevertheless, he was sent prisoner to the Tower, together with lord Cobham and his brother, lord Lumley, Sir Thomas Stanley, the earls of Arundel and Southampton, Sir Henry Percy, and many other gentlemen. The queen returning from her summer-progress, ordered the duke to be re-examined. When he heard the confessions of his servants, and knew that the letters were discovered, he expressed great astonishment; desired the council to intercede with the queen in his behalf, and assured them he would explain all his transactions, affirming, that whatever might have been proposed to him, he had never agreed to any scheme which might tend to the prejudice of his sovereign, or disturb the quiet of her kingdom. He owned, that the greatest part of the designs formed for setting the queen of Scots at liberty had been imparted to him, but that he had always declared against their being put in execution: and that he was no stranger to Ridolphi's project, in which he had never engaged. The substance of the duke's confession, together with those of his domestics, was, with many exaggerating annotations, drawn up in a kind of narrative, and delivered in the Star-chamber to the lord mayor and aldermen, who afterwards communicated the contents, in a common-hall, to the citizens. Another tract of the same import was published and dispersed over the nation, in order to diminish the duke's popularity, and pave the way for his destruction.

§ IX. The next step of the council was to extort a confession from Lesley bishop of Ross, who was brought before the council, and told he was a false traitor Scot, to whom no credit should be given. He pleaded his own cause so strenuously, that his examiners were puzzled; and, after having threatened him with the rack, committed him prisoner to a dungeon called the Bloody Tower, where

Fenelon.

Strype.

where he was deprived of light and fresh air, and debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper. From thence he was, in a few days, brought to the house of the governor of the Tower, where Burleigh, and the other counsellors, renewed his examination. They gave him to understand, that the queen looked upon him as the author of all the conspiracies which had been hatched against her government: nevertheless, he should sustain no hurt, if he would freely declare the part which he had acted in those designs. They did not desire him to own any thing which was not already confessed. They assured him his evidence should not be used to the prejudice of any person whatever: whereas, should he refuse to answer, she would, without hesitation, cause him to be executed, as one of her own subjects who had sought the subversion of her estate. The bishop being allowed to peruse the depositions of the other prisoners, and finding all the papers were discovered, confirmed their confessions, except in the article of breaking up the parliament and seizing the queen, which he denied, in opposition to Barker, with whom he was confronted. Elizabeth suspecting that there was something more in reserve, which he had not confessed, he was again examined, and required to tell the names of the noblemen who had treated with him about bringing over foreign troops into England; but he solemnly declared, that no nobleman of England had ever spoke to him of such a design. Camden.

§ X. On the sixteenth day of January, the duke of Norfolk was brought by water from the Tower to Westminster-hall, in order to be tried by his peers; George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury being appointed high steward for the occasion. He was arraigned for having entered into a treasonable correspondence against the queen's dignity and life: for having treated of a marriage with the queen of Scotland, contrary to his solemn engagement: for having supplied the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and other traitors, with money: for having craved auxiliary forces of the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, to set the queen of Scots at liberty, and restore the popish religion in England: and, lastly, for having relieved the lord Herries, and others of the queen's enemies, in Scotland. He was denied the privilege of council; and though no part of the charge which amounted to treason could be proved against him, he was found guilty, to the astonishment of all wise and unprejudiced persons, and the unspeakable regret of the nation in general. About this time the Spanish ambassador was ordered to quit the kingdom, on account of his connexion with Ridolphi, and the part he had acted in other conspiracies. He had exerted all his endeavours to prevent the match between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou. He offered, in the name of Philip, to acquit her of the money she had detained; and to repair the damage sustained by the English merchants in the Spanish territories. He proposed a marriage between the queen and the emperor's son Rodolphus: he attempted to bribe the ladies of the court, and the lords of the council; and all his efforts miscarrying, he charged Cecil as the cause of all the misunderstanding between the courts of London and Madrid. Borgheze, his butler, was accused of having hired Kenelm Barney, and Edmund Mather, to murder the lord Burleigh, and they being convicted of the undertaking, were executed according to law; but Borgheze's life was spared in consideration of his being servant to an ambassador. Camden.

Recueil des
Traités par
Leonard.

Walsingham's
Negotiations.

§ XI. The disgraceful dismissal of the Spanish ambassador was so highly resented by Philip, that he ordered all the English subjects in Spain to be imprisoned, and their effects confiscated, and prohibited all commerce between the two nations. His resentment was very little regarded by Elizabeth, who, in the month of April, concluded a defensive league at Blois, with Charles IX. of France, by which both parties engaged to assist each other against all invasion. They agreed that no innovation should be made in the kingdom of Scotland; but that they would jointly defend it from all foreigners; and it was stipulated, that in case any English ships should be taken or seized in the Low-Countries, or in Spain, the French king should solicit restitution at the court of Madrid; or that intercession failing, make reprisals upon the Spanish and Flemish subjects in his dominions, Elizabeth engaging to act in the same manner in his behalf. The earl of Lincoln, lord admiral, was sent with a magnificent train to Paris, to see this treaty ratified by Charles; and the marshal de Montmorency arriving in England to procure Elizabeth's ratification, was invested with the order of the garter. Immediately after this event, the post of lord treasurer, vacant by the death of the old marquis of Winchester, was conferred upon lord Burleigh; the privy seal was given to lord Effingham; the earl of Sussex was appointed lord chamberlain of the household, and secretary Smith created chancellor of the order of the garter.

§ XII. The satisfaction produced by this alliance was soon interrupted by an event which evinced the French king and his mother two monsters of perfidy and dissimulation. They had invited the admiral de Chatillon, and the count de Rochefocault, the chiefs of the Huguenots, to Paris, on pretence of their assisting at the marriage of the princess Margaret with the king of Navarre, and there they were cruelly butchered on St. Bartholomew-tide, together with about two thousand other persons who professed the reformed religion. The same massacre was perpetrated upon the Huguenots of Rouen, Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Anger, Bourges, Lyon, Tholouse, and other places, where above thirty thousand were sacrificed. This butchery, which was highly approved at Rome, overwhelmed all the protestants in Europe with sorrow and consternation. Elizabeth, in particular, looked upon it as the first overt-act of the league of Bayonne, which was formed for the extinction of the protestant religion. Charles perceiving that the massacre had driven the remaining Huguenots to despair, insomuch that they began to take up arms in several provinces, while the city of Rochelle refused to admit his forces, resolved to cajole Elizabeth, in order to prevent her assisting those malecontents. When her ambassador Walsingham told him, in her name, that no confidence could be reposed in a prince who could be guilty of such an infamous action, he endeavoured to excuse himself, by alledging that the admiral had formed a conspiracy to assassinate him and his whole family; and he protested that he had nothing so much at heart, as to live in friendship with Elizabeth. This princess found it convenient to dissemble in her turn. She received intimation from Walsingham, that there was an intimate union between the kings of France and Spain, notwithstanding the professions of Charles, who pretended to dread the designs of Philip: that the duke of Guise had frequent conferences with the Scots in Paris; and that the queen-mother conferred in private with the bishop

bishop of Glasgow, who resided at the court of France as Mary's ambassador. From this information, Elizabeth and her council concluded, that the friendship of France was not to be depended upon; but that it would be necessary to dissemble, until they should procure farther intelligence touching the designs of the catholic princes. The queen therefore admitted of the excuses made by Charles; assured him of the continuance of her friendship, consented to the renewal of the treaty for a match between her and the duke of Alençon; and the queen of France being delivered of a daughter, stood god-mother to the infant, which was christened by the name of Mary-Elizabeth, in presence of the earl of Worcester, who acted as proxy for the queen of England.

Fenelop.

§ XIII. Notwithstanding this mark of her confidence, she issued orders for fortifying Portsmouth, and other sea-port towns; for exercising the militia, and keeping a strong fleet ready equipped for service; and by popular acts she secured the affection of her subjects. She continued to foment the troubles in Scotland, where she supported the interest of Morton against the friends of Mary, publicly declaring that she would never set that princess at liberty; but would maintain the government of the young prince with all her power. Her agent, Sir W. Drury, and the French minister Du Croc, on pretence of mediating a pacification, found means to keep up a dissension between the two parties. The earl of Mar, and the laird of Grange, governor of Edinburgh-castle, were so sincerely disposed to an accommodation, that Morton, who gaped after forfeitures, and found his account in the troubles of the kingdom, knowing no other method for preventing a reconciliation and coalition, is said to have poisoned the regent at a banquet. Certain it is, the earl of Mar was suddenly taken ill at Morton's house, and dying in a few days, was succeeded by this nobleman in the regency.

Camden.

Melvil.

§ XIV. The parliament meeting in May, the commons addressed her majesty, that the duke of Norfolk might be put to death without further delay, alledging this step was necessary for her own preservation, and the peace of the kingdom. This address furnished her with a pretence for doing that which she had hitherto affected to postpone, from considerations of pity: she granted a warrant for his execution; and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, where he suffered with great fortitude, protesting the innocence of his intention towards the queen, and professing the protestant religion. He was the worthiest and best beloved nobleman of all England. The tears ran down the cheeks of the earl of Shrewsbury when he pronounced his sentence; and the multitude wept bitterly at his death. The queen dreaded his popularity so much, that she did not think herself safe while he existed, conscious as she was of his attachment to the interest and person of Mary. This unfortunate queen was the other great object of her jealousy and apprehension. She had sent the lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir T. Bromley, and Dr. Wilson, to expostulate with her upon her assuming the English arms, upon her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk, the pope, and the rebels of England; and she acquitted herself of every imputation. Mary had been more chearful than ordinary on the eve of the massacre of Paris; a circumstance from which her keepers concluded that she knew of that detestable enterprize before it was executed: they signified their suspicion to the ministry, and she was more closely imprisoned.

§ XV. The

D'Ewe's Journal.

§ XV. The commons of this parliament were chiefly puritans; a sect which had started up since the reformation, pretending to greater purity in doctrine and worship, than they could find in the established church. They were the most rancorous enemies of queen Mary, as a popish princess: they were returned to this parliament on that account, and tutored for the occasion. They resolved to proceed against Mary as a person guilty of high treason; and had actually made some progress in a bill of attainder, when the French ambassador remonstrating against their outrageous presumption, the queen sent a message to the house, thanking them for the care they took of her safety, and approving their method of proceeding, in concurrence with the lords: but, for certain respects, she desired they would postpone that design, and bring in another bill to secure her from the machinations of the Scottish queen, without either impairing or confirming her title to the crown of England. An act was accordingly passed, importing, that whosoever should devise the enlargement or escape of any prisoner committed for treason, or suspicion of treason, against the queen's person, should be held guilty of misprision of treason, even before the said prisoner's indictment. Another statute declared it felony to take, detain, burn, or ruin any of her majesty's ships, fortresses, or harbours.

§ XVI. Elizabeth, at this juncture, had very little to fear, either from her domestic or foreign enemies. All the malecontents of England were intimidated into submission, by the fate of the duke of Norfolk; and the duke of Alva was so embarrassed in the Low-Countries, that he could not spare the least assistance to the friends of Mary queen of Scotland. The cities of the Netherlands, that refused to pay the exorbitant taxes which he imposed, were deprived of their privileges, and garrisoned with Spanish soldiers, who lived at discretion among the inhabitants; so that all the provinces were ripe for revolt. The prince of Orange, who was at the head of the opposition, solicited the assistance of Elizabeth, offering to cede Holland and Zealand to her, if she would join the insurgents in expelling the Spaniards: but she declined engaging in an expensive war; though she granted refuge to the Gueux Marins, a considerable party of noblemen, and others, who had fled from the Low-Countries, and subsisted by exercising piracy on the ships belonging to the subjects of Philip. They sold their prizes in England, and their vessels lay at anchor in the Downs, or some harbour in that neighbourhood, until the duke of Alva agreeing with Elizabeth to expel all the English refugees from Flanders, she ordered the Gueux to quit her ports, and forbade her subjects to furnish them with provisions. In this emergency they united under the count of La Marche, to whom the prince of Orange granted a commission; and sailing for Holland, made themselves masters of the Brille, which afforded them the convenience of a good harbour. The count de Bossu, governor of Holland, attempted to retake it, but miscarried. Flushing and Campvere revolted from the Spaniards; Delft, Rotterdam, and Dort, soon followed their example; and Enckhuysen, with all the towns of North Holland, declared for the prince of Orange, who reduced several towns in Friesland, as well as upon the Meuse; while Mons was surprized by count Lewis of Nassau. The duke of Alva immediately invested the place; and the prince of Orange attempted in vain to raise the siege. Failing in that enterprize, he marched into Holland, and convening an assembly of the states, settled a plan for the establishment of good order.

Grotius.

order. Then he took Haerlem, Alckmaer, Leyden, and Middleburgh; and, in a little time, cleared all Zealand of the Spanish forces.

§ XVII. Philip, in this low ebb of his affairs, solicited an accommodation with Elizabeth, who, with a view to obtain some advantages in trade to her subjects, agreed to adjust the differences subsisting between the two crowns. Commissioners were appointed for settling the accounts of the seizures made on both sides: the balance was paid to the king of Spain, and the commerce between England and his territories renewed, by a treaty concluded at Bristol. The queen took care that the English merchants should be indemnified for the losses they had sustained; she likewise discharged the debts which had been contracted by her father, brother, and sister; and the bonds granted by the city of London, for the payment of those incumbrances, were now delivered up, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants.

An. Ch. 1573.

Fenelon.

§ XVIII. Rochelle, the great bulwark of the protestants, being besieged by the duke of Anjou, and reduced almost to extremity, for want of powder and provisions, large contributions were raised in London, to equip an armament for its relief. When remonstrances were made to the queen on this subject by the French ambassador, she said she did not believe so much money as he mentioned could be found in the city of London; but that it was very natural for the merchants to sell their provisions and commodities where they could find the best market. The count of Montgomery was at the head of this armament, consisting of five and fifty ships, that sailed in April for Rochelle; but finding it impracticable to succour the place, they returned next month to England, in order to raise a greater number of forces. The bishop of London, and the earl of Essex, in the name of the clergy and nobility, demanded her majesty's permission to levy ten thousand men, by private collection, for the support of the inhabitants of Rochelle; but this she refused, as an act contrary to her last treaty with France. M. de Fenelon demanded that Montgomery and his accomplices should be delivered into the hands of his master, that they might be punished for their rebellion: but she told him she would repeat the answer which Henry II. of France made on the like occasion to her sister Mary: She would not be the French king's executioner. The duke of Anjou lost four and twenty thousand men before Rochelle, which was defended with such desperate obstinacy, that he had made but little progress in the siege, when he received the tidings of his being elected king of Poland. This event affording him a salvo for his reputation, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants, in which their allies of Nismes and Montauban were comprehended. Queen Elizabeth took offence at her lover, the duke of Alençon, for acting as volunteer at this siege, against the French protestants; but he excused himself, on account of his honour's being engaged in such a manner, that he could not quit the service without a blemish on his reputation. He prosecuted his suit in a great number of letters: his picture was sent over to England; and the queen granted a safe-conduct, by virtue of which he might safely visit the court of London: another was expedited for the duke of Anjou, who purposed to pass through the British seas to Poland: but no use was made of either. The duke of Anjou repaired to Poland by land; and his brother's intended voyage was prevented.

Id.

§ XIX.

§ XIX. By this time the friends of Mary in Scotland were compelled to submit to Morton the regent. They consisted of two parties, one of which had adhered to her from the beginning, and the other favoured her cause, that the troubles of their country might be the sooner pacified. The first was headed by the duke de Chateleraud and the earl of Huntley. The chiefs of the other were the earl of Home, secretary Lidington, and the laird of Grange, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, in which they resided. Morton employed Sir James Melvil to effect a separate accommodation with these last, and proposed such terms as they would have willingly embraced, provided the rest of the queen's friends might have been comprehended in the treaty. But Morton did not desire to be at peace with the whole party: his view was to enrich himself with forfeitures. He therefore proposed a separate peace or none; and Grange rejected his proposal from motives of honour. Then the regent had recourse to the duke and Huntley, who were not so scrupulous. They accepted of a separate peace; and now he would not indulge Grange and his associates with the terms he had offered before. Sir W. Drury marched from Berwick with a reinforcement, and a train of artillery, to assist him in reducing the castle of Edinburgh, which was very ill provided with ammunition; and the number of the soldiers in garrison did not exceed one hundred and sixty. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the governor, who was a man of great courage, conduct, and experience, made a vigorous defence for three and thirty days, during which the water in the draw-well failed. Then the besieged were fain to let down the soldiers by ropes over the walls, to fetch water from a neighbouring fountain, which being poisoned by the enemy, the garrison that drank of it fell sick and died; so that it was now reduced to fifteen individuals. In this emergency, Grange surrendered to Sir W. Drury, upon an honourable capitulation: but Elizabeth refusing to accept of him and his friends as her prisoners, they were delivered to Morton, who caused the governor, and his brother Sir James Kirkaldy, to be hanged on a gibbet, at the market-cross of Edinburgh: secretary Lidington is said to have died at Leith like an old Roman; and Home, paying ten thousand pounds to Morton, was put in possession of his castles. The regent, not yet satisfied with blood, demanded that Elizabeth would deliver into his hands the bishop of Ross, who had been released from the Tower, at the intercession of the marechal de Montmorency, and committed in custody to the bishop of Winchester. But the French ambassador remonstrating against such an outrage upon good faith, and the law of nations, the queen of England rejected Morton's demand, and allowed the bishop to withdraw himself into the French dominions.

Fenelon.
Crawford.
Lefley.

§ XX. Charles IX. of France being seized with a lingering distemper, the queen-mother suspecting that the duke of Alençon intended to supplant his brother Henry in his absence, in case the king should die, prevailed upon this monarch to confine him, and the king of Navarre, his supposed confident and counsellor. Charles dying in May, his mother assumed the regency by virtue of his will, and governed the kingdom until the king of Poland arrived, and succeeded him on the throne of France, by the appellation of Henry III. This was a fortunate event for Elizabeth, as the new monarch was extremely averse to the family of Guise, and to Mary queen of Scotland as their relation.

Every

An. Ch. 1574.

Every thing seemed to conspire for the quiet of the English queen. The duke of Alva was recalled from Flanders, and succeeded in command by Don Lewis Zuniga de Requesenos, who sent an envoy to assure her of his endeavours to cultivate a good understanding between England and the Low Countries. Scotland was united under her creature the earl of Morton; the friends of Mary in England were effectually quelled; and the nation enjoyed the most profound tranquillity. In the preceding year, Walter Devereux, lately created earl of Essex, had been sent into Ireland with some forces, to suppress Brian Macphelim in Claneboy, who had rebelled, together with Tirlagh Leinigh, supported by the Scottish highlanders. The earl advancing against Macphelim, defeated and took him, with his wife and brother-in-law; but finding himself thwarted by the earl of Leicester, in the plans he had formed for keeping the Irish in awe, he desired leave to return to England. Being ordered to resume the command next year, he made peace with Tirlagh, and drove the Scots out of Claneboy. Then he was required to resign his authority: Sir Henry Sidney was sent over as lord-lieutenant, and received the submission of the Irish chieftains in Ulster and Leinster.

Camden.

§ XXI. Elizabeth no sooner understood that Henry III. of France was returned to Poland, than she sent an ambassador to compliment him upon his accession to the throne, and know his sentiments with regard to the treaty of Troyes; which he readily confirmed, and was elected knight of the garter. Nevertheless, as he renewed hostilities against the Huguenots, she furnished John Casimir, son to the elector palatine, with a sum of money to levy a body of German auxiliaries for the service of the duke of Alençon, who had made his escape from court and joined the malecontents. The queen of England had now accomplished all her aims, but that of having the prince of Scotland in her hands; and the earl of Morton would have willingly gratified her in that particular, had not young James been carefully protected by his governor, Alexander Erskine, in the castle of Stirling, who refused to give up his charge without an order of parliament. Elizabeth sent large sums to Scotland with Sir H. Killebrew, to facilitate this event; but the Scots would not suffer their prince to be carried out of the kingdom. Sir John Carmichael, warden of the Scottish Marches, meeting, at a place called the Redsquair, with Sir John Foster, who acted in the same capacity on the English borders, and was besides governor of Berwick, the Scottish warden delivered up the English fugitives who were in his hands, according to custom and convention; and, when he demanded the Scottish refugees in return, Sir John Foster treated him with intolerable insolence. A skirmish immediately ensued, in which the English were worsted. Sir George Heron and four and twenty persons were slain on the spot: Sir John Foster, Francis Russel, son to the earl of Bedford, Sir Cuthbert Colingwood, James Ogle, Henry Fenwick, and other gentlemen, were carried prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were sumptuously entertained and dismissed by the regent. Nay, at Elizabeth's desire, he sent Carmichael to London to ask her majesty's pardon; but, upon inquiry, she found Foster had been the aggressor, and the Scot was gratified with an honourable reward.

Crawford.

§ XXII. The commerce between the English and Philip's subjects in the Netherlands had been restored, together with the good understanding between that prince and Elizabeth. Zuniga, in consequence of this harmony, desired

leave to hire ships and mariners in England; and demanded that all the Dutch rebels should be expelled from the kingdom. Although she refused to comply with these requests; yet, upon his sending away the earl of Westmoreland, and the English fugitives, from the Low-Countries, and dissolving the seminary at Douay, she banished all the Dutch who carried arms against the king of Spain, and prohibited her subjects from receiving any such persons into any of the ports or harbours of England. The prince of Orange, and the estates of Holland and Zealand, finding themselves unable to support the war much longer against the wealth and power of Philip, sent deputies to implore the assistance of Elizabeth, and offer to her the sovereignty of their country, as the lineal heir of Philippa, wife of Edward III. and daughter of William count of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Frieland. These deputies were kindly received by Elizabeth, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Champagne, whom the governor of the Netherlands sent over to traverse their negotiation; but she was very loth to engage in a war upon their account. The governor of the Low-Countries dying suddenly, the council of state took the government into their own hands, until the arrival of Don John of Austria, who was appointed governor of those provinces. The Walons in garrison at Ziriczee, expelled the Spanish troops, who, to the number of two thousand, plundered the villages of Brabant, and even made themselves masters of Antwerp. The spirit of mutiny spreading among their countrymen, they rendezvoused at Aloft, being now increased to six thousand infantry, and twelve hundred horse; and some German regiments joined them in this rebellion. They plundered Maeftricht and Antwerp, where they massacred seventeen thousand persons, without distinction of age or sex. At length the estates of the Walon provinces called in the prince of Orange to their assistance. They engaged with the states of Holland and Zealand, in a treaty for driving the Spaniards, and other foreign troops, out of the country, and holding a general assembly for regulating the article of religion, and establishing a solid union among all the provinces. Accordingly, the Spaniards were expelled from many towns and castles, when Don John of Austria arriving at Luxembourg, demanded the sole command of their standing forces, and a certain number of hostages for his safety. The estates, alarmed at these marks of distrust, insisted upon having a share in the government. They resolved that no forces should be levied, nor towns garrisoned, without their consent; they demanded that he should take an oath to maintain their antient privileges; and refused to treat with him, until the Spanish, and other foreign troops, should be sent out of the country. In order to support these resolutions, they began to levy forces, and sent an envoy to England, to represent their grievances to queen Elizabeth, who supplied them with a loan of twenty thousand pounds, and promised to advance four times the sum on the credit of the states general. She at the same time dispatched agents to the king of Spain and Don John, pressing the departure of the foreign troops from the Low-Countries; declaring, that should they refuse to comply with this remonstrance, she would assist the natives in expelling them by force.

Grotius.

§ XXIII. She was the more enabled to succour the states at this juncture, as the parliament, which met in February, and the convocation, had granted a considerable subsidy. In return for these succours, the queen renewed the treaty

treaty of commerce with Portugal, by which her subjects were allowed to trade to Madeira and the Azores. The success of the Portuguese had inspired the English with a spirit of adventure by sea; and Martin Forbisher now set sail from Harwich with five ships, on the discovery of a north-west passage to the East Indies; but this enterprize did not succeed. * In the course of this year too, Walter Devereux earl of Essex died in the castle of Dublin, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the direction of the earl of Leicester, who repudiated his own wife, and married the widow of Essex. Several insurrections were raised in Ireland, by the sons of the earl of Clanricard in Connaught, and by Rory Oge in Leinster; but the rebels were reduced by the valour of Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, and Sir W. Drury, now president of Munster.

An.Ch. 1576.

Camden.

§ XXIV. The court of France was not less embarrassed than the new governor of the Low-Countries. The duke of Alençon had levied an army against the king, in favour of the Huguenots; and he was joined by the prince of Condé, with the troops of prince Casimer: in a word, the protestants were supported by the duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, with an army of thirty thousand men. Nevertheless, the queen-mother found means to disunite their councils, and then offered such terms of peace as they did not think proper to refuse. The treaty was confirmed by the parliament of Paris; the duke of Alençon repairing to court, was detached from his party, and assumed the title of the duke of Anjou. The peace was no sooner ratified, than the queen-mother, in conjunction with the pope's legate, the duke of Guise, and Don John of Austria, began to concert measures for exterminating the protestant religion. The zealous catholics all over the kingdom engaged in associations against the enemies of the ancient religion. These were known by the appellation of the holy union, or the league. Of this, the king of Spain assumed the title of protector, and the duke of Guise declared himself the chief. It was promoted by the pope, patronized by the queen-mother; and Henry himself, an indolent and effeminate prince, was hurried into the scheme by the torrent of evil counsel. He was even inflamed with extraordinary zeal upon this occasion. Being jealous of the duke of Guise, he declared himself chief of the league, which he signed with his own hand. All the grandees followed his example, and it was sent through the provinces to be subscribed by all the catholics. The states assembled at Blois sent a deputation, desiring he would not suffer any other worship but that of the old religion; and he assured them it was his intention to abolish all innovation.

Mezerai.

§ XXV. Don John of Austria, whose great aims were to subdue the Low Countries, and become master of Great Britain, by a marriage with the queen of Scotland, was obliged to sign the pacification of Ghent, which Philip

An.Ch. 1577.

* The earl of Leicester, who had, in the course of this last year, received from the queen's bounty above two hundred thousand crowns in the revenues of vacant bishoprics, and other grants, entertained the queen at Kenilworth-castle, for nineteen days successively, with surprising magnificence. One and thirty barons, besides the ladies of the queen's household, were lodged in the castle,

and attended by four hundred servants belonging to Leicester, all in new liveries. His gentlemen who waited at table were cloathed in velvet. Sixteen hogsheads of wine, forty of beer, and ten oxen, were consumed every day, besides a vast quantity of fruit and confections. Their pastime consisted in hunting, rustic revelry, comedies, concerts, and masquerades. Strype.

thought proper to confirm by edict. Then it was resolved, in an assembly of the states convened at Marche en Famine, to publish a perpetual edict for compelling the Spanish troops to quit the country. These troops were accordingly sent into Italy, and all the places remained in the hands of the states. At length Don John pulled off the masque, and surprized the castle of Namur. Then he attempted to gain over the German troops, who waited for their arrears, to deliver the places where they were in garrison; but his success was anticipated by the states, which engaged those troops in their service. Those of Brabant conferred the superintendency of their country with the title of Ruart, upon the prince of Orange; and this step excited the jealousy of the duke de Arschot, and some other Brabantine noblemen, who, in order to diminish the credit of the prince, proposed to the confederate provinces that they should elect one governor-general. The election fell upon Matthias, brother to the emperor Rodolphus II. and the prince of Orange was declared his lieutenant. Matthias pretending to escape from the imperial court, repaired to the Netherlands, where he was invested with his office; and then the estates declared war against Don John, who had already prepared for the rupture, by sending for the troops from Italy. Elizabeth being informed of the scheme which Don John had projected, with regard to her dominions, interested herself so warmly in the cause of the confederates, that she insisted upon being made acquainted with every material deliberation of the states-general: but, at the very time when she lent them money to maintain the war against Philip, she assured him by letters, that she had no intention to infringe the antient alliance between England and the house of Burgundy, alledging that her sole view in supplying the confederates with money, was to hinder them from throwing themselves into the arms of France. Philip was not at all satisfied with this argument; but, he dissembled his real sentiments, lest she should be tempted to engage more effectually in their behalf. With respect to the affairs of France, the Huguenots seeing the king bent upon their destruction, formed a counter-league for their own preservation, declared the king of Navarre their general, and the prince of Condé his lieutenant. The edict of pacification being revoked, hostilities recommenced, though greatly to the disadvantage of the Huguenots: but, as the duke of Guise derived great credit from the management of the war, the king, who hated that nobleman, granted another peace to his protestant subjects. From this period Henry abandoned himself to effeminate pleasures, and the most excessive expence, by which conduct he lost the esteem and affection of his people.

§ XXVI. England mean while enjoyed peace and plenty under the wise administration of Elizabeth; though, in the course of this year, the nation was alarmed with the fear of a contagion, from an accident that happened at the summer assize in Oxford, where the stench and putrid air brought from the jail by the prisoners, affected the bench, juries, and spectators in such a manner, that three hundred persons were taken ill and died of the infection. The plague about the same time broke out in the Temple at London; but was hindered from spreading, by the great care of Fleetwood the recorder. Cuthbert Maine, a Romish priest, was condemned and executed at Launceston in Cornwall, upon the last statute enacted against the pope's emissaries; and Tru-geon, a gentleman who entertained him in his house, was confiscated, and sentenced

Grotius.
Camden.

Mezerai.

Camden.

tenced to perpetual imprisonment. Philip of Spain being apprized of Elizabeth's connexion with the confederate states of the Low Countries, to whom she had promised by treaty a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, and a reinforcement of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, endeavoured to retort her ill offices by exciting a rebellion in Ireland, by means of Thomas Stukely, an English fugitive, on whom pope Gregory XIII. conferred the titles of earl of Wexford and marquis of Leinster. The design of his holiness was to procure the crown of Ireland for his own son or nephew James Buon Campagno; and eight hundred Italians were levied for the enterprize. With these Stukely set sail from Civita Vecchia, and arriving at Lisbon, was persuaded to engage in the service of Don Sebastian king of Portugal, just ready to embark for Africa, where both he and Stukely perished in the battle of Alcazar.

An. Ch. 1578.

§ XXVII. In the Netherlands, Don John of Austria being reinforced by the Spanish troops from Italy, and another body of forces from that country, under the command of Alexander Farnese, obtained a signal victory at Gemblours over the confederates, whose affairs began to decline in consequence of religious disputes. The towns of Amsterdam, Harlem, and Utrecht, expelled their magistrates, and put the government into the hands of the protestants. The catholics, alarmed at these events, which seemed to portend the destruction of the old religion, proposed to confer the government of the state upon the duke of Anjou, who was accordingly declared protector of the Belgic liberty. The protestants demanded that they should be admitted to the exercise of public employments, as well as the catholics. This demand was granted by the states, on condition that the catholics should enjoy the same privilege in Holland and Zealand. These two provinces eluded this article, and hence dissensions arose among the confederates. This division was increased by the inhabitants of Ghent, who expelled the Roman priests from their city; while the people of Artois and Hainault banished the protestants in their turn. Don John, in hope of profiting by this animosity, attacked the army of the states in their camp at Rymentant in Brabant, and was repulsed after a very obstinate engagement, in which Sir John Norreys, second son of the lord Norreys of Rycot, and colonel Steuart, at the head of two regiments of English and Scottish volunteers, signalized themselves by remarkable acts of valour. This attempt miscarrying, Don John endeavoured to amuse them with proposals of peace, until his army should be reinforced. They agreed to the negotiation for the same reason; for they expected to be joined by prince Casimer, and a considerable body of Germans; and the duke of Anjou had already advanced to the frontiers of Hainault, with eight thousand auxiliaries. By these junctions on both sides, Don John found himself at the head of fifty thousand men, including infantry and cavalry; and the army of the estates amounted to threescore thousand; but this last was rendered useless by the disputes between the inhabitants of Ghent, and the provinces of Hainault and Artois. Some of their troops mutinied, and, joining the people of Artois, made incursions into Flanders; and the inhabitants of Ghent brought over prince Casimer to their interest, by promising to pay his soldiers, he having squandered away the money which Elizabeth remitted to him for that purpose. Davison was

Grotius.

was sent over by the queen to make severe remonstrances on this subject; but, he made such an apology as she admitted; for in the winter he visited her court, where he was graciously received, and invested with the order of the garter. Don John dying suddenly, not without suspicion of poison, was succeeded in command by the prince of Parma, to whom the estates of Artois and Hainault submitted; and the duke of Anjou seeing this defection, dismissed his troops, and retired to France. While he resided in the Low-Countries, he had dispatched Martel de Bacqueville to England, in order to renew the negotiation of his marriage with Elizabeth: afterwards the king of France sent over Rambouillet for the same purpose; and both these envoys were received in such a manner as seemed to denote her approbation of the proposal. This was thought to be the more sincere, as she had now no cause to dissemble her sentiments.

Melvil.

§ XXVIII. Morton, the regent of Scotland, had by this time rendered himself odious to the whole nation, by his lewd life, perfidy, oppression, and rapaciousness. Elizabeth, whose creature he was, alarmed at his conduct, sent Randolph into Scotland, on pretence of congratulating the young king upon the progress he had made in his studies: but his real errand was to recommend moderation to the regent, and to exhort him to live in good understanding with the earls of Argyle and Athol, and some other malecontent noblemen, who might otherwise excite fresh disturbances in the kingdom. Notwithstanding this salutary advice he still persisted in his own way, until Areskine, the king's governor, and his four preceptors, inspired him with an antipathy to that nobleman. The earls of Argyle and Athol being apprized of this circumstance, repaired privately to court, and persuaded him to take the reins of government into his own hands, though he was no more than twelve years of age; and measures were taken for this purpose so expeditiously that Morton could not prevent the execution of their scheme. The parliament assembling, confirmed what the king had done, and appointed twelve noblemen for his privy council. Morton was one of this number; but he feigned himself disgusted with the world, and retired to his castle of Lochleven, where he employed his time in cultivating his garden.

Garnier.

§ XXIX. The young king sent an embassy to make Elizabeth acquainted with his having assumed the administration, to renew the alliance between the two nations, and demand the succession of his grandfather the late earl of Lennox. The queen had no intention to deprive him of this estate; but, that he might see his succession to the crown of England depended in a great measure upon her good will, she pretended that the effects of the earl of Lennox were claimed by Arabella Stuart. This lady, though the daughter of the earl's younger brother, was a native of England, and therefore conceived herself preferable to James, who was a foreigner. The estate, however, was sequestered in the hands of lord Burleigh. The commissioners appointed to treat of the alliance, demanded that the king of Scotland should not engage in any treaty, or contract of marriage, without the consent of the queen of England: but the ambassadors rejected this proposal. In the mean time, the earl of Morton, who entertained spies about the king's person at Stirling, entered that town in the night with a troop of armed men, and resumed the post which he had been obliged to resign.

§ XXX.

§ XXX. The queen of England seemed now more than ever intent upon her marriage with the duke of Anjou; besides Bacqueville and Rambouillet, the French king had sent over Simier, a subtle agent, possessed of the most insinuating address, who gained such an ascendancy over the passions of Elizabeth, that she seemed to have conceived a very warm affection for the person of the duke of Anjou, insomuch that Leicester and others affirmed she was infatuated by the arts of incantation. Simier, in revenge, did the earl ill offices with the queen; and was the first who informed her of that nobleman's private marriage with the widow of Essex. She was so incensed at this information, that she ordered the earl to be confined in the castle of Greenwich, and would actually have committed him to the Tower, had not the earl of Sussex, though his enemy, generously interposed in his behalf, and represented the injustice of punishing any subject for contracting a lawful marriage. Leicester, enraged to find his influence thus superseded by an obscure foreigner, is said to have employed one Teuder, a life-guard-man, to assassinate Simier; and the queen being apprized of his resentment, issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons to injure or affront this agent, or any of his attendants. In a few days after this proclamation, Elizabeth being in her barge upon the Thames, with Simier, the earl of Lincoln, and the vice-chancellor Hatton, one of the rowers was wounded in the arm with a musket-bullet, discharged from a ship-boat; and the young man who fired the piece, was apprehended and convicted of treason: but protesting, even at the gallows, that the shot was merely accidental, the queen pardoned him, declaring that she could not believe any thing of her subjects, which a mother would not believe of her own children. The duke of Anjou, flattered by the intelligence he received from his agent, came over to England incognito, attended by two domestics only. He was introduced to Elizabeth, who expressed great satisfaction at his unexpected arrival; and, after they had conferred several times together in private, he returned to France, in full hope of seeing his aim accomplished. This match was very disagreeable to great part of the nation, and to the puritans in particular. John Stubbs, of Lincoln's-Inn, published a virulent invective against it, called the *Gaping Gulph*, for which he was sentenced to lose his right hand, and underwent a long imprisonment. The queen appointed a select committee of her council, to consider and draw up in writing the advantages and inconveniencies which might attend the match, and to confer with Simier on the articles. These, however, they neither rejected nor approved; but referred the discussion of them either to a parliament, or a conference between the queen and the duke of Anjou.

Camden.

§ XXXI. While Elizabeth was employed in these measures for cementing her friendship with the French king, the duke of Guise resolved to embroil her with the prince of Scotland. For this purpose, he made use of Esme Stuart, baron D'Aubigny, son of John Stuart, second brother to Matthew earl of Lennox. This young nobleman, who was educated in France, repairing to Scotland, on pretence of paying his respects to king James, who was his near kinsman, insinuated himself into the good graces of the Scottish monarch. He was created earl, and afterwards duke of Lennox, and divided the king's favour with another youth called James Stuart, son of the lord Ochiltree. These two uniting their interest for the destruction of Morton,

easily

easily found means to render that nobleman odious and detestable in the eyes of his sovereign. The regent perceived the progress they had made against him, and endeavoured to baffle their arts, by representing Lennox as a papist, and creature of the duke of Guise, come over for the destruction of the reformed religion. The ministers of the kirk were tutored to thunder these assertions from their pulpits, as well as to impeach the morals of Stuart, who was certainly a youth of a most dissolute life and conversation: but Morton was so universally hated, that these sermons produced very little effect, and he now saw his ruin approaching.

Melvil.

§ XXXII. Nothing else remarkable happened during this year in England, except the execution of Matthew Hamont for blasphemy at Norwich; the establishment of the Turkey company, by virtue of a treaty with Amurath sultan of the Turks, managed by William Harbourn; the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, who was succeeded by Thomas Bromley, appointed lord chancellor of England; and the decease of Sir Thomas Gresham, who built the Royal Exchange, and dedicated a large house to the purposes of learning, where he founded lectures on divinity, the civil law, medicine, astronomy, geometry, rhetoric, and music.

Camden.

§ XXXIII. In the Low-Countries, the prince of Parma amused the confederates with a negotiation at Cologne; and, in the mean time, fomented their dissensions and mutual animosity. The prince of Orange, far from being dispirited by the defection of Hainault, Artois, and some other provinces, which submitted to the dominion of Philip, exerted all his influence and industry in strengthening the confederacy of those provinces, which still persisted in the resolution to throw off the Spanish yoke. At length he effected the famous union of Utrecht, between Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, to which Ghent and Ypres afterwards acceded; and the prince was elected governor of Flanders. Mean while the prince of Parma reduced Maestricht, and then dismissed the greatest part of his Spanish and Italian troops, according to his engagement with the states who had submitted; an act of honour and good faith, which was attended with the submission of Mechlin, Lisle, and Valenciennes.

Grotius.

An. Ch. 1580.

§ XXXIV. The Roman catholics in Ireland, being excluded from offices under the government, instigated by popish priests, and encouraged by foreign potentates, were now upon the eve of a general revolt. James Fitzmorris reparing to Rome, undertook to reduce the kingdom of Ireland to the obedience of the holy see, and was furnished by the pope with a small sum of money, a consecrated banner, and letters of recommendation to the king of Spain, who supplied him with a party of soldiers, and three ships, in which they arrived at Kerry. They were accompanied by the two priests, one of whom was dignified with the title of nuncio. They built a fort at Smerwick: but the vessels were destroyed by Thomas Courtney, captain of an English ship of war; and Fitzmorris was slain by his own kinsmen, the sons of W. Burgh of Castle Conell. The rebels were joined by John and James, the brothers of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, who likewise engaged to raise his vassals for the same service. Sir W. Drury, the lord deputy, being taken ill at Waterford, the command of his troops devolved to Nicholas Malby, president of Connaught, who routed John Fitzgerald; but his com-
mission

mission expiring at the death of the deputy, Sir W. Pelham was appointed lord justice of Ireland, and Thomas earl of Ormond governor of Munster. The earl of Desmond declaring for the rebels, was proclaimed a traitor. His country was laid waste by Ormond, while Pelham marched into Munster. The principal inhabitants were obliged to give hostages for their fidelity; and the Spaniards being taken in Carig-foyle, were hanged with Julio their commander, contrary to the law of nations, and the dictates of common humanity. James Fitzgerald being defeated and mortally wounded by Donel, brother to Cormac Maccarty, was delivered to Worham St. Leger, and Walter Raleigh, an officer lately sent over, then tried and executed as a traitor; while his brother the earl of Desmond fled from one lurking-place to another, suing in vain for pardon. The spirits of the rebels, dejected by this bad success, were raised by a reinforcement of seven hundred Spanish and Italian soldiers, with arms for five thousand men, who arrived at Smerwick, under the command of an officer called San Joseph. There they were besieged by the earl of Ormond, the lord lieutenant, Raleigh, Mackworth, Denny, and other officers, while a squadron of ships commanded by Winter blocked them up by sea. After a siege of five days, San Joseph, though his garrison reinforced by the natives, amounted to fifteen hundred men, surrendered at discretion. All the Spanish soldiers were massacred, and the Irish hanged as rebels, by order of a council of war, to the eternal disgrace of the victors. At the same time an insurrection was raised in Leinster by Fitz-Eustace, and Pheogh Mac-Hugh, chief of the O Byrnes. The lord lieutenant marching thither, had the mortification to see the best part of his troops cut off by an ambuscade in the vale of Glandelough: but lord Grey suppressed the O Connors, the O Carrols, and Macgeoghans, who had engaged in a conspiracy to massacre the lord lieutenant and all the protestants in Ireland. The O Byrnes, the O Moores, and the Kavenaghs, were obliged to submit and give hostages; and Tirlogh Leinigh, who had begun to excite disturbances in Ulster, following their example, the tranquillity of Ireland was restored.

Camden.
Ware.

§ XXXV. Elizabeth was not free from the apprehension of seeing England involved in the like calamities. When Pacheco expelled the English fugitives from the Low-Countries, the members of the college at Douay retired to Rheims and Rome, where they established seminaries, under the protection of the pope and the cardinal of Lorraine; and from these, a number of priests were sent over to England, where they preached up sedition. Four of these emissaries were executed, for having publicly maintained that the queen had been lawfully deposed by his holiness. These examples were followed by a proclamation, enjoining all persons who had children, wards, or relations, in foreign seminaries, to deliver their names to the ordinary in ten days; to bring them home in four months; to certify the ordinary of their return; or should they refuse to come home, to withhold from them all supplies of money; to forbear maintaining, relieving, or lodging, any priest or jesuit, on pain of being reputed and punished as favourers of rebels and sedition. Among those who came over, were Edmund Campian and Robert Parsons, the first jesuits that ever set foot in England. Campian published a treatise called the Ten Reasons, in favour of the church of Rome; was taken and executed; but Parsons making his escape to the continent, joined the English refugees in soliciting

Athenæ Oxon. the king of Spain to invade England. A new sect, founded by Nicholai, a Dutchman, and termed the family of Love, began at this time to gain ground in Norfolk and Suffolk: they rejected the Lord's prayer, the sacraments, and the outward admission of ministers. They confined salvation to themselves, holding all the rest of the world as reprobates: they were guilty of the most scandalous impurities and libertinism, and published apologies filled with all the absurdities of fanaticism; till at length a proclamation being published against them, they were prosecuted and suppressed. Another proclamation was issued to reform extravagance in apparel; and a third to prevent the increase of London with new buildings, the enormous bulk of that city being already attended with many inconveniencies to itself, as well as with consequences to the prejudice of the kingdom in general.

Camden.

§ XXXVI. In the course of this year, Francis Drake returned to England from a voyage in which he had encircled the terrestrial globe. He had entered the South Sea or Pacific ocean, through the straits of Magellan, taken a prize at Lima of immense value, discovered New Albion, sailed over to the Moluccos, and returned by the cape of Good Hope to his own country. Mendoza the Spanish ambassador complaining of his depredations, and demanding restitution of the money which he had plundered from the subjects of Spain in a pyratrical manner; the queen justified what he had done by re-terminating upon Philip, who had fomented rebellions among her subjects in Ireland. She said Drake was ready to answer at law for any thing that should be laid to his charge; she dined on board of the ship at Deptford, and honoured him with the order of knighthood. But, notwithstanding these allegations, this countenance, and all his merit and success as a sea-officer, it must be owned that Drake had been a downright pyrate. The treasure was sequestered; and great sums were payed to Pedro Sebur, a Spaniard, impowered by letters of attorney to sue for the prizes which Drake had taken without a commission. But this money, instead of being restored to the proprietors, was employed by Philip in maintaining the war of the Netherlands.

Id.

An. Ch. 1581.

§ XXXVII. The pleasure which the queen enjoyed on this occasion, was interrupted by the distress of the earl of Morton in Scotland, who had always been her abject dependant. He had formed a scheme for delivering his master into the hands of Elizabeth; but this taking air was prevented. The queen of England perceiving that Morton's ruin was planned by the duke of Lennox, and his colleague Stuart by this time created earl of Arran, sent Bowes into Scotland to open the eyes of the young king with respect to these favourites; and to accuse Lennox of holding correspondence with the court of France, and with the duke of Guise in particular, to the prejudice of England and Scotland. This envoy being refused audience, was immediately recalled; and Alexander Hume sent to England by James to excuse his conduct, was treated with the same indignity. The Scottish council being assembled in Holyrood-house, James Stuart, a younger son of lord Ochiltree, falling on his knees before the king, accused the earl of Morton of conspiring the death of his majesty's father. In consequence of this charge, Morton was apprehended and conveyed to the castle of Dumbarton. Elizabeth no sooner heard of his arrest, than she dispatched Randolph to intercede in his behalf. This minister endeavoured to intimidate James, by representing the danger of

of a quarrel with England. Being allowed to harrangue the states when they met, he told them, in the name of his mistress, that the duke of Lennox had endeavoured to destroy the friendly correspondence between the two nations, to alienate the heart of the king from his faithful clergy, and even practised with foreign princes to invade England. In support of this charge, he produced some letters, the forgery of which was so palpable, that nothing but his character of ambassador saved him from being sent prisoner to the castle. Thus disappointed, she engaged the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Glencairn, Angus, and Mar, in a scheme of rebellion for the deliverance of Morton; an English army commanded by the earl of Huntingdon and lord Hunsdon lay ready on the frontiers to join the revolvers; but the conspiracy being discovered, Argyle, Montrose, and Glencairn, returned to their duty, on promise of being pardoned: the king's guards were doubled, his troops and garrisons augmented, and his subjects ordered by proclamation to hold themselves in readiness to attend the royal standard. The English generals being apprized of these particulars, dismissed their forces in Northumberland: Angus was confined beyond the river Spey, and afterwards denounced a traitor: Mar was obliged to deliver up the castle of Stirling; other friends and relations of Morton were declared rebels. Randolph withdrew himself to Berwick: Sir John Seton was sent to complain of his conduct, and to know if Elizabeth intended to engage in a war with Scotland; but he was detained at Berwick by an order from the court of England. Morton being brought from Dumbarton, was tried at Edinburgh, and being convicted as an accomplice in the murder of king Henry, was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The sentence, however, was changed into decapitation, which he next day underwent with great composure, after he had owned that he knew of the king's murder, though he was not an actor in that tragedy; that the queen had no concern in the affair; and that he had signed an association for defending Bothwell, who was the perpetrator. But he would not discover the place in which his natural son James, and one Macmorran had deposited his treasure; and all the money, amounting to a prodigious sum, was lost to the nation. He died unlamented, and so little regarded, that after he was beheaded, his body lay all day upon the scaffold, covered with an old blue cloak, without attracting the compassion, or even the notice of the people. Morton being thus removed, the two favourites reigned without controul, not only over the people, but also over the mind of their sovereign, who, with some capacity and inclination for school-learning, was a silly, weak, irresolute prince, of a very despicable character. Lennox was not destitute of good qualities; but he was giddy and unexperienced, a professed Roman catholic, and a supposed adherent of the duke of Guise; so that he soon became odious to the nation. His colleague Arran was a young man void of principle and religion, who, under the masque of friendship, encouraged Lennox to follow unpopular courses, that he might incur the hatred of the people, and so contribute to his own destruction.

§ XXXVIII. During these transactions, the court of France vigorously pressed the execution of the marriage between the duke of Anjou and Elizabeth. Simier having agreed with her upon the principal articles of the contract, Henry III. sent over to England a very honourable embassy; and the lord

Burleigh, with the earls of Lincoln, Suffex, Bedford, and Leiceſter, Chriſtopher Hatton, and Francis Walsingham, lately appointed ſecretary of ſtate, were commiſſioned to confer with the French plenipotentiaries, ſo that the treaty might be brought to perfection. They accordingly agreed that the marriage ſhould be conſummated in ſix weeks. Among the articles to which they gave their aſſent, the moſt remarkable were theſe: That, in caſe the king of France ſhould die without male iſſue, and the duke of Anjou ſhould have two ſons by this marriage, the eldeſt ſhould ſucceed to the crown of France, and the other aſcend the throne of England: in caſe of one ſon only, he ſhould inherit both realms; and, of every two years, reſide eight months in England: That the duke ſhould not fill up any poſt or office in England with a foreigner: That he ſhould not convey the queen out of the kingdom, without the expreſs conſent of the nobles: That he ſhould not transport the jewels of the crown to any other country: And that all the ſtrong holds of the kingdom ſhould be gariſoned by Engliſh troops commanded by Engliſh governors. By a ſeparate article both parties agreed, that the queen ſhould not be obliged to conſummate the marriage, until ſhe and the duke of Anjou ſhould have explained certain circumſtances to each other, which they ſhould in ſix weeks communicate to the French monarch.

§ XXXIX. Theſe articles were no ſooner ratified, than Elizabeth ſeemed to repent of her bargain. In order to protract the concluſion of the marriage, ſhe ſent over Sommers to Paris, to inſiſt upon Henry's engaging with her in a league offensive as well as defensive. This envoy was followed by ſecretary Walsingham, who told the French king, that, notwithstanding the treaty, it would be neceſſary to poſtpone the conſummation of the marriage, until her ſubjects ſhould be better reconciled to the match; and until ſhe herſelf ſhould have more maturely weighed certain circumſtances of importance which had happened ſince the concluſion of the treaty. He obſerved that the duke of Anjou had accepted the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries; a dignity which might involve England in an expensive war with Spain: that therefore the queen judged it convenient to delay the match, until the duke ſhould have extricated himſelf from this difficulty; and a league offensive and defensive ſhould be concluded between France and England. To this remonſtrance Henry answered, That he was ready to renew the defensive league, and would treat about a league offensive after the conſummation of the marriage.

§ XL. Walsingham, in his return, paſſed through the Netherlands, and viſited the duke of Anjou, who had compelled the prince of Parma to raiſe the blockade of Cambray, reduced Arleux, and other places, and driven the Spaniards out of the Cambreſis. His troops, amounting to ſixteen thouſand men, conſiſted chiefly of gentlemen and their vaſſals, who engaged in the ſervice as volunteers, without thinking themſelves ſubject to military diſcipline, and dropped off occaſionally, for want of pay or neceſſaries; ſo that the duke was diſabled from joining the army of the eſtates, which waited for him betwixt Liſle and Queſnoy. He therefore poſted himſelf under Le Catelet, with the remains of his army; and, in the latter end of November, arrived at the court of London. There he was received by Elizabeth with all the demonſtrations of the warmeſt affection. On the anniversary of her coronation, ſhe, with her own hand, fixed a ring upon his finger, in token of pledging her troth,

troth, according to the contract. She even proceeded so far as to take up the pen, in order to subscribe the articles; when all of a sudden she threw it away, with violent marks of indignation; and, turning to the lords of the council, asked if they did not know that the marriage would put an end to her days; and that after her death they would cut one another's throats about the succession. Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, were averse to this match. After she had delivered the ring to the duke of Anjou, the ladies of the bed-chamber consumed the night in weeping and wailing. Next morning, when she was visited by the duke, she told him three such nights would bring her to the grave; that the aversion of her subjects to a French prince was insurmountable; that he would derive little or no advantage from the alliance; but that in all probability it would produce great evils; and numberless inconveniences would arise from their differing in point of religion. She was seconded by vice-chamberlain Hatton, who dissuaded him from proceeding further in the affair, as the queen, being now in the forty-ninth year of her age, was not likely to have children; and, as the king of France had not yet ratified the articles of the marriage. The duke retired to his lodgings, in the utmost mortification of disappointment; he dashed the ring upon the ground, exclaimed against the fickleness of the female sex, and cursed the inconstancy of the English people.

§ XLI. Elizabeth was no less afflicted with various considerations. The duke's personal accomplishments had actually made an impression upon her heart. She had conceived a passion which she was restrained from gratifying by some bodily infirmity, by the fear of disobliging her subjects, and the apprehension of parting with some share of her authority: she dreaded the resentment of Anjou, who might espouse a daughter of Spain, and multiply the dangers to which her kingdom was exposed. Such an alliance was even said to be upon the anvil; and therefore she would not allow the duke to return to the Netherlands, though the estates pressed him to go thither and oppose the progress of the prince of Parma. He was flattered with new hopes of the marriage; entertained for three months with an uninterrupted series of diversions; and at length dismissed with a considerable present in money, after he had promised to return in a month, and consummate the marriage. It was during the duke's residence at court that Stubbs, the author of the book written against the marriage, and Page the printer, were condemned to lose their right hands; and the sentence was executed on a scaffold in Westminster. When the right hand of Stubbs was cut off with a cleaver, he lifted off his hat with the other, exclaiming with a loud voice, "God save the queen." And the populace, in profound silence, testified their horror of this barbarity, practised upon a man of some note and unblemished reputation. This was a sacrifice offered to the resentment of the duke, who had been scandalously reviled and insulted by the English nation. But the queen, in order to convince him of the little influence he had to expect from the marriage, caused Campian, and the other priests whom we have already mentioned, to be put to death for supporting the papal authority in England.

§ XLII. The parliament meeting in the beginning of January, enacted a severe law against such delinquents, declaring all those guilty of high treason who should endeavour to alienate the subjects from their fidelity to the queen,

Camden.

An. Ch. 1582.

or

or persuade them to abandon the established religion. Elizabeth accompanied the duke of Anjou to Canterbury. She ordered the earl of Leicester, with several other noblemen, to attend him to the Low-Countries, and recommend him, in her name, to the estates of the Netherlands. He made a pompous entry into Antwerp, where he was inaugurated duke of Brabant, and afterwards invested at Ghent as count of Flanders. He was reinforced by a body of German horse, under Charles de Mansfeld, four thousand Swiss, and a strong detachment of horse and foot from France; but the queen-mother gave him to understand, that this was the last supply he should receive, unless the estates would acknowledge the king of France as their sovereign, in case the duke should die without issue; a proposal which was no sooner made than rejected. The estates were even so jealous of their new sovereign, that they allowed him little or no share in the government. They managed the finances without supplying him with money: they disposed of all magistracies and offices: they would not admit the French troops into their towns, without the utmost precaution: and, in a word, he found himself a person of very little importance; while the prince of Orange, and a few deputies of the estates, engrossed the whole administration. In order therefore to acquire more authority, and interest France in his behalf, he formed a scheme for making himself master of the principal towns. Some of them he surprized accordingly; but he miscarried in his attempts on Bruges and Antwerp, lost about four thousand of his best troops, which were either slain or taken prisoners, exasperated the estates against him, and disconcerted all their affairs.

Meteren.

§ XLIII. Elizabeth, who foresaw the bad consequences of their dissension, endeavoured to strengthen herself against the designs of Philip, by forming a league of the protestant princes of the empire; and, in the mean time, she sent the order of the garter to Frederic II. king of Denmark, a prince of great merit and reputation. She was the more sollicitous about taking these precautions, as her interest had declined in Scotland since the death of Morton. She considered the duke of Lennox as an agent for the duke of Guise, and consequently an enemy to her person: she saw, with regret, the young king entirely guided by his counsels: but she was soon delivered from all apprehension of that favourite. By the instigation of Arran, he abused his power to such a degree, that he lost the hearts of the nation, and rendered himself very odious, in particular to the friends of the late regent. He recalled the laird of Fernihurst, and several other persons of distinction, who had been banished for their adherence to the king's mother. He established a friendly correspondence between that princess and her son, whom she now consented to associate in the government, that all disputes about the supreme authority might be removed. So far he acted wisely for the benefit and quiet of the kingdom: but at the same time he disobliged and persecuted the lords who had supported the king in his minority. At length they formed a conspiracy for expelling him from the realm. The king returning meanly attended from Athole, was seized by the earl of Mar, the lords Lindsay and Boyd, the master of Oliphant, with several other persons of distinction, and conveyed to Ruthven-castle, the residence of the earl of Gowrie, who had been drawn into the plot on false information. Lennox being at that time in Glasgow, took refuge in the castle of Dumbarton: Arran was taken and confined in Ruthven. The king
being

being conducted to Stirling-castle, was obliged to sign a declaration, importing, that what the lords had done at the Raid of Ruthven was for his service. The duke of Lennox was ordered to quit the realm; and James wrote a letter to the queen of England, assuring her that he was not under the least restraint. Elizabeth advised him, for the peace of the kingdom, to recall the earl of Angus, and send the duke of Lennox into France. This nobleman immediately complied with his master's desire; and, passing through England, returned to France, where, in a few months, he died a protestant, not without suspicion of poison.

Melvil.
Jebb.
Spottiswood.

§ LXIV. The English perceiving that the authority of James began to be established in Scotland, endeavoured to keep him in awe, by renewing the treaty for his mother's release and restoration. Beale had been sent to queen Mary at Sheffield with certain propositions, to which she partly agreed: but perceiving Elizabeth's drift, and being debarred all intercourse with her son, she alarmed Elizabeth in her turn, by declaring her resolution to resign all her rights and pretensions in Scotland, and elsewhere, to her son, that he might act as he should judge proper for his own interest, without being prejudiced by her captivity. In that case, she said she could be no longer charged with practices against the English government; and her enemies would have nothing upon which they could exercise their cruelty, but her poor, infirm, languishing body, worn out with hardships and affliction. It was not without reason this unhappy princess complained of hardships. She had been confined thirteen years under different keepers, and often treated in the most rigorous manner. She saw herself deprived of her crown and liberty: her youth had pined away in dreary imprisonment: her reputation had been blasted by the venomous tooth of malice and defamation: all her schemes were defeated; all her prospects of relief entirely vanished: her life was in the power of a jealous rival, who could brook no competition: her health was in a great measure impaired by confinement and vexation; yet she was denied the conveniency of having female servants to attend her in such distress*.

§ XLV. This was the forlorn situation of Mary, when she was informed An. Ch. 1583. of her son's captivity. Her parental tenderness awoke: she summoned all the mother, all the princess to her aid, and wrote a pathetic letter to Elizabeth, in which she upbraided her with all the miseries she had undergone; and conjured her to interpose in behalf of a prince, a neighbour, an ally, a kinsman, in distress. Elizabeth was piqued at this warm expostulation, and desired her council to deliberate upon the conditions on which she should be released. They accordingly drew up the following articles, which were presented to Mary, on the supposition that she would associate her son in the administration. The queen of Scotland, and the king, shall attempt nothing to the prejudice of England: She shall disapprove of every thing that was done by her husband Francis II. and ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: She shall discover and condemn all the conspiracies which to her knowledge have been formed against queen Elizabeth: She shall project no scheme against the government of Eng-

* In the course of this year, pope Gregory XIII. published a bull for reforming the calendar, cutting off ten days of the current year. England and other protestant states, would not conform to this ordinance of the pope; so that there arose a difference of ten days in the computation between the Roman catholic countries and those of the reformed religion.

land,

Camden.

land, either temporal or spiritual: She shall not pretend any right to the crown of England during the life of Elizabeth; and, after the death of this princess, shall submit her pretensions to the determination of parliament: She and her sons shall confirm these articles by oath and subscription; and, for the ratification of this last article, hostages shall be delivered to the queen of England. Nothing was farther from the intention of Elizabeth than the release of Mary, whom she thus amused with articles which were rejected by the Scottish lords of her interest, who had secured the person of their sovereign.

§ XLVI. She had, when he was first seized, sent her kinsman Henry Cary to offer him her assistance; and, though he was surrounded by his captors, he found means to make this envoy acquainted with his real situation. Cary had been accompanied by the French ambassador de la Mothe Fenelon, whom his master had ordered to go thither and support the faction of the favourites, whose disaster, however, he could not prevent. The lords of Ruthven having banished one minister, and imprisoned the other, advised the king to assemble the estates, to whom he declared, in person, that he was very well satisfied with those noblemen by whom he had been conveyed to Ruthven. He wrote the same declaration to the general assembly of the kirk, which by authentic acts approved of the transaction called the Raid of Ruthven. Then the greater part of the lords retired to their own houses; so that the king found himself at liberty to follow his own inclination. He convoked an assembly of his nobles at St. Andrew's, where he owned that he had been apprehended for his own good; and that he would publish a general amnesty in favour of those who had conducted him to Ruthven; he even visited the earl of Gowry, who falling upon his knees before him, and imploring pardon for his share of the conspiracy, into which he had been seduced by false information of a plot hatched by Lennox against his life, the king raised him up, and assured him of his forgiveness and friendship. James afterwards nominated twelve counsellors to assist him in managing the reins of government: but the earl of Arran, whose life Gowry had saved from the enmity of the other conspirators, being permitted to return to court, regained all his former ascendancy over the spirit of the king, who, by his advice, instead of an amnesty, published a proclamation, offering pardon to all the conspirators of Ruthven, who should come and ask pardon for the crime of which they were guilty. The lords, alarmed at this declaration, by which they were held as criminal, and subjected to the mercy of a prince governed by the very minister against whom they had transgressed, retired, some to their own houses, and others into England, for protection.

§ XLVII. Elizabeth reproached the king of Scotland, in a letter, for having broken his promise; and he replied, that the promise was extorted by rebels, while he was in captivity. Then she sent Walsingham, her secretary, into Scotland, on pretence of establishing a more intimate union between the two powers; but his real design was to ruin the earl of Arran, strengthen the English faction, and examine the young king's capacity. Fenelon had carried thither his mother's resignation in his favour; and the king of France, with the neighbouring sovereigns, had, in consequence of that resignation, acknowledged him as king of Scotland: so that Elizabeth's jealousy prompted her to send her own secretary, notwithstanding his infirm state of health, to make his obser-

observations on the disposition and real state of the Scottish monarch. This English ambassador would not confer with the earl of Arran; nor could he procure any indulgence for the lords of the Raid of Ruthven; but he had several conferences with the king, whose pregnant parts he affected to admire: he obtained a promise from James, that he would make no alteration in the established religion; distributed sums of money among the Scottish courtiers, and returning to England, gave his mistress such an account of her cousin, as for the present quieted her fears and suspicions. Melvil.
Spottiswood.

§ XLVIII. At this period, the king of Sweden finding himself unable to oppose John Basilowitz emperor of Russia, with whom he was at war, solicited the mediation of queen Elizabeth, who prevailed upon John to grant him peace on equal conditions. The Russian had a very particular veneration for the queen of England, and desired she would send him a wife from her kingdom: but, as he arrogated to himself the power of repudiating his consorts, according to his own pleasure, no Englishwoman would accept of the dignity. In the course of this year, Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Sussex died without issue, and Mary queen of Scots lost a zealous friend by the death of Henry Wriothesley earl of Southampton. Gerald earl of Desmond was slain in a cave in Ireland; and doctor Sanders, agent for the pope in that kingdom, perished by famine. Some part of the lands of Desmond was given by the queen to his kinsman the earl of Ormond, and the rest granted to adventurers, who undertook to cultivate and improve the country. In a word, Ireland was kept tolerably quiet, by the vigilant and prudent conduct of Sir John Perrot the lord deputy, who administered justice with the utmost impartiality.

§ XLIX. In England the popish emissaries continued their practices against Elizabeth, whom they privately reviled as an excommunicated person, a persecutor and usurper. John Somerville, a gentleman of Warwickshire, was disordered in his brain by these insinuations; he repaired to London, breathing destruction to the protestants, and actually assaulted several persons with his sword. Being apprehended for these outrages, he confessed his design was to murder her majesty. Though the man was apparently frantic, his father-in-law, Edward Arden, a gentleman of an unblemished character, with his wife, his daughter, and one Hall a priest, were tried, convicted, and condemned, on the evidence of this lunatic, who strangled himself in prison: Arden was executed; but the two women and the priest enjoyed the queen's pardon. Dugdale. Archbishop Grindal, a great favourer of the Puritans, dying in July, was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Whitgift bishop of Worcester, a prelate of uncommon learning, judgment, and resolution, who had already employed his talents in refuting the notions of the Presbyterians, a sect of fanatics headed by one Cartwright, which was become very troublesome to the hierarchy. In the Netherlands, the affairs of the confederates declined apace. The duke of Anjou had been obliged to retire to his own country; and the prince of Parma made such progress, that the provinces were on the eve of being reduced to the dominion of the Spanish monarch. In this emergency, they expressed an inclination to acknowledge the sovereignty of Henry III. king of France. Grotius. Philip dreading this step, endeavoured to embroil Henry in his own dominions. He exhorted the king of Navarre to take arms against that monarch, promising assistance and protection to the Huguenots: but his proposal being

rejected, he had recourse to the duke of Guise, who accepted his assistance, in revenging the mortifications which he daily sustained from Henry's favourites.

Mezerai.

An. Ch. 1584.

§ L. James king of Scotland convoked his nobility at Edinburgh, where the earl of Arran, tampering with the individuals in private, gave them to understand, that the king was sincerely disposed to pardon the lords of the Raid of Ruthven, after his own conduct should be vindicated in their being found guilty. The noblemen believing that the fugitives would receive no prejudice from an expedient contrived to save his majesty's honour, declared, in their assembly, that the king acted with uncommon clemency in granting them an opportunity to sue for pardon. When the minister had obtained this declaration of their guilt, he dissuaded his master from publishing the amnesty. He persecuted the earl of Gowry in such a manner, that he begged the king's permission to quit the kingdom; and had repaired to Dundee, in order to take shipping, when he understood that the fugitive earls of Angus, Mar, and Glamis, had concerted another scheme against the favourite. This information detained him at Dundee; and at length he engaged in the conspiracy. The other lords coming privately from Ireland, surprized the town of Stirling; but Gowry being apprehended by an order from court, they imagined, as he was the king's relation, he had suffered himself to be taken in order to impeach them; and, on this supposition, they abandoned their enterprize by leaving the kingdom. The earl of Gowry was brought to Edinburgh, where he was tried, condemned, and beheaded: and Arran still maintained his influence. Elizabeth understanding that James kept up a secret correspondence with his mother; that through Arran's means the French interest predominated at the court of Scotland; and dreading the thoughts of the king's marrying a foreign wife, of the Roman catholic religion, sent Davison, afterwards secretary, to engage the favourite in her interest; and he succeeded to her wish, by means that are easily conceived. Before this agent returned to England, the two courts agreed that the lord Hunsdon for Elizabeth, and the earl of Arran for James, should meet upon the border to establish proper regulations for maintaining a good understanding between the two kingdoms. There these two noblemen concluded a secret treaty, by which the earl of Arran engaged to hinder king James from marrying within the term of three years; Elizabeth pretending she would furnish him with a wife of the blood royal of England, who was not yet marriageable.

Melvil.

§ LI. During these transactions, lord Gray, a young Scottish nobleman of insinuating address, acquired such a share of the king's favour, that Arran became jealous of him; and, in order to remove him from court, persuaded James to send him as his ambassador to England. He was soon gained over to the interest of Elizabeth by presents and caresses; and affecting uncommon zeal for queen Mary, became master of all her secrets, which he communicated to the queen of England. The earl of Arran being informed of his practices, accused him to the king; but he acquitted himself so artfully, at his return to Scotland, that no regard was payed to the insinuations of his rival. Elizabeth's ministry was so indefatigably vigilant, that she received intelligence of every hint that was dropped in favour of the captive queen, who lived in close confinement, under the eye of the earl of Shrewsbury. Francis Throgmorton,

morton, a gentleman of Cheshire, was taken into custody for corresponding with this unhappy princess; and Thomas lord Paget, with Charles Arundel, hearing he had made a confession, fled into France with the utmost precipitation. There they loudly complained that the catholics of England were harshly treated and ignominiously used: that tricks were invented and snares laid for their destruction. Certain it is, very scandalous and unfair devices were practised by the queen's emissaries. Counterfeit letters were sent to the houses of papists, in the name of Mary, or the catholic fugitives abroad: spies were employed through the whole kingdom, to observe and report the words and actions of those who were suspected: all sorts of informers were credited and encouraged: many persons of distinction were imprisoned, examined, and some individuals put to the torture.

§ LII. Elizabeth, understanding she was taxed with these cruelties in foreign countries, resolved to transfer the blame upon her ministry. She reprimanded her judges very sharply for having proceeded with such rigour against the catholics; and they published a justification of their conduct, affirming that no person had suffered for religion, though some had been put to the torture for machinations against the state. They owned indeed that Campian the jesuit had been racked, though not with such violence but that he had been able to walk immediately after the torture: and that Bryan, one of his accomplices, refusing to declare the name of him who wrote the letters found upon him, they had ordered him to be debarred of nourishment, until he had demanded it in writing. Nevertheless, the queen forbade them to put any person whatsoever to the torture; and released seventy popish priests who were in prison. Throgmorton, before he was arrested, had conveyed a cabinet of private papers to the hands of the Spanish ambassador Mendoza; but in his other coffers were two lists, one of the principal catholics in England, and the other of the sea-ports at which a descent might be conveniently made upon the kingdom. These he insisted upon being false and counterfeit papers, put into his coffer in order to effect his ruin: but being threatened with the rack, at his second examination, he confessed, that, when he was at Spaa, he had consulted with Jeney and Englefield, in what manner England might be the most easily invaded, and the government altered; and on that occasion the two lists were drawn up. He owned that Morgan, the English refugee in France, had assured him, in a letter, the catholic princes were resolved to invade England under the duke of Guise, in order to set the queen of Scots at liberty: that, in hope of raising money and promoting this expedition, Charles Paget had, under the name of Mape, arrived in Suffex, where it was proposed the foreign troops should land: that he (Throgmorton) had imparted the scheme to the Spanish ambassador, with whom he had concerted a method by which the Roman catholics might levy men in the queen's name to join the foreign forces. This confession he retracted on his trial; yet nevertheless he was found guilty, though two months elapsed between his conviction and execution. In this interval, he endeavoured to obtain the queen's mercy, by subscribing his former confession; but being disappointed in his hope, he at the gallows denied every circumstance he had before confessed. Mendoza being brought before the council, and examined touching this transaction, instead of answering the questions that were put to him by the members, upbraided the queen with all

Je'b.
Styve.

her ill offices towards his master, and was ordered to quit the kingdom immediately. Elizabeth published a declaration to justify her conduct with regard to this ambassador, and dispatched Wade with an excuse to the king of Spain, who refused him an audience. Lord Clifford, the English ambassador at Paris, demanded that Morgan should be delivered into the hands of his mistress: Henry caused him to be arrested for this purpose; but such a clamour ensued among the zealots of his own kingdom, that he would not venture to send him over, though he transmitted his papers, from which Elizabeth hoped to make important discoveries.

§ LIII. The queen living in continual disquiet, from the apprehension of conspiracies formed in behalf of Mary, resolved to amuse that princess and her friends with a new negotiation. Wade, on his return from Spain, was sent to tell her that Elizabeth would renew the treaty which had been interrupted, on condition that Mary would prevail upon her son to pardon the lords of the Raid of Ruthven; and that she would put a stop to the intrigues of the bishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris. Beale was sent upon the same errand, with particular instructions to discover, if possible, the nature of the correspondence which the duke of Guise maintained with Mary. She undertook to intercede for the Scottish fugitives, provided they would own themselves guilty: she confessed she had intreated the duke of Guise to use his endeavours for her deliverance; but said she was utterly ignorant of his designs, which, had she known them, she would not discover, except upon assurance of being set at liberty: in the mean time, she begged she might be treated with a little more humanity than she had hitherto experienced at the hands of her cousin. Elizabeth perceiving herself disappointed in the hope of making some useful discovery, dropped the negotiation; and Mary despaired of relief. All her friends, however, did not desist from their endeavours in her behalf. One Creighton, a jesuit, in his passage to Scotland, being chased by pyrates, tore some papers, the pieces of which were gathered up and delivered to Wade, who pasted them together upon another ground, and found they contained the particulars of a design formed by the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, for invading England.

§ LIV. This scheme being communicated to the ministry, the earl of Leicester set on foot a general association, obliging all the subscribers, under the most solemn vows, to prosecute to death all that should attempt any thing against her majesty. Mary considering this engagement as a previous step to her destruction, sent her secretary Nau to Elizabeth with such proposals as must have satisfied any person actuated by the dictates of justice and humanity: but the queen of England had been long resolved against releasing her upon any terms whatsoever; and upon this occasion she sheltered her cruelty under the interest of the Scottish presbyterians, who remonstrated strongly against all accommodation with Mary; while their preachers inveighed against their unfortunate sovereign, as an implacable enemy to the true reformed religion. Elizabeth also pretended to have received information of a new plot to deliver the queen of Scots; and, withdrawing her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, committed her to the charge of Sir Drue Drury and Sir James Pawlet, two rigid puritans, whose severity, it was hoped, would drive her to despair, or perhaps provoke her to take some rash measures, which would furnish her

her enemies with a sufficient handle for her destruction. The earl of Leicester ^{Camden.} being baffled in his expectation, by her temper and resignation, is said to have hired ruffians to murder this forlorn princess: but Drury was a man of too much honour to admit them into her presence. Nevertheless, she underwent the most barbarous treatment. She was now deprived of the conveniencies she had hitherto enjoyed. She was prohibited from giving alms to the poor, according to custom: she was confined to two wretched chambers, in such decay that they could not screen her from the inclemencies of the weather; so that she was seized with rheumatic disorders, by which her life was endangered; and though she appealed to queen Elizabeth for redress, the winter was far advanced before she was removed to Chartley-castle. ^{Jebb.}

§ LV. The prince of Parma continued to gain ground upon the confederated provinces of the Low-Countries, which sustained an irreparable loss by the death of the prince of Orange, who was treacherously shot by one Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian. His eldest son Philip being in the hands of the king of Spain, and bred in the Roman catholic religion, the states conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his second son Maurice, though he was but eighteen years of age; and the prince of Parma taking the advantage of their consternation, invested Antwerp. In this distressed condition, they offered to acknowledge the sovereignty of the French; but Henry being too much embarrassed in his own affairs, to accept an offer that would engage him in further trouble and expence, they had recourse to the queen of England, who likewise declined their offer, though she promised to assist them in maintaining the war against their oppressors. Henry III. of France having no issue, and ^{Grotius.} being supposed impotent, the duke of Guise aspired to the crown of that realm, upon the death of the duke of Anjou, which happened in the course of this year: but as Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, was now become the next prince of the blood, Guise endeavoured to exclude him from the throne, on account of his professing the protestant religion. Henry, who perceived his drift, employed all his influence in persuading the king of Navarre to embrace the catholic doctrines, while the duke renewed the league, first in Paris, and afterwards in the provinces. Hearing, however, that the king intended to arrest him, he retired to his government of Champagne, where he engaged in a private league with the king of Spain. He durst not yet openly avow his design upon the crown; therefore this treaty imported, that the cardinal of Bourbon should ascend the throne after the death of the reigning king; and that Philip of Spain should supply him with fifty thousand crowns a month, for the accomplishment of that purpose. ^{Rapin.}

§ LVI. In the beginning of the following year, a new conspiracy was discovered in England. William Parry, a Welshman, and member of the house of commons, had manifested his zeal for the Roman catholic religion, by singly opposing with great violence a bill that was brought into the house against the jesuits. He had spoke with such indecent warmth on this occasion, that the house confined him to his lodgings; from whence, however, he was in a few days released, and resumed his place in parliament. Then it was that Henry Nevil, the pretended heir of the earl of Westmoreland, lately dead in Flanders, accused him of having conspired the death of the queen: and he was committed to the Tower on this impeachment. He confessed he had ^{An.Ch. 1585.} been

been persuaded to assassinate the queen by Morgan the English refugee in France: that he had procured admittance into her majesty's presence by discovering a feigned conspiracy; but that being struck with remorse, he had laid aside his dagger and his treasonable design: but chancing to read a book written by cardinal Allen, who maintained it was not only allowable but honourable to kill excommunicated princes, he had resolved to execute his former purpose: that his accuser Nevil having proposed to him some enterprize for the release of queen Mary, he answered, that he had a scheme of much greater consequence in his head, which he accordingly imparted: that they had agreed to murder her majesty, when she should ride forth to take the air; and swore upon the evangelists to keep their purpose secret; but the earl of Westmoreland dying in the interim, Nevil had accused Parry, in hope of obtaining for this discovery the inheritance of the earl, to which he had some pretensions. In consequence of this confession, Parry was condemned and executed as a traitor; and the parliament resolved to take extraordinary precautions for the safety of the queen and the realm.

§ LVII. They forthwith enacted a statute receiving, approving, and confirming, the general association; ordaining that four and twenty commissioners, to be appointed by the queen, should set on foot an inquiry concerning those who might endeavour to excite a rebellion, attempt any thing against the life of the queen, or arrogate any right to the crown of England; and that any person convicted of such attempts, should not only forfeit for ever that right, whatsoever it might be, but also be prosecuted to death, by sentence of the commissioners. Another bill passed, ordaining that all Romish priests should in four days quit the kingdom, on pain of being declared guilty of high treason; while those that received or concealed them, should be prosecuted as felons: That all the subjects of England maintained in foreign seminaries, should return to their native country in six months; and make their submission before a bishop, or two justices of the peace, on pain of being denounced traitors; and that even this submission should be deemed null and of no effect, in case the person who made it should in ten years come within ten miles of the court: That all convicted of having directly or indirectly remitted sums of money to foreign seminaries, should be punished with perpetual banishment, and confiscation of effects: That all persons knowing of any popish priest or jesuit concealed in the kingdom, without discovering the said priest or jesuit, within four days after the publication of this statute, should be imprisoned and fined at her majesty's discretion: That persons suspected of being priests or jesuits, refusing to submit to proper examination, should be imprisoned till compliance: That persons sending their children to popish colleges and seminaries, should be condemned in a fine of one hundred pounds, for every offence; and that the children so sent, if not returned within the year, should be incapable of succeeding to any inheritance: That no governor of any sea-port town should allow any person but merchants to leave the kingdom without the queen's express permission, signed by six members of the council, on pain of being deprived of his employment; and that shipmasters receiving such passengers without this permission, should be punished with confiscation of goods, one year's imprisonment, and declared incapable of navigating any English ships for the future. This was the most rigorous statute which had been enacted against

against the papists since the queen's accession to the throne, and was in a great measure owing to their own restless conduct, in forming machinations against the government. As for the other law, it was evidently levelled at Mary queen of Scotland, and the effect of a resolution taken against the life of that unfortunate lady, which Elizabeth now deemed incompatible with her own safety.

§ LVIII. In this session the puritanical members were extremely troublesome in bringing in bills and petitions for a further reformation of religion: at length they demanded a conference, which was held at Lambeth, between archbishop Whitgift and their ablest ministers, in presence of the earl of Leicester, and others of the privy-council, who were astonished at the weakness of the arguments used by the puritans, and endeavoured to persuade them to conformity. The commons were not more officious in point of religion, than jealous of their own privileges. Richard Cook, member for Limington, being served with a subpoena out of chancery, the house sent three other members, attended by the serjeant at arms, to signify to the chancellor, and the master of the rolls, that by the ancient privileges of the house, the members are exempted from subpoenas: the house therefore required that Cook's appearance should be discharged; and that the chancellor, and the master of the rolls, would for the future admit the same privileges for other members, to be signified to them in writing, under the hand of the speaker. Sir Thomas Bromley disputed this privilege, and a committee was appointed to search for precedents; but it does not appear that any report was made. Nevertheless, Allan Stepnith, member for Haverfordwest, being afterwards served with a subpoena, followed by an attachment from the Star-chamber, the house resolved that Anthony Kirke, who served the subpoena, was guilty of a contempt of the house, and the privileges thereof. He was committed prisoner to the serjeant; but released upon making his submission. The convocation granted a subsidy to the queen, who received another from the parliament, which she now prorogued, and afterwards dissolved.

§ LIX. Philip earl of Arundel, eldest son of the late duke of Norfolk, had embraced the catholic religion, to which he was zealously attached: he had been twice examined before the council, and confined to his own house, on suspicion of practising against the government. On the first day of this session, he withdrew in the time of divine worship; and at length resolved to retire to another country, where he could enjoy his religion in quiet. He wrote a letter to the queen, to be delivered after his departure, in which he told her, that, in order to avoid the misfortunes which had befallen his father and grandfather, he had taken the resolution to quit the kingdom, though he should never quit his allegiance. Before he could embark, he was betrayed by some of his own domestics, and sent prisoner to the Tower, which was at this time the scene of a remarkable transaction. Henry Piercy earl of Northumberland, brother of him who had been beheaded, being accused of having had some share in Throgmorton's conspiracy, and of having corresponded with lord Paget and the duke of Guise, was committed to the Tower, where, either conscious of his guilt, or foreseeing that evidence would be suborned for his destruction, he, in order to disappoint Elizabeth of his forfeiture, and retain his fortune in the family, shot himself in the breast with a pistol.

§ LX.

§ LX. At this period, a gathering cloud of mischief seemed to hover over the head of Elizabeth. The power of her inveterate enemy the duke of Guise daily increased. Philip of Spain, after having made himself master of Portugal, was now on the brink of subduing the revolted provinces of the Netherlands; and means were used to render James of Scotland subservient to a design of invading England. The captive Mary was the center upon which all those designs had ever turned, and therefore she was devoted to destruction. The ministry of England, in order to avert the impending danger, resolved to engage in alliances with the two northern crowns, and the protestant princes in Germany; to support the confederates in the Low-Countries; succour the Huguenots in France, so as that they should not be oppressed; and either make sure of the person of James, or excite such troubles in his kingdom as would render him incapable of forming schemes to the prejudice of England. Thomas Bodley was sent ambassador into Germany and Denmark, to propose a defensive alliance with Elizabeth, who being informed that James intended to demand the daughter of his Danish majesty in marriage, resolved to use all her efforts to divert him from his purpose; for she apprehended such a marriage would diminish her influence in the councils of Scotland. She therefore sent Edward Wotton, a man of the most insinuating address, to reside with the Scottish king, as the companion of his leisure hours and amusements, that he might gain the ascendancy over the spirit of that weak prince; and he succeeded to admiration. The king of Denmark being apprized of the Scottish monarch's intention, sent an embassy to Scotland on pretence of demanding the restitution of the Orkney islands, which had been long ago mortgaged to the Scottish crown; but Christian's real motive for sending these ambassadors, was to give James an opportunity to propose the marriage.

§ LXI. By this time Wotton had taken full possession of the Scottish prince. He had captivated his fancy by giving a romantic account of his travels; entertaining him with ridiculous stories of goblins and witches; flattering his vanity with exaggerated encomiums on his wisdom and learning; and attending him assiduously in all his parties of pleasure. Having thus acquired an oracular authority, he persuaded James that the king of Denmark was not of royal extraction, but descended of a race of merchants; and, for this reason, the ambassadors were treated with the most provoking contempt, until the king was undeceived by Sir James Melvil. Then they were honourably dismissed; and in a little time followed by Patrick Young, chaplain to James, who sent him to thank the king of Denmark for his embassy, and to see the two princesses, that he might be able to describe their persons at his return. In the interim, the earl of Arran was superseded in his influence by the master of Gray, seconded by the interest of Wotton; and an accident which happened on the frontiers, had a very bad effect upon that minister's fortune. The laird of Fernherst, who had married Arran's niece, holding a conference, according to custom, with the warden of the English Marches, an Englishman was detected in the act of stealing; and this circumstance excited a fray between the followers of the two wardens, in which Sir Francis Russel, eldest son to the earl of Bedford, lost his life. Elizabeth, who hated Fernherst for his inviolable attachment to queen Mary, and wanted a pretext for the destruction of Arran, affected to believe that the tumult was raised at the

the instigation of the Scottish minister; and demanded that he and his ally, the laird of Fernherst, should be delivered into her hands. Though James refused to comply with this request, he ordered the earl of Arran to be confined in his own house, and Fernherst was sent prisoner to Aberdeen. This was all the satisfaction Elizabeth could expect, considering that the affair could not easily be determined in a court of justice; because, by the mutual consent of both nations, the evidence of a Scot did not convict an Englishman; nor was an Englishman's deposition ever taken against a native of Scotland.

§ LXII. Wotton having removed Arran from the Scottish court, and corrupted great part of those who were in daily attendance upon the king, resolved to seize the person of that prince, when he should ride forth a-hunting, and convey him directly to England. Being disappointed in this scheme, he formed a plan for forcing the castle of Stirling; but James being informed of the design, retired to Kincardin before the scheme was ripe for execution. Wotton finding himself detected, fled into England; Gray withdrew himself to Athole, and the earl of Arran resumed his ministry. The fugitive lords being supplied with money in England, entered Scotland, where they were joined by a strong reinforcement under lord Maxwell, and advanced to Stirling, which they entered without opposition. Arran made his escape; but they were admitted into the castle by the king, towards whom they behaved with the utmost reverence and circumspection. Such was their moderation, that they did not even take vengeance on their enemies. At a parliament held in Linlithgow, their pardons were confirmed. The Hamiltons were restored to their estates and honours, and Arran, who had decked himself with their spoils, was reduced to his primitive title of captain James Stewart *.

§ XLIII. By this time the estates of the Netherlands were so hard pressed by the forces of Philip, that queen Elizabeth perceived the necessity of furnishing them with effectual assistance. She therefore engaged by treaty to succour them with five thousand foot soldiers, and one thousand cavalry, under the command of an English general; and to pay these troops during the war, on condition of being reimbursed after peace should be re-established. In the mean time it was stipulated that she should be put in possession of Flessingen, Rammikens, and the Brille, as security for the repayment: that the English governors of these places should have no jurisdiction over the inhabitants: that the towns should be restored to the states on the payment of the money: that the English general, and two other persons nominated by the queen of England, should have places in the assembly of the states; and that neither peace nor truce should be made without the mutual consent of Elizabeth and the confederates: that in case of her sending a fleet to sea, they should join it with a like number of ships, to be commanded by the English admiral:

* In the course of this year, John Davis finished his third voyage in quest of a north-west passage to the East Indies. He discovered the strait which bears his name, and sailed beyond the 83d degree of northern latitude; but was obliged to return without success. Camden.

In the same year, the burghs of Ireland raised two successive insurrections; but were reduced by

Sir John Perrot the lord deputy, reinforced by the earl of Clanrickard, who not only compelled them to give fresh hostages, but destroyed their allies the Hebridian Scots; three thousand of whom were cut in pieces at Ardavar; so that their countrymen were deterred from prosecuting such adventures, and Ireland for some time remained in tranquillity. Carte.

and, lastly, that the harbours of both countries should be open to the subjects of each nation. In pursuance of this treaty, the Brille was delivered to Sir Thomas Cecil; Sir Philip Sidney was appointed governor of Flushing; the earl of Leicester was appointed general of the auxiliaries; and the queen published a manifesto to vindicate her conduct, alledging that the alliance between England and the Netherlands related to the mutual welfare of both countries, rather than to any personal connection between the sovereigns: she therefore deemed herself at liberty to succour the people of the Low-Countries, who were oppressed by the Spaniards. As she knew these arguments would not be satisfactory to Philip, she resolved to anticipate his vengeance, and equipping a fleet of twenty ships, sent them under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake, to infest the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. In his passage he took St. Jago, one of the cape de Verd islands; made himself master of St. Domingo and Carthagena. In his return through the gulph of Florida, he burned St. Augustine and St. Helena, and touching at Virginia, took on board captain Lane and his companions, who having been sent by Sir Walter Rawleigh to plant that colony, were greatly reduced in point of number, and in a starving condition. They therefore took this opportunity to relinquish their infant settlement, and brought home some tobacco; a plant which had never been seen before in England.

Meteren.

Camden.

§ LXIV. Elizabeth not only supported the estates of the Netherlands against the oppression of Spain; but also extended her assistance to the Huguenots in France, headed by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé. The duke of Guise covering his ambition with the pretext of religion, interested the court of Rome and the clergy in the design which he had formed for the extirpation of the protestants. He published a manifesto in the name of the cardinal de Bourbon, pretending to prove that he was next heir to the crown; while pope Sixtus V. who succeeded Gregory XIII. fulminated the thunder of the church against the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, as heretics, apostates, and the offspring of a bastard generation. These princes finding themselves thus assaulted by the duke of Guise, and abandoned by Henry III. who was obliged to join Guise for their destruction, re-assembled their troops; which, however, were so inconsiderable that they could not withstand the power of their enemies. The prince of Condé attempting to succour the castle of Angers, which Guise had besieged, was suddenly surrounded by the enemy, and escaping with great difficulty, repaired to the court of England, where he was hospitably received by Elizabeth. She knew her own interest was connected with the safety of the Huguenots; and supplied the prince with fifty thousand crowns and ten ships, by means of which he raised the blockade of Rochelle. When the earl of Leicester arrived in Holland, the estates constituted him governor-general of all the United Provinces, with an almost dictatorial power, which was by no means agreeable to Elizabeth, who perceived their aim was to engage her farther than she chose to embark in their interests. The confederates had conceived great hopes from the abilities of Leicester; but they found themselves grievously disappointed in his administration, which was weak, cruel, and oppressive. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, the prince of Parma continued his conquests, reducing Grave, Nuy, and Venloo, while the English forces achieved nothing of importance.

Mezerai.

Camden.

An. Ch. 1586.

Sir

Sir Philip Sidney indeed helped to surprize Axele ; but failed in his attempt upon Gravelines, and was afterwards mortally wounded in a skirmish, to the inexpressible regret of the English nation, by whom he was universally beloved *Meteren.* and admired, as a pattern of generosity, gallantry, taste, learning, and every personal accomplishment. After an inglorious campaign, the earl of Leicester left the administration to the council of state, and returned to England in the beginning of November*.

§ LXV. During these transactions, Elizabeth sent Randolph to the court of Scotland with proposals for an offensive and defensive league between the two nations, as a mutual security against the machinations of the catholic princes. Notwithstanding the efforts of Desneval the French envoy in Scotland, the plenipotentiaries of both kingdoms opened a congress at Berwick, where the treaty was concluded, on condition that both powers should defend the protestant religion against all its enemies in either kingdom : That if either of the powers should be attacked, the other should give no assistance directly or indirectly to the aggressor, on pretence of any former treaty or alliance whatsoever : That, in case England should be invaded at a distance from Scotland, James should furnish the queen with two thousand cavalry, and five thousand foot soldiers, to be subsisted by Elizabeth from the day on which they should enter the kingdom of England ; and that, in case Scotland should be attacked in the same manner, the queen should assist James with three thousand horse, and double the number of infantry ; but, in case of England's being invaded in any place within sixty miles of the border, the king of Scotland should join Elizabeth's army with all his forces : That, should England be invaded, James should prohibit the inhabitants of Argyleshire from making descents on Ireland : That the two powers should mutually deliver up, or at least expel from their dominions, the rebellious subjects of each other : That in six months they should send commissioners to the borders, to regulate and determine all differences between the two nations : That neither party should conclude any *Camden.* treaty to the prejudice of these articles, without the other's consent : That this treaty should be ratified on both sides by letters-patent : That it should not derogate from former treaties made between the two crowns ; or from those made by either crown with other potentates, except in what concerned religion ; with regard to which this league offensive and defensive should remain firm and inviolable : That this treaty should be confirmed by the states of Scotland, when the king should have attained the age of five and twenty ; and in like manner it should receive the sanction of the English and Irish parliaments.

* On the twenty-first day of July, Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk set sail from Plymouth with two ships and a bark, passed through the streights of Magellan into the South-sea, where he plundered some small towns upon the coasts of Chili and Peru, took the rich Acapulco ship, with nineteen other prizes, and returned by the Cape of Good Hope, having made the circuit of the earth in two years and two months. The success of this expedition encouraged him to undertake a second of the same nature : but he was

hindered by contrary winds from passing through the streights, and driven back to the coast of Brazil, where he died. About the same time James Lancaster and George Ryman set sail for the East Indies. Ryman with his ships was lost. Lancaster's crew was reduced to the number of thirty-three : nevertheless he returned richly laden ; and his sailors were afterwards serviceable in teaching their countrymen the method of trading in the East Indies.

CHAP. VIII.

§ I. Babington's conspiracy. § II. The papers and secretaries of Mary queen of Scots are seized. § III. The council divided in opinion touching the method of proceeding against that princess. § IV. Her trial at Fotheringay. § V. She is condemned, and her sentence published. § VI. The French king intercedes in her behalf. § VII. Stafford's plot. § VIII. James of Scotland sends two ambassadors extraordinary to England. § IX. Elizabeth signs the warrant for the execution of Mary. § X. That princess prepares for death. § XI. And is beheaded in the castle of Fotheringay. § XII. Her character. § XIII. Her son James is soon appeased. § XIV. Davison's apology. § XV. Proceedings in parliament. § XVI. The states-general complain of Leicester's conduct. § XVII. Progress of Sir Francis Drake against the Spaniards. § XVIII. Philip prepares a formidable armament against England. § XIX. Precautions taken by Elizabeth for the defence of the kingdom. § XX. Fruitless negotiation for a peace between England and Spain. § XXI. The Spanish Armada enters the channel, where it is defeated and dispersed. § XXII. Death of the earl of Leicester. § XXIII. The king of France is insulted by the duke of Guise. § XXIV. The kingdom of England enjoys great tranquillity. § XXV. James king of Scotland espouses Anne of Denmark. § XXVI. The parliament petition the queen to declare war against the king of Spain. § XXVII. Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norreys, sail upon an expedition to the coast of Spain and Portugal. § XXVIII. Henry III. king of France is assassinated by a Jacobin friar, and succeeded by the king of Navarre, under the name of Henry IV. § XIX. He receives a reinforcement of English troops. § XXX. He gains the battle of Ivry. § XXXI. Disturbances in Ireland. § XXXII. Death of Walsingham, and other remarkable men. § XXXIII. Lord Thomas Howard sails to the Azores. Gallantry of captain Greenville. § XXXIV. Elizabeth sends succours to Henry of France. § XXXV. She is incensed against that prince. § XXXVI. With whom, however, she engages in a new treaty. § XXXVII. Troubles in Ireland and Scotland. § XXXVIII. Proceedings in parliament. § XXXIX. Henry IV. of France professes the Roman catholic religion. § XL. Don Diego d'Ibarra hires assassins to murder Elizabeth. § XLI. The French king's affairs take a more favourable turn. § XLII. The queen of Scotland is delivered of prince Henry. § XLIII. Bothwell and the popish lords are obliged to quit that kingdom. § XLIV. Death of Sir Francis Drake in the West Indies. § XLV. Philip excites a fresh rebellion in Ireland. § XLVI. The French king is distressed by the Spaniards. § XLVII. Elizabeth demands a reimbursement of the states-general; levies forces for the relief of Calais, which is taken by the archduke Albert. § XLVIII. The city of Cadiz is taken by the earl of Essex. § XLIX. The queen renews her demands upon the states-general. § L. A new treaty between France and England. § LI. Philip continues his intrigues in Ireland. § LII. The earl of Essex sails upon an expedition to the Azores. § LIII. Dispute between Elizabeth and the Hanse-towns. § LIV. Henry of France treats privately with Philip. § LV. Peace between these two powers. § LVI. A

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new treaty between Elizabeth and the states-general. § LVII. Death of Philip II. king of Spain. § LVIII. The queen strikes Essex. § LIX. This nobleman is appointed lord deputy of Ireland. § LX. He returns to England, and is disgraced. § LXI. The rebellion continues to rage in Ireland. § LXII. Cabals of the earl of Essex. § LXIII. Conspiracy by the earl of Gowrie against the life of James king of Scotland. § LXIV. Congress for a peace with Spain. The archduke Albert is defeated by prince Maurice. § LXV. The lord Montjoy's progress against the Irish rebels. § LXVI. The earl of Essex attempts to raise an insurrection in London. § LXVII. He is sent to the Tower, tried, condemned, and executed. § LXVIII. Ambassadors arrive from Scotland. § LXIX. A body of Spanish troops arrive in Ireland. § LXX. Depredations on the Spaniards by admiral Levison and Sir William Monson. § LXXI. The duke de Biron is beheaded in France. § LXXII. The rebellion in Ireland is extinguished. § LXXIII. Queen Elizabeth is taken ill. § LXXIV. Her death and character.

§ I. **I**MMEDIATELY after the ratification of the league with Scotland, the English ministry discovered a conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth. Doctor Gifford, Gilbert Gifford, and Hodgefon, Romish priests of the seminary at Rheims, persuaded one John Savage that there could not be a more meritorious action than that of killing an excommunicated prince; and this mad enthusiast made a solemn vow to murder the queen. John Ballard, another priest who had been privately in England, returned to Paris, accompanied by one Maude, a secret spy of Walsingham, and exhorted Mendoza, the Spanish minister at the court of France, to promote an invasion of England, while the best of the queen's troops were employed in the Netherlands. He consulted Charles Paget on the same subject, and coming back to England, imparted the scheme to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Dethick in Derbyshire, who proposed that he, and five other stout men, should assassinate Elizabeth. For this purpose he engaged Edward, brother to the lord Windsor; Thomas Salisbury of Denbighshire; Charles Tilney, one of the band of pensioners; Chidroc Titchburne, of Southampton; Edward Abingdon, whose father had been cofferer of the household; Robert Gage, of Surry; John Travers, and John Charnock of Lancashire; John Jones; Patrick Barnwell, an Irishman; and Henry Dun, a clerk in the first fruits office. These were all bigotted Roman catholics; and admitted into their association one Dolly, who communicated all their deliberations to Walsingham, together with Savage, who had already devoted the queen to destruction. They bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, and were even vain enough to employ a painter to draw them in one piece, with mysterious mottos, alluding to some desperate undertaking. This performance was shewn to Elizabeth, and the pictures made such a strong impression upon her memory, that she recognized Barnwell in her garden, when turning to the captain of the guard, "Am not I well guarded, (said she) without one armed man in my company?" Babington seeing the necessity of an invasion, to facilitate the success of their measures, introduced himself to Walsingham, whom he solicited for a passport, by virtue of which he and Ballard might set out on their travels. That minister being well apprized of his intention, promised to grant his request, the more readily as he undertook

took to discover the secret designs of the Scottish fugitives in France : but in a few days Ballard was apprehended. Babington, alarmed at this circumstance, directed Charnoc and Savage to execute the murder with the first opportunity : yet afterwards understanding that Ballard had been seized as a popish priest, he changed his resolution, and by letters pressed Walsingham to procure the licence and release of his friend, who would be of singular service to him in executing the plan he had projected in the queen's behalf. The secretary still amused him with hopes of obtaining his desire ; and, in the mean time, ordered Scudamore, his own servant, to watch him in such a manner that he should not escape. Babington discovering by accident that Scudamore was employed as a spy upon his actions, found means to escape into the fields, where he was joined by Dun and Barnwell. A proclamation was immediately issued, in which they were described, and declared traitors. They were apprehended at Harrow, in the disguise of peasants. Their accomplices likewise fell into the hands of the queen's officers. They confessed the conspiracy, pleaded guilty at their trials, and were executed, to the number of fourteen, in St. Giles's fields, their usual place of meeting.

§ II. Mary queen of Scots was charged with having carried on a correspondence with Babington, by means of Gilbert Gifford, who betrayed her letters to Walsingham. In these letters she approved of his scheme for assassinating Elizabeth, and setting herself at liberty. She advised him to form an association, but to abstain from raising an insurrection, until assured of foreign assistance ; to engage in the scheme the earl of Arundel and his brothers ; the earl of Westmoreland, Paget, and others ; and, in order to procure her own deliverance, she directed him to overturn a cart in the gate of the castle ; to set fire to the stables, or intercept her as she rode out for exercise, between Chartley and Stafford. Immediately after the conspirators were apprehended, Sir Thomas Gorges was sent to make Mary acquainted with the transaction. He accosted her purposely when she had taken horse to ride out from the castle of Chartley, to which she never returned. She was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, until she reached the castle of Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire, where she was closely confined. Her papers were seized, and sent up sealed to court ; and her money secured, on pretence of preventing its being converted to the purposes of bribery. Nau, a frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, her two secretaries, were arrested and committed to prison. Upon examination, they are said to have owned a correspondence with Babington ; that their mistress dictated the letters in French, which Curle translated into English, and then they were written in cypher. Attested copies of these letters were sent by Sir Edward Wotton to Paris, that the court of France might be convinced of Mary's being concerned in the conspiracy.

§ III. The council of England was divided in point of opinion, about the measures to be taken against the queen of Scotland. Some members proposed, that, as her health was very infirm, her life might be shortened by close confinement, so as to avoid any imputation of violence or cruelty ; others insisted upon her being put to death by legal process ; and the earl of Leicester proposed that she should be dispatched by poison. Sir Amias Paulet was directed to kill her without hesitation, should any disturbance happen in or near her lodgings ; and, when the chimney of her chamber took fire by accident, he actually appointed

pointed four servants to be her assassins, should she attempt to make her escape. Blackwood.
 This ill-starred princess was so conscious of the danger that hung over her head, that she wrote a letter to her kinsman the duke of Guise, in which she informed him of her being accused of practising against the life of Elizabeth; protested her innocence, and affirmed that her secretaries must have been put to the torture, otherwise they could not have given evidence to downright falsehoods. Being in continual expectation of death, either by private means or public execution, she intreated her cousin to reward her poor servants for their fidelity, as she herself had been deprived of all her effects, to convey her body to France, that it might be buried near her mother at Rheims, and cause her heart to be deposited beside that of Francis II. her first husband. The mi-Jebb.
 nistry of England at length resolved to proceed against her by public trial; and a commission was issued to forty peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of James V. king of Scots, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France *.

§ IV. Thirty-six of these commissioners arriving at Fotheringay on the eleventh of November, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial. She perused the letter with great composure; complained that every threatened danger, either from subjects or foreigners, was imputed to her by certain courtiers, who were her mortal enemies. She wondered the queen of England should command her as a subject, whereas she was an absolute sovereign, and independent princess. She said she would never stoop to any condescension which might derogate from her royal majesty, or prejudice the rank and dignity of her own son; that the laws of England were unknown to her; that she was destitute of counsel; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers; that she was even robbed of her own papers, and no person durst undertake to be her advocate. This declaration being committed to writing, and read to her, she added, that instead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, as Elizabeth alledged in her letter, she had been confined in prison since her first arrival in the kingdom; so that she neither derived the least benefit from the English laws, nor could she ever learn what sort of laws they were. When the commissioners pressed her to submit to the queen's pleasure, otherwise they would proceed against her as contumacious, she declared she would rather suffer a thousand deaths than own herself a subject to any prince on earth; yet she was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament; that for aught she knew, this meeting or assembly was devised against her life, on purpose to take it away under colour of legal proceedings. She exhorted them to consult their own consciences, and remember that the theatre of the world was much more extensive than the kingdom of England. At length the vice-chamberlain Hutton vanquished her objections, by representing that she injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her inno-

* These were the lord chancellor Bromley, the lord treasurer Burghley, the earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; the viscount Montacute, the lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St. John of Bletso;

Compton, and Cheney; Sir James Crofts, Sir Chr. Hutton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir W. Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet; the lords chief justices Wray and Anderson; the lord chief baron Manwood, and the justices Gaudy and Periam. Carte.

cence might be proved to the satisfaction of all mankind. This observation made such impression upon her, that she agreed to appear, if they would admit and allow her protest disowning all subjection: even when they refused to allow it, she was contented with its being received and entered in writing. Then they proceeded to the trial, and serjeant Gaudy charged her with knowing, approving, and consenting, to Babington's conspiracy. She denied that she had ever known or corresponded with Ballard or Babington, or had the least intimation of such a conspiracy. Babington's confession being read, in which mention was made of the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, she shed a flood of tears, exclaiming, "Alas! what hath the noble house of Howards endured for my sake?" But, soon recollecting herself, she said Babington's confession might be extorted by the rack, which was really the case; that her adversaries might procure the cyphers which she used, and forge whatever they pleased to invent to her prejudice; that it was improbable she should advise him to solicit the assistance of Arundel, who was shut up in prison, or that of Northumberland, a very young nobleman, with whom she never had the least connexion. She owned that she had used her best endeavours to recover her liberty, as nature herself dictates, and had solicited her friends for that purpose; but positively denied that ever she harboured a thought against the life of Elizabeth. She observed that many dangerous enterprizes might be attempted in her behalf, even without her knowledge; and expressed her suspicion that her cyphers and characters had been counterfeited for the purpose of taking away her life, by Walsingham and his emissaries, who she heard had already practised against her personal safety, and even contrived the death of her son. Walsingham, thus accused, rose up, and protested that his heart was free from malice; that he had never done any thing unbecoming an honest man in his private capacity, nor ought unworthy of the place he occupied in the state; though his zeal for the queen's preservation had prompted him to sift and examine carefully all the conspiracies that were formed against her life and dignity. The queen of Scots declared herself satisfied of his innocence, and desired he would give as little credit to the malicious accusations of her enemies, as she now gave to the reports which she had heard to his prejudice. The written evidence of her two secretaries being produced, she affirmed they had been either intimidated, tortured, or bribed, into a confession of what was absolutely false: she said she was not to be convicted but by her own words or hand-writing: she desired she might be confronted with her secretaries; and observed, that were she in possession of her notes, she could answer more particularly. She demanded a copy of her protest, an advocate to plead her cause, and an impartial hearing in full parliament. Her requests were rejected; and the court, after having sat several days, adjourned to the twenty-fifth day of October, at the Star-chamber in Westminster, when all the commissioners appeared, except Shrewsbury and Warwick.

§ V. Nau and Curle having sworn to the letters and copies which had been produced, sentence was pronounced against the queen of Scots, for having been privy to Babington's plot, and imagined, since the first day of June, divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth's person, contrary to the form of the statute in the commission specified. On the same day, the commissioners published a declaration, that the sentence did not

not at all derogate from James king of Scots in his title and honour; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the said sentence had never been pronounced. To condemn a sovereign princess so circumstanced, against whom neither word, writing, or subscription, could be produced, on the testimony of her own servants, who were rewarded for their evidence; and without bringing those witnesses to confront her at her trial, was of a piece with that iniquity and inhuman oppression to which she had been exposed since the day of her arrival in England. The parliament meeting on the twenty-ninth day of October, approved the sentence; and, in an address to the queen, desired it might be put in execution. She expressed the utmost aversion to such violent measures; and intreated the two houses to find some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking a step so repugnant to her inclination: but, at the same time, she informed them of a conspiracy to assassinate her within a month; so that they renewed their instances for the execution of Mary, and she affected to amuse them with mysterious answers. On the sixth day of December, the sentence against Mary queen of Scots was publicly proclaimed through the whole kingdom; and the lord Buckhurst, with Beale, was sent to notify it to that princess, and exhort her to prepare for death. When their message was delivered, she betrayed not the least emotion; but, with a cheerful countenance, thanked God that her troublesome pilgrimage would soon be at an end. Then Sir Amias Paulet ordered her canopy of state to be taken down, and divested her of all the other badges of royalty; an indignity of which she complained in a letter to queen Elizabeth, as well as of the unfair use which had been made of her letters and papers: she desired her body might be sent to France; that she might not be put to death in private; that her servants might enjoy the small legacies she should bequeathe, and be suffered to depart in peace to their own country.

§ VI. Henry III. of France being apprized of their proceedings against Mary, sent over Bellievre to intercede for her life with queen Elizabeth. That minister arriving in London, was admitted to an audience, and made a very strong remonstrance in favour of the captive queen. After having waited several days for an answer, he sent M. de St. Cyr to court, renewing his request for Mary's life, and desiring time to make his master acquainted with the situation of that unfortunate princess. In answer to this request, he received a verbal message, importing that the queen would wait twelve days for Henry's remonstrance. In the mean time, Bellievre being admitted to her presence at Greenwich, repeated his former arguments, to dissuade her from imbruing her hands in the blood of her kinswoman; an unhappy princess, doubly intitled to the rights of hospitality, as a guest and suppliant. He demonstrated that the execution of Mary would be an outrage against the law of nature and nations, the dictates of humanity, and the suggestions of Elizabeth's own interest; and concluded his harrangue by telling her, that should she proceed to extremities of rigour, his master would resent her conduct, as an injury to the common interest of all kings, and an insult to every sovereign in particular. Elizabeth asking if he was charged to use such language, he answered in the affirmative. "Have you such orders under your master's hand," (said she). He told her they were in letters written with the king's own hand: she required him to avow this assertion in writing; and he wrote without hesitation. She

Carte.

said she would send an ambassador to Paris to inform Henry of her resolution : when Bellievre was ready to depart, she desired he would tarry two or three days longer ; at length he received his passports, and returned to the continent. Notwithstanding the earnest manner in which Bellievre solicited for the life of the Scottish queen, he is said to have exhorted Elizabeth in private to hasten the execution of that princess ; and such collusion is not at all improbable, when we consider Henry's implacable animosity to the duke of Guise, the kinsman of Mary queen of Scotland.

Du Maurier.

An.Ch. 1587.

§ VII. The ministry of England, in order to pave the way for the execution of the Scottish queen, took care to alarm the nation with false surmises of new plots, and projected invasions. One Stafford being arrested on suspicion of treason, confessed that he had conferred with De Trappes, secretary to Chateauneuf, the French ambassador in ordinary, about hiring a desperado to murder the queen. De Trappes had set out for Dover, in hope of overtaking Bellievre with some dispatches, when he was seized upon the road, and conveyed prisoner to the Tower of London. Nothing material appearing in his papers, the council sent for Chateauneuf, and taxed him with having been concerned in a conspiracy against the queen's life. Stafford being brought before the board, insisted upon the ambassador's being privy to the design ; and his evidence was confirmed by Moody, the pretended assassin. Chateauneuf owned that Stafford had mentioned some such project to him ; but that he had turned him out of his house, and threatened to deliver him into the hands of her majesty. The council reprimanded him sharply for having concealed such a treasonable design ; and the queen complained of his conduct to Henry, by the mouth of the ambassador whom she sent to Paris immediately after the departure of Bellievre. By these complaints, and other pretences of designs formed against her life, she eluded the solicitations of Henry in favour of the Scottish queen. Stafford's plot was devised for the purpose. Rumours were raised and industriously propagated to frighten and provoke the people. A Spanish fleet was said to have arrived in Milford-Haven. It was reported that the Scots had made an irruption into England ; that the duke of Guise had landed with an army in Suffex ; that the queen of Scots had escaped from prison ; that a rebellion was raised in the north ; and a new conspiracy hatched to murder the queen, and burn the city of London : nay, in some counties queen Elizabeth was believed to be already murdered. Such were the arts practised by the ministry, to excite a ferment in the nation, and exasperate the subjects against the queen of Scots, as the cause of all these calamities.

Camden.

§ VIII. James of Scotland was no sooner informed of his mother's distress, than he dispatched W. Keith, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, otherwise he should think himself bound by the laws of God and man to revenge her death ; and beseeching her at any rate to respite the execution of the sentence, until he could send an ambassador with further propositions, which she might find satisfactory. She was seized with a transport of indignation when she perused this letter, in which James presumed to threaten her with vengeance ; but her passion subsiding, she granted the desired respite. At length the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvil, arriving in London, proposed that their king should give the chief of his nobility as hostages, to secure Elizabeth from any future practices

practices of his mother, who should resign her right of succession to her son; and this resignation should be guaranteed by foreign princes. These proposals the queen rejected with disdain; and, when Sir Robert Melvil begged earnestly that the execution might be deferred for a week, she answered with great emotion, "No; not for an hour." We have already observed, that Elizabeth's dissimulation failed her whenever Mary was the subject of conversation. James recalled his ambassadors in a passion, which however was soon cooled by the master of Gray, who was a pensioner of the queen of England.

§ IX. Elizabeth now proceeded to act the last part of the tragedy relating to the unhappy queen of Scotland. In order to possess her people with an opinion of her clemency, and aversion to violent measures, we have seen that several noblemen had thrown themselves at her feet, beseeching her to take pity upon them and their posterity; and, by the death of Mary, provide for the safety of religion and the realm. This farce they performed before the commission was expedited. After the sentence was pronounced, she suffered herself to be twice addressed by the parliament, which even reproached her with having refused her people justice, because she delayed the execution of the sentence: she thought it necessary to circulate false reports, and alarm the nation with imaginary dangers, before she would sign the death warrant; and, lastly, she contrived means for inspiring the people with a belief that this warrant was executed without her knowledge, and contrary to her intention. She made use of Davison as her tool on this occasion. He had been lately appointed secretary of state for the purpose. The queen, in seeming terror at those reports, which her own creatures had diffused through the kingdom, delivered to Davison an order signed with her own hand, and sealed with her own seal, to make out a warrant for the execution of Mary, under the sanction of the great seal, and to keep it secret in his own custody, until he should receive further directions. Next morning she sent two gentlemen successively, to desire that Davison would not go to the chancellor until she should see him: when he told her that the chancellor had already put the great seal to the warrant, she pretended to be dissatisfied, and asked what need there was for such hurry? The order for the execution was directed to the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland, who were ordered to see the queen of Scots beheaded in their presence. Davison, who was well acquainted with the real sentiments of Elizabeth touching queen Mary, communicated what had passed to the members of the privy council, who unanimously resolved that the order should be put in execution. It was immediately delivered to Beale, who summoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, and set out for Fotheringay with two executioners.

§ X. Mary heard the death-warrant read without exhibiting the least marks of discomposure; though she expressed her surprize that the queen of England should consent to her being executed; and laying her hand on a New Testament which happened to be upon the table, she solemnly protested, that she had never devised, pursued, or consented to any design against the person of Elizabeth. She denied her having had the least concern in Babington's conspiracy; and inquiring about the fate of Nau and Curle, asked whether it had ever been heard of before, that servants were suborned and admitted as evidence against their master? She desired that her confessor might attend her;

a favour which is granted to the worst malefactors, though now cruelly denied to the queen of Scotland. After the earls had retired, she ate sparingly at supper; and her attendants weeping and lamenting her fate, she comforted them with a chearful countenance, telling them they ought not to mourn, but rejoice at the prospect of her speedy deliverance from a world of misery. The earl of Kent, who seems to have hated her with an uncommon degree of rancour, had told her that her life was the death, and her death would be the life, of the protestant religion. Mary seemed to triumph in this declaration, observing to Burgoign her physician, that it was a plain acknowledgment of her being put to death on account of religion, and not for any offence she had committed against the person of Elizabeth. After supper, she reviewed her will, and perused the inventory of her effects. These she bequeathed to different individuals; and divided her money, which by this time she had recovered, into a number of little purses, and distributed them among her servants, whom she warmly recommended in letters to the king of France and the duke of Guise. Going to bed at her usual hour, she passed part of the night in uninterrupted repose; then rising, spent the remainder in prayer and acts of devotion.

§ XI. On the day of her death, which was the eighth of February, she dressed herself with equal elegance and decorum, and causing her will to be read in the hearing of her servants, desired they would take their legacies in good part, as her ability did not correspond with her wishes in their favour. When Thomas Andrews, high sheriff of the county, came to call her to execution, she was employed in prayer. She came forth with a composed countenance, and majestic demeanor, with a long veil of linnen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. At the bottom of the stairs, Sir Andrew Melvil, master of her household, fell upon his knees, and shedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland. "Lament not (said she) but rather rejoice, that Mary Stuart will soon be freed from all her cares. Tell my friends that I die constant in my religion, and firm in my fidelity and affection towards Scotland and France. God forgive them who have thirsted after my blood, as the harts do after the water brooks. Thou, O God, who art truth itself, and perfectly understandest the inward thoughts of my heart, knowest how greatly I have desired that the realms of England and Scotland might be united. Commend me to my son, and assure him I have done nothing prejudicial to the state or crown of Scotland. Admonish him to preserve amity and friendship with the queen of England, and see that thou do him faithful service." In this place she was received by the four noblemen, who with great difficulty were prevailed upon to allow Melvil, with her physician, apothecary, surgeon, and two female attendants, to be present at the execution. Then the noblemen and the sheriff going before, and Melvil bearing up her train, she walked to the scaffold, which was raised about two feet from the floor of the hall, and furnished with a chair, a cushion, and a block, covered with black cloth. As soon as she had seated herself, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution; then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, standing without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which she interrupted twice, desiring him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the Roman catholic religion. The lords industriously tormented this poor lady in her last moments.

ments. They ordered the dean to pray; and he proceeded, although she told them that she could not join with them, and had very little time to spare for her own devotions. She therefore, with her servants, fell on her knees, and prayed aloud in Latin, from the office of the Virgin Mary. When the dean left off speaking, she prayed again in the English tongue, fervently recommending the church, her son, and queen Elizabeth, to the protection of Almighty God. When her acts of devotion were finished, she ordered her women to undress her for the block; and the executioners rudely interfering, bade them stand off, saying, she was not used to undress herself before so much company, nor accustomed to such valets de chambre. Her two women bursting into tears, and loud exclamations of sorrow, she reminded them, in the French language, of her having undertaken for their discreet behaviour: she embraced them tenderly, bidding them forbear their womanish lamentations, for now she should rest from all her sorrows; then turning to her men servants, who were overwhelmed with unspeakable affliction, she, with a gracious smile, bade them farewell. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she wished God would forgive her own transgressions. She once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were covered with a linen handkerchief: she laid her head upon the block without the least mark of perturbation, recited a psalm, and having repeated a pious ejaculation, received the fatal stroke. She was cruelly mangled by the executioner, who having at length severed her head from her body, and holding it up in his hand, the dean of Peterborough exclaimed, "So let all queen Elizabeth's enemies perish." The earl of Kent answered, Amen; while the rest of the spectators wept and sighed at this affecting spectacle. Her women begged they might be allowed to perform the last offices to their dead mistress, offering to pay thrice the value of what remained about her breathless corpse; but their request was denied: they were roughly commanded to be gone, and the body was left to the discretion of the executioners, by whom it was indecently stripped, and carried into an adjoining room, where they covered it with a coarse russet cloth belonging to an old billiard-table. It was afterwards embalmed, inclosed in a leaden coffin, and interred with great pomp and solemnity in the cathedral of Peterborough; from whence her son James removed it, in the sequel, to the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster.

Spottiswood.
Jebb.

§ XII. Such was the untimely fate of Mary Stuart, a princess unmatched in beauty, and unequalled in misfortune. Perhaps the charms of her person, and the accomplishments of her sex, in which she far outshone all her contemporaries, contributed as much to her ruin, as did her title to the crown of England, which is generally supposed to have been the cause of her death. Elizabeth was a woman as well as a politician. She not only dreaded Mary as the rival of her dignity, but also envied her superior qualifications. Though other motives influenced her ministry against that princess, the queen of England seems to have been in a great measure actuated by personal malice, founded upon the result of a comparison between her own character and that of the all-accomplished Mary queen of Scots. This was the original grudge upon which all her future rancour was grafted; for after Mary had been detained nineteen years in captivity; after those conspiracies which had been formed

Camden.

formed in her behalf by the first noblemen in England, were utterly crushed and extinguished, and Elizabeth's throne established upon universal popularity; while she lived in harmony with the king of France, found employment for Philip in the Netherlands, and her kingdom was altogether free from disturbance or commotion, we cannot suppose that she really thought herself in danger from the machinations of her prisoner. Had she had been guided by political views only, perhaps she would have released the queen of Scots in the beginning of her captivity. In that case she would have been exempted from the danger of those commotions which were excited by her imprisonment; and the factions would have been continued in Scotland, where she might have easily managed both sides for her own advantage. Mary queen of Scots, bating some acts of indiscretion, excusable from her youth and inexperience, was a lady possessed of the most amiable virtues: over and above her amazing beauty, and the exquisite symmetry of her person, she was learned, penetrating, invincibly secret, liberal, charitable, unaffectedly pious, meek, affable, magnanimous, and endowed with such fortitude as no adversity could discompose.

§ XIII. When the tidings of Mary's death were brought to queen Elizabeth, she affected to express the utmost astonishment, with all the marks of extravagant sorrow. She commanded the members of the council to quit her presence; and Davison to be prosecuted in the Star-chamber. She wept, wailed, and lamented the hard fate of her dear kinswoman. She dispatched her relation Robert Cary with a letter to James king of Scotland, expressing her incomparable grief of mind at the lamentable accident which had happened, contrary to her intention; and professing the warmest regard and affection for him and his concerns. The Scottish king breathed nothing but revenge against those who had brought his mother to the block. He would not admit Cary into his kingdom; but sent Sir George Hume, and the master of Melvil, to receive his letter on the border. He was not satisfied with Elizabeth's apology, nor the confinement of Davison, whom she had ordered to be prosecuted in the Star-chamber. The estates of Scotland meeting at Edinburgh, promised to assist their sovereign in revenging his mother's death, with their lives and fortunes. But the queen of England had emissaries in the court of James, who found no difficulty in appeasing his indignation. They appealed to his prevailing passions of fear and vanity. They represented the danger of engaging in a war with England, a rich, powerful nation, able to crush him in one campaign; and the folly of incensing a people over whom he had the fairest prospect of reigning, provided he should not provoke them to take some step to the prejudice of his succession. By such remonstrances, he was dissuaded from commencing hostilities, until the arrival of lord Hunsdon as ambassador from England, a nobleman for whom he had a particular regard, and by whom he was easily prevailed upon to lay aside all resolutions of revenge.

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§ XIV. Davison was the sacrifice offered up to the resentment of the Scottish monarch. That secretary was accused before the Star-chamber, of having contemned the queen's orders, violated his oath of fidelity, and neglected the duties of his office. He said he would rather be found guilty than presume to contest with her majesty; protested, that if he had erred, he had erred through ignorance only, and a full persuasion that what he did was agreeable to the

the queen's intention. He therefore submitted to the judgment of the council, was sentenced to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and remain in prison during her majesty's pleasure. He begged they would intercede in his behalf, that he might be restored to the queen's favour; which, however, he did not retrieve, but languished a long time in confinement, during which she sometimes relieved his necessities. While he remained in custody he wrote an apology, addressed to Walsingham, to the following effect: That before the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, he delivered into the queen's own hand, the order for the execution of Mary, which she immediately signed, desiring it might receive the sanction of the great seal. Then she bade him shew it to Walsingham, who was already sick, saying, in derision, he would certainly die at sight of the warrant. She observed she had delayed it hitherto, that she might not be thought to act with violence; but there was a necessity for its being executed. She broke forth into passionate expressions against Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Drue Drury, because they had not spared her this trouble, and desired that Walsingham would feel their pulses touching the affair. Next day, when she understood that the great seal was affixed, she blamed Davison for his precipitation, saying, a better course might be taken. To which hint the secretary replied, that the justest course was always the best. Fearing, however, that she would lay the whole blame upon him, as she had formerly imputed the death of the duke of Norfolk to lord Burghley, he communicated the whole transaction to Sir Christopher Hatton, by whom it was imparted to Burghley. This nobleman laid it before the rest of the council, who unanimously resolved to hasten the execution, and bear an equal share of the blame: then Beale was dispatched with the warrant and letters. On the third day after this resolution, Elizabeth relating a dream about Mary's death, Davison asked if she had changed her mind: she answered, No; but another course might have been devised; and desired to know if he had received any answer from Paulet. He produced the letter, in which that gentleman flatly refused to undertake any thing which should be inconsistent with justice and honour. Then she exclaimed, in a violent passion, against the niceness of those precise fellows who promised mighty matters, but indeed would perform nothing for her safety. She accused them of perjury, in the breach of their association-vow; and observed, that there were some persons who would still do it for her sake. Davison represented the injustice and dishonour of such proceedings, expatiated upon the danger that would accrue to her reputation, and told her that the council had already taken order in the affair. He likewise declared, that on the very day of Mary's death, she had chid him, because the queen of Scots was not yet executed.

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§ XV. The parliament meeting on the fifteenth day of February, a motion was made in the house of commons, to present an address of thanks to her majesty, for having put the queen of Scots to death: but this did not pass, because it would have fixed upon Elizabeth an imputation which she sought so eagerly to avoid. A petition, with a Directory, or book of discipline, from the Puritans, being presented to the house, and seconded by four gentlemen, the queen sent for the book, and committed the four members to the Tower, for having presumed to meddle in church-matters, in contempt of her repeated inhibition. A motion was made to address her for the release of the imprisoned mem-

Rymer.

members; but over-ruled, and they continued in confinement, until the parliament was dissolved. This severity did not hinder the commons from granting a subsidy; and afterwards a benevolence for the support of the war in the Netherlands: she met with the like indulgence from the lords and the clergy assembled in convocation.

§ XVI. Such a supply was absolutely necessary, to prevent the ruin of the confederates in the Low-Countries. Leicester, during his administration, had not only exercised the most arbitrary and despotic power, but also encouraged factions, which had well nigh destroyed the union of the provinces. Stanley and York, whom he had appointed governors of Zutphen and Deventer, betrayed their trust, and surrendered their forts to the prince of Parma; and the states fearing that all the other English governors of his nomination would follow their treacherous example, elected prince Maurice provisionally stadtholder and governor-general in his absence. Then they wrote a letter to Elizabeth, complaining that Leicester had issued placards against trade, and committed their towns to the charge of suspected persons, protected traitors, and restrained the power of the states. Lord Buckhurst was sent over to compromise the quarrel; and then they extended the list of their grievances against the earl of Leicester. They taxed him with having refused instructions; nominated counsellors of state; quartered his own arms on the seal of the states; coined rose nobles, to pass for double their intrinsic value; instituted a new court of exchequer; filled the colleges of the admiralty with unqualified persons; hindered the levy of six thousand Germans; and excited the common people against the magistrates. Elizabeth was not pleased with these complaints, which produced an animosity between Leicester and Buckhurst. Sir John Norreys was recalled: the English troops were greatly diminished, and starving for want of pay; Gueldres was betrayed to the enemy, and the prince of Parma had invested Sluys. The queen dispatched Leicester with five thousand men to the relief of this place, which, however, he could not succour; and therefore marched into Zeeland, where he renewed his old practices, while Sluys was obliged to capitulate. The earl having rendered himself extremely odious to the people and the states of the Netherlands, resolved to employ force in the execution of his projects. His design was to apprehend and put to death John Olden Barnevlt, and thirteen other strenuous opposers of his arbitrary measures, and to seize Dort, Enckhuysen, Leyden, and other places: but his design being discovered, the queen recalled him to England, obliged him to resign his government, and sent over the lord Willoughby to command the English forces.

Camden.
Meteren.
Grotius.

§ XVII. Elizabeth having been apprized in the beginning of the year that Philip of Spain had begun to make preparations for invading England, sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet of ships to destroy his vessels, and intercept his provisions. This commander sunk two galleys in the bay of Cadiz, took, burned, and destroyed, an hundred vessels loaded with provisions, and munition of war, together with a galeon of fourteen hundred tons belonging to the marquis of Santa Cruz; and another of Ragusa, laden with merchandize. He then reduced three forts at cape St. Vincent, and destroyed all the boats and small craft along the coast, as far as Cascaes, at the mouth of the Tagus, where the marquis of Santa Cruz lay with his squadron: but he could not be
pro-

provoked to hazard an engagement. After these exploits, Drake sailed to the Azores, and in his way took the *St. Philip*, a carrack of enormous bulk, returning from the East Indies, richly laden. He not only gained an immense booty, but also found papers on board which served to instruct the English in the nature of the East Indian commerce.

Camden.

§ XVIII. These depredations served only to stimulate Philip in his preparations for war, against Elizabeth, who had not only interrupted the trade of his subjects to the East and West Indies; but, by succouring the states, prevented him from putting an end to the troubles of the Netherlands. He resolved therefore to make a conquest of England, which being an open country, without fortified towns, must at once fall to him who should conquer in the field. He procured from the pope a consecrated banner, with fresh bulls for excommunicating Elizabeth as an heretic, publishing a crusade against her, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. He pretended to be the next catholic heir to the crown of England, as a descendant from the two daughters of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; and he determined to disembark his forces at the mouth of the river Thames, in the neighbourhood of London. For the purposes of this expedition, he equipped one hundred and thirty ships, manned with nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers, eight thousand three hundred and fifty seamen, two thousand and eighty galley-slaves, and mounted with two thousand three hundred and sixty pieces of cannon. The duke of Parma was ordered to provide transports, and an army of five and twenty thousand men, to be conveyed to England as soon as the Spanish fleet should appear on the coast of Flanders. The duke, in pursuance of his orders, caused a great number of large flat-bottomed vessels to be built for the transportation of the cavalry; provided other ships for the foot soldiers, and quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Newport; seven hundred English fugitives having enlisted under his banner, to assist in the conquest of their own country.

An. Ch. 1588;

§ XIX. Elizabeth having learned the particulars of this formidable armament, which was stiled the *Invincible Armada*, took the necessary precautions for giving the Spaniards a warm reception. Having equipped a considerable fleet, she created Charles lord Howard of Effingham lord admiral of England; and he was sent with a strong squadron to the west, where he was joined by Sir Francis Drake, now appointed vice-admiral. She ordered lord Henry Seymour, second son to the duke of Somerset, to cruise along the coast of Flanders, with forty English and Flemish ships, to prevent the prince of Parma from putting to sea with his forces. Twenty thousand men were cantoned along the southern coasts of England; another body of well-disciplined troops encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the conduct of the earl of Leicester, whom the queen created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord Hunsdon commanded a third army, amounting to six and thirty thousand horse and foot, for the defence of her majesty's person. Arthur lord Gray, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were consulted about the management of the war by land. In pursuance of their advice, all the landing-places on the coast were fortified and garrisoned, from Hull to the Land's end, and Milford Haven: the militia of the country was

armed; and regulated under proper officers, who received instructions for interrupting the disembarkation of the enemy, wasting the country before them, and amusing them with slight skirmishes and continual alarms, until the army could be assembled at the place, in order to give them battle. The queen imprisoned some suspected papists; sent new instructions to Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputy of Ireland; and, by her friends in Scotland, instigated James against the Roman catholics and the Spanish faction. That prince was more afraid than she, of the success of such an invasion, which would have deprived him of his fair succession, and exposed his native kingdom to the arms of a foreign conqueror. The lord Maxwell returning from Spain, landed at Kircudbright, where he began to assemble troops, as if he had expected the Spaniards would make a descent in Galloway. James being informed of these practices, marched against him with such expedition, that with difficulty he escaped in a bark; but was pursued, taken, and imprisoned.

Camden.

§ XX. Philip and Elizabeth, notwithstanding these preparations for offence and defence, endeavoured to amuse each other with a negotiation, to gain time, until the one should be able to strike, and the other to ward off the intended blow. The duke of Parma having received a commission for treating, the English envoys repaired to Ostend, although the estates of the Netherlands had refused to concur in the treaty, and the conferences were opened at Bourbourg. The English commissioners proposed a truce, which was rejected. Then they desired that the ancient alliance should be renewed between England and the house of Burgundy; that all the foreign troops should be withdrawn from the Low-Countries; that the people should be secured in their liberties, and indulged with a toleration in matters of religion; and that the money which queen Elizabeth had lent them should be repayed by the king of Spain. The debates upon these articles were spun out, until the Spanish Armada appeared in the channel; and then the English commissioners were dismissed with a safe-conduct to Calais.

§ XXI. Alonzo Perez de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia, commander of the Spanish fleet, had sailed from Lisbon on the twenty-ninth day of May; but being overtaken by a storm, the ships were dispersed, though, in a few days, they re-assembled at Corunna, and in the neighbouring harbours. Effingham, the English admiral, having received an exaggerated account of the damage received by the Spanish navy, set sail towards Spain, with a view to attack and destroy them in their harbours; but the wind shifting, he returned to Plymouth, on the supposition that they might chuse this favourable gale to enter the English channel while he was absent. This was really the case: they had probably passed him in a fog; for on the very day after his return to port, being the nineteenth of July, the Spanish fleet was seen off the Lizard, on the coast of Cornwall. The admiral forthwith ordered his ships to be towed out to sea, against a strong breeze that blew in shore; and then he descried the Armada sailing up the channel in line of battle, like so many lofty castles floating on the bosom of the sea. He allowed them to pass, that he might have the advantage of the wind, and dispatched his brother-in-law Sir Edward Hoby to court for a further supply of men and shipping. Upon this occasion many noblemen, and persons of fashion, distinguished themselves by fitting out ships at their own expence, and engaging as volunteers in the service

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vice of their country. Among these were the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas and Sir Robert Cecil, and the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. On the twenty-first day of July, the admiral, seconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, attacked the rear of the Armada, commanded by John Martinez de Recalde, and maintained the engagement about two hours, pouring in their broad-sides, and tacking about with admirable dexterity. They did not chuse to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior to the Spaniards in the number of ships, guns, men, and in weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board such lofty ships, without a manifest disadvantage. Nevertheless, two Spanish galleons were disabled and taken. On the twenty-third day of July, the duke of Medina Sidonia bore down upon the English fleet, and both sides strove for some time to gain the weather-gage: at length the battle began, and was fought with great confusion and various success; though the loss on either side was not considerable. This engagement was followed by a cessation, because the lord admiral could not renew hostilities, until he received a supply of powder and ammunition. On the twenty-fifth, a Portuguese galleon was taken, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of Don Diego Telles Enriquez, who brought three galleasses to her assistance. On the twenty-seventh, the Armada anchored before Calais, and were again attacked by the English fleet, now reinforced, and amounting to one hundred and forty ships, well manned and provided for action. The Spanish admiral pressed the duke of Parma for a reinforcement of forty fly-boats, that he might be the better enabled to deal with the light English frigates; and he did not doubt but by this time the Netherland forces were embarked for the descent upon England. The duke was not at all prepared to join the Armada. His vessels were leaky, and destitute of provisions; the greater part of his seamen had deserted; the troops were not yet embarked; and the harbours of Dunkirk and Nieuport were blocked up by a squadron of ships belonging to Holland and Zealand. After lord Effingham had cannonaded the Armada for some time, he prepared eight fire-ships; and at midnight sent them, under the conduct of Young and Prowse, into the midst of the enemy, where, being set on fire, they produced universal terror and confusion. The duke of Medina Sidonia ordered his captains to slip their cables, and put to sea with all expedition. They practised this expedient, but with such disorder, that they ran foul of each other in the dark; and their whole navy was filled with tumult and uproar. A large galleass, commanded by Don Hugo de Moncada, having lost her rudder, next day struck upon the sands of Calais, and was, after a very desperate engagement, taken by three English captains, who found on board a great quantity of gold, and delivered the vessel and guns as a perquisite to the governor of Calais. The English fleet taking the advantage of the enemy's confusion, engaged them with great fury, as they endeavoured to re-assemble off Gravelines. The engagement began at four o'clock in the morning, and lasted till six in the evening. The English having the advantage of wind and tide, handled them so roughly, that thirteen of their best ships were either sunk or driven ashore; one of their galleons was taken, and another fell into the hands of the Zealanders. The duke of Medina Sidonia being driven towards the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that, as their

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ammunition began to fail, their ships had received great damage, and they disappointed of being joined by the duke of Parma, they should return to Spain, by sailing round the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the island of Ireland. Accordingly they proceeded to the northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they came up with the fugitives; and the Spanish admiral, intimidated by the prospect of a long and dangerous voyage, would have surrendered, had he been attacked by the English navy. But, a council being called by lord Effingham to regulate the particulars of the engagement, it appeared upon inquiry, that their ammunition was almost exhausted; so that they were obliged to let the Spanish fleet proceed on their voyage, while they returned to the Downs. That very night the Armada was terribly shattered in a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having five thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away upon the western isles, and the coast of Ireland. Some were wrecked on the rocks of Norway, and many perished by fire, and other accidents. Seven hundred Spaniards landing in Scotland, were treated with humanity by James; and, with the consent of Elizabeth, sent over to the duke of Parma in the Netherlands; but those who got ashore in Ireland, were butchered by the natives, or the lord deputy. Of the whole Armada, three and fifty ships only returned to Spain, in a miserable condition; and the commanders imputed their ill success to their not being joined by the duke of Parma, and their being too severely restricted to the letter of their instructions.

§ XXII. The English struck two medals to perpetuate the memory of the Armada's miscarriage; and the king of Spain bore his disappointment with great fortitude. He ordered a general thanksgiving to God and the saints, that the misfortune was not greater; and treated the soldiers and seamen with uncommon humanity. Nor was Elizabeth backward in acknowledging the divine protection, in public prayer and thanksgiving. She had animated the army at Tilbury with her presence; and now made a solemn procession in triumph through the city of London. She rewarded the lord admiral with a pension; she sent Sir Robert Sydney as her ambassador to James of Scotland, to thank that monarch for the alacrity with which he had offered his assistance against the Spaniards, and to amuse him with promises which were never performed: but her joy was interrupted by the death of her favourite Leicester, who was seized with a fever, and expired at Cornbury-lodge in Oxfordshire, when the patent was actually drawn for creating him queen's lieutenant, in the government of England and Ireland. Notwithstanding her sorrow for this event, she ordered his effects to be sold at public auction, to pay his debts to the crown. After all the encomiums which have been bestowed upon Elizabeth for her conduct, in the precautions taken against the Spanish armament, she certainly hazarded the safety of her kingdom, by her parsimonious disposition, and blind attachment to this favourite: for her ships were very poorly supplied with ammunition and provision; and her captain-general by land was utterly devoid of courage, conduct, experience, and discretion. Instead of protecting and securing the union of the estates of the Low-Countries, by a sage and upright administration, he had kindled dissensions among them, which were not extinguished at his death; and these prevented them from profiting by the inactivity

inactivity of the duke of Parma, whilst his forces were drawn down to the sea-ports of Flanders.

§ XXIII. After the dispersion of the Armada, that nobleman invested Bergen-op-Zoom, which was defended by an English garrison, under the command of lord Willoughby, who acted with such vigour and intrepidity, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Before Leicester died, the Puritans were by his encouragement grown to an intolerable degree of insolence. They published scurrilous libels against the liturgy and constitution of the church, and even set up the presbyterian form of discipline in several counties. In France the duke of Guise was become so powerful and popular, that he instigated the Parisians to make barricadoes in their streets, and prepare for attacking the king in his palace of the Louvre; so that Henry was obliged to quit his capital, and make a dishonourable peace with the chiefs of the league: but, in the month of December, he revenged this outrage upon the duke, and his brother the cardinal, whom he caused to be assassinated at Blois; an act of barbarity which produced an open rebellion of the League, and the city of Paris.

Grotius.

Mezerai.

§ XXIV. Elizabeth now enjoyed such tranquillity as she had not known since her accession to the throne. Her formidable rival was no more. The king of Spain was disabled from prosecuting his resentment; the affairs of the states in the Low-Countries began to assume a more favourable aspect, under the wise conduct of count Maurice; and the king of Scots was entirely governed by those who received pensions from England. He had sent ambassadors to Denmark, to treat of a marriage with the eldest daughter of that monarch; but his chancellor Maitland, who was influenced by Elizabeth, limited the powers of the envoys in such a manner, that the Danish king imagining they wanted to trifle with him, bestowed the princess upon the duke of Brunswick. The queen of England had recommended the sister of Henry king of Navarre as a wife to James, who sent the lord Tunland into France, on pretence of negotiating an affair with her brother, though in reality to see and make a report of Catherine. The design of Elizabeth was to protract the treaty about this match as long as she could start objections: for she imagined that James would not be so easily managed were he once married to a woman of sense and discernment, or connected by such an alliance with a prince of power and capacity.

§ XXV. In the beginning of the following year, the Scottish ministry intercepted letters, by which it appeared that the earls of Huntley, Errol, Crawford, and Bothwell, son to a bastard of James V. maintained a correspondence with the duke of Parma, who had supplied them with a sum of money to raise disturbances in Scotland. They had dispatched colonel Sempil to solicit Philip for another invasion: Bothwell undertook to seize the king's person; but was disappointed; the other three advanced with a body of forces towards Aberdeen; but the king assembling a greater number of troops, they were obliged to surrender at discretion, and remained in custody, until the new queen arrived in Scotland. The king of Denmark had another daughter unmarried, and James laying aside his design upon Catherine de Bourbon, sent the earl Marechal as his ambassador to Copenhagen, to demand this princess Anne in marriage. Though her father was by this time dead, the treaty of marriage

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was concluded with the states of the kingdom; and the princess embarking about Michaelmas for Scotland, was driven by a storm into Norway. James, impatient to see his bride, sailed thither in October, attended by his chancellor, several noblemen, and a numerous retinue. The nuptials were solemnized at Upslo: they passed the winter in Denmark; set sail for Scotland in the spring, and landing at Leith in the beginning of May, the new queen was crowned in the church of Holyrood-abbey.

Melvil.

§ XXVI. During these transactions, Philip earl of Arundel, a prisoner in the Tower, having expressed his joy at the arrival of the Spanish Armada in the channel, and caused a mass of the Holy Ghost to be said for its success, was now brought to his trial, convicted of high treason, and condemned. The sentence, however, was not executed, though he was detained a prisoner to his dying day; and spent his time in the most austere exercises of devotion. The parliament meeting in February, petitioned the queen to denounce war against the king of Spain, as the root and fountain of all the conspiracies and rebellions which had been hatched and raised against her majesty. To defray the expence of this war, they granted an extraordinary subsidy; and, on the twenty-ninth day of March, Sir Christopher Hatton, who had lately been appointed chancellor on the death of Bromley, told them it was her majesty's pleasure that they should be dissolved.

D'Ewe.

§ XXVII. Though Elizabeth was thus enabled to carry the war into Spain, she did not think proper to risque her subsidies upon the precarious issue of an expensive expedition. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, had arrived in England, and solicited her for supplies to assert his title to the crown of Portugal. As Philip continued to oppress that nation, this was judged a favourable conjuncture for raising Don Antonio to the throne. Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norreys, undertook his restoration, as private adventurers; the queen permitting them to raise forces, and equip a fleet, which was joined by six ships of her navy. The emperor of Morocco, jealous of Philip's power, promised to lend two hundred thousand crowns to Don Antonio, who sent his own son to Fez, as an hostage for the repayment of the money: but the Moor did not perform his promise, because Philip delivered into his hands the fortrefs of Arzila. Drake and Norreys having embarked about twelve thousand soldiers and sailors, set sail in April from Plymouth, with a fleet of one hundred and forty-six vessels, and landing near Ferrol, invested Corunna. They took the lower town by assault; but the upper part, situated on a rock, they could not reduce for want of artillery. The count de Andrada marching to its relief with a body of eight thousand men, they raised the siege, and attacked him at the bridge of Burgos, where he was defeated. The troops being greatly diminished by an epidemical distemper, they reembarked, and steering towards the coast of Portugal, were joined by the earl of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams, with a regiment. The first had stole from court without the queen's knowledge. Landing again near Peniche, they reduced that place, and marching to Lisbon, entered the suburbs of that city; but the town being defended by a strong garrison of Spaniards, the mortality still raging among the English troops, and not a soul stirring in behalf of Don Antonio, they proceeded to Cascaes, which Drake had taken, and having seized threescore vessels laden with corn, belonging to the Hanse towns, reembarked for England. In

In their return they plundered Vigo; and, in the latter end of June, arrived at Plymouth, without having indemnified themselves for the expence of the expedition, in which six thousand men perished by sickness.

§ XXVIII. The Hanse towns sent ambassadors to complain of Drake's having seized their ships; but, instead of receiving satisfaction, the English ministry gave them to understand, that in the patent granted to them by Edward III. it was expressly stipulated, That they should not trade to any country openly at war with England; that provisions were contraband, and subject to confiscation; and that they had no reason to complain of the capture of their vessels, as the queen had cautioned them against importing such provision into Spain and Portugal. This year was not less remarkable in France than the former had been in England. Henry III. seeing himself in danger of being oppressed by the League, called in the king of Navarre and the Huguenots to his assistance. These auxiliaries enabled him to form the blockade of Paris, with an army of eight and thirty thousand men; and he was on the point of reducing the place, when he was stabbed by Jaques Clement, a Jacobin friar. In his last moments he declared the king of Navarre his successor; and that prince assumed the name of Henry IV. Though his Swiss troops, and some of the French nobility, took the oath of allegiance to the new monarch, he was deserted by the duke D'Epernon, and other persons of distinction; disowned by the League as an heretic, and in danger of being abandoned by the Huguenots, who perceived him wavering in his religion.

§ XXIX. In this emergency, he retired to Normandy with seven thousand men; the duke de Mayenne pursuing him with a numerous army. At length he was reduced to the alternative of making a stand at Arques against four times the number of his troops, or of embarking for Dieppe and taking refuge in England. He had already solicited succours from Elizabeth; and, in hope of their speedy arrival, resolved to bear the brunt of an attack from the duke de Mayenne, general of the League, who was repulsed with considerable loss. In a little time after this action, Peregrine lord Willoughby arriving with a reinforcement of four thousand men, and a sum of money; and Henry being joined by the duke of Longueville, the count de Soissons, and the marechal D'Aumont, he advanced to Paris, and made himself master of the suburbs of that capital: but he could not reduce the city, which was defended by the army of the league, commanded by the duke de Mayenne, who had proclaimed the old cardinal de Bourbon king of France, and acted as his lieutenant. Henry abandoning his enterprize, retreated to Normandy, a great part of which he subdued, together with Le Maine and Touraine; and then the English troops returned to their own country.

§ XXX. Philip king of Spain insisted upon being declared protector of France, in consideration of the succours he had granted to the League; and his party in that kingdom was so strong, that the duke de Mayenne, not daring to oppose his demand directly, found some difficulty in delaying the nomination, until the arrival of the pope's legate, who would in all probability claim it for his holiness. In the mean time, this general recovered Pontoise, and invested Meulan; the siege of which, however, the king obliged him to raise. Henry, in his turn, sat down before Dreux; and the duke, reinforced with two thousand Spanish horse under count Egmont, passed the Seine, in order to relieve

An. Ch. 1590. relieve the place. The king met him near Ivry, and an obstinate battle ensuing, gained a complete victory; after which he advanced to Paris, and tried to reduce it by famine. Thirteen thousand of the inhabitants actually died of hunger: but Henry, through a princely excess of generosity and compassion, allowed all the old men, women, and children, to pass in safety through his camp; so that the place, disencumbered of so many useless mouths, was enabled to hold out till the latter end of August, when the duke of Parma marched with the Spanish army from the Netherlands to its relief. His arrival obliged Henry to raise the blockade; but the duke avoided a battle, and retreated immediately to the Low-Countries. Nevertheless, the king's interest gained ground; his cause was espoused by the chief of the nobility, and the League was not a little disconcerted by the death of their titular king the old cardinal of Bourbon. At the same time Henry was supplied by the queen of England with sums of money for levying German auxiliaries under the prince of Anhalt: yet she was too good an oeconomist to lend money without sufficient security, if such security could be obtained. Henry's agents found means to satisfy her in this particular. In the Netherlands she possessed Ostend, besides the other cautionary towns, for the sums she had advanced to the states of Brabant and Flanders. She involved herself in no unnecessary expence: she lived in a very penurious manner; so that very few even of her own courtiers tasted her bounty; and she found means to annoy the public enemy at the expence of private adventurers. We have seen how Drake harrassed the Spaniards, both in the European seas and in America: at this period the earl of Cumberland sailing to the Azores, took and demolished the castle of Fayal, and brought home a great number of rich prizes.

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§ XXXI. In the course of this year, some disturbances happened in Ireland, partly owing to the ferocity of the natives, and partly occasioned by the oppressive conduct of Fitzwilliams the lord deputy. The earl of Tiroen having caused Hugh Gaviloch, the natural son of Shan O Neale, to be strangled, was summoned to England, where he obtained the queen's pardon, upon his solemnly engaging that he would live in peace with Tirlogh Leinigh, and all his neighbours; that he would not assume the title of O Neale, impose taxes, exercise any jurisdiction, intercept ammunition or provisions intended for the use of the English garrisons, nor admit into his territories monks, friars, or malecontents. This nobleman was very punctual in fulfilling his engagements, and possessed many excellent qualifications, both of mind and body. Hugh Roe Mac Mahon, a powerful lord in Monaghan, having exacted the tax called Bonaghty from the people, according to the custom of Ireland, was apprehended by order of the lord deputy, tried by a jury of common soldiers, condemned, executed, and his estate divided between some of his own sept and the English settlers. Brian O Rork, the chieftain of another powerful sept in the county of Brenn, apprehending the same fate, broke out in open rebellion; but being routed by Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, he fled into Scotland; and, being claimed by Elizabeth, was delivered into the hands of that princess, who caused him to be tried and executed at London.

Id.

§ XXXII. In the midst of these fortunate events, the queen sustained irreparable loss in the person of Sir Francis Walsingham secretary of state, chan-

cellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, and knight of the garter: he was a consummate statesman, inviolably attached to the interest of his sovereign. He died poor, leaving one daughter married, first to Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards to Robert Deyereux earl of Essex. He was survived but a very little time by Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Randolph chamberlain of the exchequer, Sir James Crofts comptroller of the household, George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, and Thomas lord Wentworth, formerly governor of Calais. These were all faithful servants to the crown; though none of them was more regretted by the nation than Sir Christopher Hatton, chancellor of England, and of the university of Oxford. He was a person of great abilities, unshaken probity, firmly attached to the constitution of his country, and a munificent patron of learning. He is said to have died of grief and vexation at the severity of the queen, who insulted him with abusive language, and exacted with great rigour a debt which he had incurred in managing the tenths and first fruits. Immediately before his death, Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, three puritanical fanatics, uttered many blasphemous and treasonable expressions against God and the queen; the first was tried, condemned, and executed; Coppinger starved himself to death in prison; but Arthington was pardoned upon his recantation. That the Irish subjects might no longer be tempted to send their children to foreign seminaries for education, the queen founded Trinity-college in Dublin, endowing it with a power of conferring degrees, and other privileges of an university.

§ XXXIII. The lord Thomas Howard having sailed to the Azores, in hope of intercepting the Spanish plate fleet in its passage from America, was almost surprised by Alphonso Bassan, who commanded three and fifty ships destined for its convoy. Howard stood out to sea with five ships of his squadron; but Sir Richard Greenville in the vice-admiral called the *Revenge*, was surrounded by the whole enemy's fleet. He endeavoured to fight his passage through them, and maintained a desperate engagement for fifteen hours, during which he was boarded by fifteen galleons successively. At length his crew being almost killed or disabled, his mast shot away, his hull pierced by eight hundred cannon-balls, his powder spent, and himself covered with wounds, he ordered the gunner to blow up the ship, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The execution of this order was prevented by the lieutenant, who capitulated for the life and liberty of the crew, giving hostages for the payment of their ransom; and Greenville being brought on board of the Spanish admiral, died in three days of his wounds. The Spaniards were amazed and confounded at his excess of valour, which cost them two thousand men, who perished in the engagement: two of their largest galleons were sunk; two of them turned adrift as unserviceable; and the Indian fleet being dispersed in a storm, some of the ships fell into the hands of the English. Camden.

§ XXXIV. Elizabeth was not more attentive to the means of distressing the Spaniards at sea, than vigilant in checking Philip's progress on the continent. The duke de Mercœur, of the house of Lorraine, reduced the province of Brittany, with the assistance of the Spaniards, who took possession of Hennebonde and Blavet. Philip either intended to dismember the kingdom of France, or procure the crown for his daughter Isabel, as grandchild of Henry II. notwithstanding the Salique law. Pope Sixtus V. favoured this

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and nothing prevented its being put in execution but the jealousy of the duke de Mayenne, who did not chuse to labour for the advantage of a foreigner. Henry IV. found himself in the utmost perplexity. He was under the necessity of conquering all France, and the catholic noblemen in his army served him with reluctance; nay, even upon the express condition that he should be instructed in such a manner as would induce him to change his religion. In this necessity of his affairs, he had recourse to Elizabeth, and the protestant princes in Germany. The queen promised to supply him with succours, on condition they should be used to drive the Spaniards from the maritime provinces of France opposite to the coast of England. Though it was Henry's interest to expel them first from the center of his dominions, he promised to comply with her proposal; and she engaged by treaty to supply him with three thousand men, stipulating, that within one year she should be reimbursed for the expence of their levy, transportation, and subsistence. In pursuance of this convention, she sent part of these succours into Britanny, under the command of Norreys, and the rest into Picardy with Sir Roger Williams. Henry at the same time negotiated for eleven thousand men with the elector of Brandenburg, and Casimer prince Palatine; but all these auxiliaries being insufficient for his purposes, he demanded a second reinforcement from the queen of England, on pretence of investing Rouen. She was so anxious to see the Spaniards driven from the maritime places, that she obliged herself by another treaty to supply the French king with four thousand men for this service. She bestowed the command of these forces on the earl of Essex, who had succeeded Leicester as her majesty's chief favourite. When he arrived in France, he found Henry employed in the siege of Noyon, and resolved to send the English auxiliaries into Champagne. He therefore returned to England, after having promised to return, in case Rouen should be invested; and left the command of his forces to Sir Roger Williams.

Rymer.

§ XXXV. Elizabeth was incensed to find herself thus duped by Henry, to whom she wrote a letter, upbraiding him with breach of promise, and threatening to recall her troops from his dominions. Alarmed at these menaces, the French king ordered the marechal de Biron to invest Rouen; and this step furnished him with a pretext for demanding a further reinforcement from England, alledging that the last was considerably diminished by sickness and desertion. The earl of Essex, mean while, no sooner understood that the siege of Rouen was undertaken, than he embarked for France, contrary to the express order of the queen, which he thought could not absolve him of his promise. From this instance of disobedience, she conceived such a disgust both at the earl and Henry, that when the French ambassador solicited her for the reinforcement, he was dismissed from her presence with a very rude answer; and she sent Leyton, uncle to Essex, with an express order, commanding that young nobleman to return immediately, on pain of her highest displeasure. Henry understanding that the duke of Parma had begun his march from the Netherlands, repaired to his army before Rouen, in order to forward the operations of the siege, and dispatched Du Pleffis Mornay to press queen Elizabeth for the reinforcement. That princess told the ambassador, that she would no longer be a dupe to the French king, nor assist him in any shape but with her prayers; that she had sent him auxiliaries for the siege of Rouen; but that,

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that, instead of undertaking that enterprize, he had amused himself elsewhere, and given the duke of Parma time to come to the relief of that city. She in-
 veighed bitterly against Essex, saying, he wanted to make the world believe Mem. de Plef-
 sis. that he governed England; but that nothing was more false, and she would make him the most pitiful fellow in the whole kingdom. Far from sending another body of troops into France, she swore she would recall those that were already sent; and dismissed De Pleffis, on pretence of being indisposed. He then presented a memorial, which she desired him to deliver into the hands of the treasurer. In a word, he returned without success, and Essex was obliged to come home, where he soon appeased the queen's indignation. In the mean time, the duke of Parma marching into France, and being joined by the dukes of Mayenne and Guise, advanced to Rouen, the siege of which Henry was obliged to abandon at their approach. The duke reduced Caudebec: but the An. Ch. 1592. king could not draw him in to an engagement. At length he retreated through Champagne to the Low-Countries, and in December died at Arras. Henry having cut off all communication with Rouen by the river Seine, dismissed the greatest part of his forces, and the English auxiliaries returned to their own country.

§ XXXVI. Henry now bent all his endeavours to be reconciled with the queen of England, who sent him a new reinforcement of two thousand men; and being extremely uneasy at the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, who had taken possession of Brittany; engaged in a new treaty, importing, That she should supply him with four thousand men, some pieces of artillery, and a certain quantity of ammunition, on condition that the English forces should be joined by four thousand French foot soldiers, and one thousand cavalry, to be destined for the recovery of Bretagne: That the French king should reimburse her in one year: That he should not make peace with the Leaguers, until they should engage to join him in driving the Spaniards out of the kingdom: And that, in case of peace with Spain, England should be comprehended in the treaty. Elizabeth performed her part of the contract with great punctuality, and sent over her proportion of troops under the command of Norreys; Camden. but, instead of acting in Bretagne, they were obliged to serve in Normandy, as Henry was hard pressed in that province. The queen complained loudly of the contravention, and even threatened to recall her troops; but her own interest was so much connected with the safety of the French king, that she would not put her threats in execution. She issued out proclamations, prohibiting her subjects from assisting the Leaguers, or the king of Spain, with corn, ammunition, or naval stores. She equipped fifteen ships of war, under the command of Sir Walter Raleigh, to distress the Spaniards in the West Indies; but his fleet being dispersed in a storm, the expedition was countermanded. Then she dispatched a small squadron to cruize off the Azores, and Sir Martin Forbisher to the coast of Spain, in order to lie in wait for the Spanish carracks from the East Indies. Burroughs, who commanded the first of these squadrons, drove one galleon on shore, where it was burned, and took another, worth above one Meteren. hundred and fifty thousand pounds. About the same time, Thomas White, a Londoner, made prize of two Spanish vessels loaded with quicksilver and indulgences to be sold in the Mexican empire.

§ XXXVII. During these transactions, Sir John Perrot, late lord deputy of Ireland, which he had governed with equal address and impartiality, fell a

sacrifice to a faction of his enemies, who accused him of having reviled the queen, corresponded with her enemies, and fomented the rebellions in Ireland. He was convicted of treason upon partial evidence, and died in the Tower, after a long imprisonment. The Irish chieftains in Ulster engaged in a private league for expelling the English garrisons. The castle of Montrose was surprized by O Donel; Macguire raised an insurrection in Fermanagh, and entering Connaught, was defeated by Sir Richard Bingham. Hugh earl of Tyrone engaged in this confederacy; and, upon the death of Tirloch Leinich, assumed the title of O Neale; but he afterwards submitted, and was forgiven. The queen was more nearly touched by a conspiracy which had been lately discovered in Scotland. The earls of Huntley, Errol, Angus, and several other persons of distinction, solicited the king of Spain to make a descent upon that kingdom. Their agent George Ker, brother to the laird of Newbottle, being seized, with his dispatches, just as he was going to embark, the ministry became acquainted with the particulars of the scheme. David Graham of Fintry, one of the accomplices, was condemned and beheaded; the rest were summoned to appear before the parliament. Elizabeth, alarmed at this conspiracy, and suspicious of the king's own inclinations, sent the lord Burrough to congratulate him upon the discovery of the plot; to assure him of her assistance, and press him to punish the popish lords, by the confiscation of their estates. She likewise desired a pardon for Bothwell, who having made two attempts to seize the king's person, had been proclaimed a traitor, and fled into England. There he was protected by Elizabeth, who refused to deliver him up when James demanded him, according to the stipulations of the last treaty. He now excused himself from pardoning such a notorious offender, but promised to proceed judicially against the Roman catholic noblemen. Ker escaped from prison, and the parliament could not confiscate the lords, for want of evidence. Sir Robert Melvil was dispatched to England, to demand of queen Elizabeth a sum of money which would enable the king to levy forces, and expel the rebels from the kingdom. James was so wretchedly poor, that he could neither keep a table, nor maintain a guard for the defence of his own person. He therefore became an importunate beggar with the estates of the Netherlands, as well as with the queen of England, who, though she sometimes parted with trifling sums, was too penurious to supply him with a sufficiency for his occasions. Melvil did not succeed in his negotiation; and Bothwell returning privately to Scotland, tampered so effectually with the duke of Lennox, the earl of Athol, the lord Ochiltree, and other enemies of chancellor Maitland, that they introduced him into the king's bed-chamber, where falling on his knees, and imploring his majesty's forgiveness, he was pardoned, at the request of the English ambassador. This pardon, however, as the effect of compulsion, was annulled by the convention of the estates; though he was promised to be indulged with an abolition of all his past treasons, if he would sue for it within a certain time, and then quit the kingdom. Bothwell, dissatisfied with these conditions, renewed his former practices against the king's person, but miscarried in his attempts. A subsequent convention passed an act for the more firm establishment of the protestant religion in Scotland; and the catholic lords were summoned, either to comply with the doctrines of the kirk, within a limited time, or quit the country.

Melvil.

Calderswood.
Spottiswood.

§ XXXVIII. The English parliament meeting in the month of February, took cognizance of a book written by one Parsons a Jesuit, endeavouring to prove that the right of succession to the throne of England was legally vested in the Infanta of Spain. This performance was condemned by the parliament, which declared, that all persons keeping it in their houses should be deemed guilty of high treason. The Puritans having grown intolerably insolent and troublesome, were now laid under severe restrictions, by an act for retaining the queen's subjects in their due obedience. This law decreed that all persons above the age of sixteen, absenting themselves from church for a month, should be imprisoned, until released in consequence of their public declaration of conformity. They were obliged to conform within three months after conviction, or abjure the realm; otherwise they were liable to be punished as felons, without benefit of clergy. The statute, though enacted seemingly against the Roman catholics, was principally levelled at the Puritans; and indeed equally affected all non-conformists. The commons granted a large supply, in consideration of the great expence to which the queen had been exposed, for the defence of England against the Spanish invasion, as well as for the support of the French king and the United Provinces; but this subsidy was granted with a clause, importing, that it should not be drawn into precedent: two subsidies were likewise voted by the clergy in convocation.

§ XXXIX. This generosity of the parliament and clergy consoled Elizabeth in some measure for the mortifications she underwent from the conduct of Henry king of France. That prince, instead of using the English auxiliaries for expelling the Spaniards from Brittany, employed them only as a check upon those invaders, while he exerted his chief endeavours in other parts of his kingdom; so that Elizabeth would have recalled her troops, had not she been diverted from her purpose by the intreaties and remonstrances of the marchal d'Aumont, who assured her, in her master's name, that a powerful effort would soon be made for the reduction of Bretagne. At this period Henry finding it impossible to reduce the kingdom of France to his obedience, while he professed the protestant religion, and being hard pressed by his Roman catholic friends, renounced the reformed doctrines, and declared himself a convert to the church of Rome. The queen of England was no sooner informed of this event, than she wrote a severe letter, upbraiding him with his apostacy; which he frankly imputed to the necessity of his affairs. But, notwithstanding Elizabeth's resentment, she consented to engage in a new league offensive and defensive with Henry, when she understood that the king of Spain intended to make a powerful effort to support the League; and this alliance was actually concluded at Melun, in the month of October, stipulating, that no peace should be made with Spain, without the mutual consent of both parties. Elizabeth then recommended the protestants to the protection of Henry, and proposed Brest as a place of retreat for the English forces, and cautionary town for the repayment of the money with which she had supplied him in his necessities; but this security he carefully evaded. The queen, to secure herself still more effectually from the insults of the Spaniards, ordered the isles of Scilly to be fortified and garrisoned; while Jersey and Guernsey were secured in the same manner. The English fugitives still continued to plot against Elizabeth and her government. One Heiket, at their instigation, exhorted Ferdinand earl of Derby

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Derby to assume the title of king, as grandson of Mary, daughter to Henry VII. He assured the earl he should be powerfully supported by Philip of Spain; and threatened, in case of his declining the proposal and revealing the scheme, that he should not long enjoy his life. The earl immediately informed against **Holker**, who was condemned accordingly: but his threats were certainly executed upon the earl, who in a few months died of poison.

§ XL. The death of the duke of Parma did not wholly put a stop to the intended invasion of France. The Spanish army entering Picardy, reduced Noyons, and then marched back to the Low-Countries. The count de Fuentes, and Don Diego d'Ibarra, who were now at the head of the Spanish affairs in the Netherlands, not only fomented the troubles in Scotland, by feeding the malecontents of that kingdom with promises of succour; but they resolved to take off Elizabeth by poison. For this purpose they corrupted Roderic Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, who was one of her physicians, with a bribe of fifty thousand crowns. The design being discovered by intercepted letters, he and two of his accomplices were apprehended, and confessed the nature of their correspondence with Fuentes and Ibarra. At the place of execution, Lopez declared that he loved the queen as well as he loved Jesus Christ; an expression which coming from the mouth of a Jew, excited the mirth of the spectators. At the same time, Patrick Cullen, an Irish fencing-master, was convicted of having been sent from the Low-Countries to assassinate the queen; Edmund York and Richard Williams were likewise apprehended, as ruffians suborned by Ibarra for the same purpose. Elizabeth wrote a letter to Ernest archduke of Austria, by this time appointed governor of the Low-Countries, desiring he would punish the authors of such treachery; and demanding that the English fugitives concerned in such designs, should be delivered into her hands. But she had very little reason to expect any satisfaction on this head, as she herself protected Antonio Perez, late secretary to Philip, who had excited some commotions in Arragon, and fled to England, where he was entertained and caressed by the earl of Essex.

An.Ch. 1594.

§ XLI. The affairs of the French king began to take a more favourable turn immediately after his conversion. Meaux, Orleans, and Bourges, submitted. He reduced La Ferte Milon, and was crowned at Chartres. Then he published an amnesty, was joined by a great number of gentlemen who deserted the League, admitted into Paris, and proclaimed at Rouen. He concluded an accommodation with the dukes of Lorraine and Guise; and all the principal towns in the heart of France declared for their lawful sovereign. The marechal d'Aumont having taken the town of Morlaix in Brittany, the duke de Mercœur, and John d'Aguilar, who commanded the Spanish auxiliaries of the League, advanced to the relief of the castle: but the marechal being joined by the English troops under Norreys, they would not hazard a battle, and the castle surrendered. After this conquest, the marechal reduced Quimpier, and took Crodon by assault. Sir Martin Forbisher was mortally wounded on this occasion. The English troops behaved with such gallantry in this war, and were so forward in exposing themselves to the most imminent dangers, that Elizabeth, in a letter to Norreys, desired he would not be so lavish of the blood of her subjects.

P. Daniel.

§ XLII.

§ XLII. This princefs, understanding that there was a party at the court of Scotland which favoured the Spaniards, ſent thither the lord Zouch to obſerve their motions, and keep James ſteady to the intereſt of England. This ambaffador repreſented, in the queen's name, that the Roman catholics of Scotland enjoyed in public the exerciſe of their religion, and openly correſponded with the king of Spain. James replied, that he would act againſt them according to the laws of the land; and, if they ſhould reſuſe to ſubmit to the laws, he would purſue them by force of arms, provided the queen, who was as much intereſted as himſelf, in the ſucceſs of the war, would contribute to the expence. Lord Zouch ſtill preſſing him to enact ſeverer laws againſt them, the king answered, with ſome emotion, that the queen of England had no right to command him, or to preſcribe the rules by which he ſhould govern his own kingdom. Then he demanded that ſhe would deliver up Bothwell, who had again taken refuge in England. Far from giving him that ſatisfaction, ſhe in all probability furniſhed Bothwell with means to return and raiſe four hundred men, with whom he ſurprized Leith. Then he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, that he was come to join divers noblemen and others, in expelling thoſe evil counſellors who favoured the deſigns of the Roman catholics, and the Spaniſh invaſion. The citizens of Edinburgh taking arms againſt him, he retired towards Dalkeith, and routed the lord Hume, who commanded the advanced guard of a body of forces headed by the king in perſon: but not daring to ſtand the brunt of a general engagement, he diſmiſſed his troops, and took refuge once more in England. James immediately diſpatched two envoys to complain to Elizabeth of Bothwell's being ſtill harboured in her dominions; to aſſure her he would proſcribe the perſons, and confiscate the lands of the popiſh lords; and to deſire a ſupply of money in the mean time. She promiſed to comply with his requeſt, and forthwith publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding her ſubjects to give ſhelter to the earl of Bothwell. The Scottiſh parliament meeting in May, pronounced ſentence of forfeiture againſt the three popiſh earls, and the laird of Auchindown: but the execution of the ſentence was deferred, on account of the baptiſm of Henry prince of Scotland. Elizabeth ſent the earl of Suffex as ambaffador extraordinary to attend at this ſolemnity, at which alſo were preſent the envoys of Denmark, Brunſwick, Mecklenburg, and the United Provinces.

§ XLIII. Mean while Bothwell engaged in aſſociation with the popiſh lords; and having received a ſhare of ſome money remitted from Spain, undertook to raiſe ſuch a commotion in the ſouthern parts of Scotland, as would prevent the king from proſecuting his northern expedition againſt the outlawed noblemen. His deſign was to ſeize and confine James in the caſtle of Blackneſs; the governor of which was James Cochran, who had joined in the conſpiracy, which was accidentally diſcovered by intercepted letters. Cochran was arreſted, condemned, and executed. The earls of Argyle, Athol, and others, marching with five thouſand men againſt the proſcribed lords, were met in Badinoch by Huntley, who defeated them with great ſlaughter. Then the king himſelf took the field, and advanced as far as Aberdeen, where, underſtanding that the earls of Errol and Huntley had retired to Sutherland, he ordered the duke of Lennox to purſue them with a body of forces. This ſervice he performed with ſuch vigour, that the enemy was reduced to extremity,

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tremity, and offered to lay down their arms, provided they might be allowed to quit the kingdom. Their request was granted; and they went into perpetual exile. Bothwell finding himself totally abandoned by his old and new accomplices, fled into France, and afterwards retired to Naples, where he died in great indigence, professing the Roman catholic religion.

An. Ch. 1595.

§ XLIV. Incensed as Elizabeth was against the Spaniard, for his unceasing endeavours to distress her and her allies, she would not expend her subsidies in the operations of an offensive war, but annoyed the enemy by granting commissions to private adventurers, who acted against them at their own expence. Richard Hawkins thus authorized, sailed with three ships towards the streights of Magellan. One of his vessels was casually burned, and another quitted him on the coast of Brazil. Nevertheless, he sailed into the South-sea, where he took several prizes; but was at length attacked by a strong squadron, which compelled him to surrender upon articles of capitulation. James Lancaster took nine and thirty Spanish ships, on the coast of Brazil, and made himself master of Fernambuco, where he loaded fifteen vessels with sugar, and the cargo of a rich carrack which he found in the place: then returned to England with an immense booty. Sir Walter Raleigh being forbid the court, for having debauched a maid of honour, whom he afterwards married, undertook a voyage to Guiana, took the city of St. Joseph, sailed up the river Oroonoque in quest of a gold mine, which, however, he could not find; so that he was obliged to return without success, after having lost the best part of his men by the unhealthy climate. He made another voyage at his own expence, and miscarried as before. Elizabeth, encouraged by the success of her subjects, sent a strong fleet, under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, with a body of land forces, commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville, to seize a vast treasure which had been brought to Porto Rico for the use of Philip. They arrived in safety at St. Domingo; but their design being accidentally discovered, the Spaniards fortified the harbour of Porto Rico in such a manner, that when they attempted to force it, they met with a severe repulse. Hawkins dying after this miscarriage, they failed to the continent, where they burned Rio de la Hacha, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios. They made an effort to march across the Isthmus of Darien to Panama; but met with so many difficulties that they abandoned the enterprize, and resolved to attack Porto Bello. Before this scheme could be executed, Sir Francis Drake died of a dysentery, and the fleet returned to England.

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§ XLV. Philip of Spain retorted these hostilities by exciting a fresh rebellion in Ireland, under the conduct of Macguire and Mac-Mahon. Sir W. Ruffel had been sent over to succeed Fitzwilliams as lord deputy; and the earl of Tyrone having been accused of corresponding with the rebels, pleaded his own cause so effectually, in a visit to the new governor, that he was dismissed as a loyal subject. Notwithstanding his professions, he attacked the fort of Black-water, in the absence of the governor; and being declared a traitor, openly joined the rebels, whose forces in Ulster and Connaught amounted to near ten thousand horse and foot, commanded by experienced officers, who had served in the Low Countries. Elizabeth, alarmed at this formidable rebellion, recalled Sir John Norreys, with a body of veterans, from Brittany; and these being joined with a reinforcement in England, were sent over to Ireland

to

to crush the rebels before they should receive the succours they expected from Spain. When Norreys advanced to Armagh, Tyrone abandoned the fort of Black-water, reduced the town of Dungannon and the neighbouring villages to ashes, and was driven almost to despair, when the want of provisions compelled the English general to retire, after he had left garrisons in Armagh and Monaghan. Nevertheless, Feagh Mac-Hugh, chief of the Byrnes, submitted to the lord deputy; and Norreys agreed with Tyrone and O Donel for a truce till the end of December. This introduced a treaty or negotiation with the rebels, who demanded a general amnesty, the free exercise of their religion, the restitution of their estates, and an exemption from all garrisons and impositions. The queen offered to pardon them for their rebellion, provided they would dismiss their forces, repair the forts they had demolished, restore the effects they had seized, admit garrisons, sheriffs, and other officers, and discover their transactions with foreign princes. They rejected these proposals, though the truce was prolonged to April. The queen would have repaired their losses, but would by no means indulge them with a toleration. Tyrone in the mean time treated with Philip as well as with Elizabeth, and cunningly transmitted to the lord deputy the letters which he received from that monarch. These he presented as proofs of his loyalty to Elizabeth; though his aim was to deceive the vigilance of the deputy, and enhance the opinion of his own importance. Before the truce expired he capitulated with Norreys, and delivered hostages, in consequence of a pardon for himself and his accomplices: yet he refused to take the oath of allegiance. The rebels in Connaught submitted on the same terms: but this peace was of short duration. O Donel ravaged the country: Feagh Mac-Hugh, at the instigation of Tyrone, renewed the rebellion in Leinster, and surprized the fort at Balencore; but he was soon routed and slain, together with George and Peter Butler, nephews to the earl of Ormond, whom Feagh had persuaded to join in the revolt. Tyrone attacked the garrison of Armagh; but afterwards made an apology for this act of violence, and proposed a new conference with the lord deputy, for a full and final composition. His aim being only to amuse him, this conference was postponed from time to time, and at last the design was wholly laid aside. The progress of the rebels was in a good measure owing to a jealousy that subsisted between Russel and Norreys; and Tyrone did not fail to take the advantage of their misunderstanding.

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§ XLVI. Henry IV. of France was reduced to great perplexity by Elizabeth's recalling her troops from Brittany. He had declared war against Spain, and Philip sent the constable of Castile into Franche-Comté with an army of eighteen thousand men: at the same time the count de Fuentes, who now commanded the Spanish forces in the Low-Countries, entered Picardy, reduced Catelet, and defeating the French army at Dourlens, took the place by assault. Henry being apprized of these unfavourable events, dispatched Chevalier to the court of England, to solicit an immediate reinforcement for the preservation of Picardy. Elizabeth offered to send a body of troops to garrison Calais, Boulogne, and Dieppe; but Henry did not chuse to trust her with the keeping of these places. After the reduction of Dourlens, the Spaniards invested Cambray, and Henry sent over Lommenie his secretary of state, to press the queen of England for a speedy reinforcement, which she refused.

Mezerai.

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fused to grant; so that the place was surrendered to the enemy. She was loth to part with her money, and greatly disgusted at Henry for having neglected to drive the Spaniards from Brittany. It was not without reason she disliked their settlement in that province. They actually equipped a fleet, and made a descent upon Cornwall, where they plundered and burned several villages: but they retreated to their ships, without having done any considerable damage. The French king was extremely chagrined at the repulse he had sustained from Elizabeth; and many members of his council advised him to make a separate peace. He complained still more loudly of the United Provinces, which, though in alliance with him, had taken no step for the relief of such a considerable place. They derived incredible advantage from the war between France and Spain; and therefore appeased his wrath with a round sum of money, a couple of complete regiments, and a large quantity of corn.

§ XLVII. The queen of England was no sooner informed of this transaction, than she sent Sir Thomas Bodley to demand of the states the repayment of the money with which she had supplied them in their distress. Though they had actually grown rich during the war, they pleaded inability, exaggerating their losses at sea, the inundation of their country, and the great expence which they had undergone in equipping fleets to join her navy against the Spaniards. She would not admit of their excuses, alledging, that if they had money to give away to the king of France, they surely could not be incapable of paying their just debts. She upbraided them with their ingratitude; and reminded them of the deplorable situation in which they were when she generously took them into her protection. They might have justly told her, that the assistance they had received was more owing to a sense of her own interest, than to motives of generosity and compassion; and they might have pleaded the condition of the loan, by which she was not entitled to reimbursement until the war should be finished: but they deprecated her wrath by submission, and obtained a respite, by furnishing her with four and twenty ships well manned, and provided for five months, to join her navy in an attempt against the Spaniards. During these transactions, the cardinal Albert of Austria succeeding his brother Ernest in the government of the Low Countries, threw a reinforcement into La Fere, which Henry IV. besieged in person, and then invested Calais. The French king immediately dispatched Sancy to England for succour: he was followed by the marechal de Bouillon, who importuned Elizabeth so industriously, that she ordered eight thousand men to be levied and sent over, under the command of Essex; but, before they could embark, the place surrendered, and the troops were dismissed, though she supplied Henry with a sum of money on the credit of his two ambassadors.

§ XLVIII. The queen being apprized of Philip's great preparations against England or Ireland, equipped a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships, including those that were sent by the states general. Robert earl of Essex, and Charles Howard lord admiral of England, who had expended vast sums on this occasion, were appointed chiefs of the armament, though with different commands; the admiral directed the operation at sea, and the earl conducted the forces at their landing. The fleet was divided into four squadrons, of which the third was commanded by the lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by
Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh. Having received their instructions, they set sail from Plymouth in the beginning of June; and, on the twentieth day of that month anchored near St. Sebastian's chapel, on the west side of the island of Cadiz. The Spanish ships of war retiring into the Puntal, were next day attacked by the English; and the engagement lasted from break of day till noon, when the enemy seeing their galleons miserably shattered, and a great number of their men killed, resolved to set fire to their vessels, and run them ashore. The Spanish admiral called the St. Philip was burned, together with two or three other ships that lay near her; but the St. Matthew and St. Andrew were saved and taken. Immediately after this action, the earl of Essex landed at Puntal with eight hundred men, and advanced against a body of five hundred Spaniards, who retreated into Cadiz at his approach. These were so closely pursued, and the inhabitants were in such confusion, that no steps could be taken for the defence of the place, until the English had burst open the gate and entered the city. After a short skirmish in the streets, the assailants made themselves masters of the market-place, and the garrison retired into the castle; though they soon capitulated, on condition that the inhabitants should have liberty to depart with their wearing apparel, and all their other effects be distributed as booty among the soldiers; that they should pay five hundred and twenty thousand ducats for the ransom of their lives, and send forty of their chief citizens to England, as hostages for the payment of the money. The earl of Essex being now entirely master of the place, turned out all the inhabitants, and loaded the ships with the money and rich effects which the soldiers had not yet taken in plunder. Mean while admiral Howard detached Sir Walter Raleigh to burn the merchant-ships which had retired to Port-Real. Two millions of ducats were offered as their ransom; but he rejected the proposal, observing that he was come to burn, and not to ransom their ships. The duke of Medina Sidonia, however, found means to unload some, and set fire to others, that they might not fall into the hands of the English. Besides the loss which their merchants sustained in this expedition, the king lost two galleons, thirteen ships of war, and four and twenty vessels laden with merchandize for the Indies, over and above the ammunition which he had provided for his design upon England. The earl of Essex was of opinion, that Cadiz ought to be kept as a thorn in the side of the Spaniards, and offered to remain in person for its defence: but the majority being impatient to return to their own country with the booty they had obtained, his motion was over-ruled, and they set sail for England, after having set fire to the town and adjacent villages. When they arrived at Faro, in Algarbe, they found the place deserted, and all the effects removed. The fleet being afterwards driven out to sea by a strong northern gale, Essex proposed to make an attempt upon the Azores; but nobody seconding the proposal, except the lord Howard, they returned to England, enriched with the spoils of the enemy. Essex, however, had the mortification to find that Sir Robert Cecil, son of the lord treasurer, had in his absence been appointed secretary of state; an office to which the earl had strongly recommended Sir Thomas Bodley, who had been sent as ambassador to the Low-Countries. His chagrin was still augmented by the queen's appointing Sir Francis Vere governor of the Brille; a place of trust which Essex solicited for himself.

§ XLIX. Elizabeth, though she had a particular attachment to the person of Essex, payed very little regard to his recommendations, partly because she looked upon him as an impetuous youth, without experience and discernment; and partly because he was privately opposed by old Cecil, who had long served her with the utmost fidelity, was close, careful, penurious; and, in a word, a minister after her own heart. It was by his suggestions that the queen became so importunate with the states of the Netherlands for the payment of the debt they had contracted. They were sufficiently able to discharge this obligation; but they considered the debt as a tie which connected Elizabeth more firmly to their interest; and therefore were extremely averse to part with this bond of union. When she renewed her demands, they sent deputies to London, to make fresh remonstrances; they offered to pay two hundred thousand florins yearly, either for her life, or during the war, and four millions in as many years after the peace should be concluded. She refused to close with this proposal; the deputies returned, and the affair was postponed to further consideration.

§ L. Notwithstanding the disgust which Elizabeth had conceived against the French king; and that prince's resentment of her refusing to succour Calais, their mutual interest was so inseparably connected in the war with Spain, that they agreed to open conferences for a treaty, which had been proposed before the Spaniards had reduced the towns in Picardy. The duke of Bouillon was sent over to assist Sancy in the negotiation; and English commissioners being appointed to treat with them, the league was soon concluded, on condition that Elizabeth should furnish four thousand men for the defence of Picardy and Normandy: That the king of France should supply her with the like number, in case her kingdom should be invaded; and that neither party should make peace without the other's consent. The states-general acceded to this treaty; though their admission was retarded by the jealousy of Elizabeth, who pretended that they had no right to accede as a sovereign power, but merely as associated towns under her protection. At length the French king prevailed upon her to wave this distinction.

Mezerai.

§ LI. Philip of Spain, exasperated by the conduct of Elizabeth, and the losses he had sustained from the arms of her people, resolved to make another effort for the conquest of England. He assembled a formidable fleet at a time when the queen thought him utterly disabled from executing any scheme of revenge; and this navy having taken land forces on board at Fariola, steered its course for England; but was dispersed by a violent storm, which rendered it altogether unserviceable for that season. The king of Spain had begun to treat privately of a separate peace with Henry; but the negotiation was altogether interrupted by the success of Porto-Carrero, governor of Dourlens, who found means to surprise Amiens; though this advantage did not recompence Philip for the defeat of his troops at Turnhaut by prince Maurice. Nevertheless, depending upon a separate peace with France, he determined to make a descent upon Ireland, where he still fomented the discontent of the natives; but his fleet was again dispersed and disabled. Almost all the native Irish in Ulster and Connaught being encouraged by his emissaries with hope of assistance, had risen in arms; and Thomas lord Burrough was sent over by Elizabeth with the commission of lord deputy. Tyrone endeavoured to amuse him

An. Ch. 1597.

him with excuses, professions, and proposals; but, instead of suffering himself to be cajoled by that crafty rebel, he marched against him and took the fort of Blackwater; then he returned to Dublin, where he died; and Thomas earl of Ormond was constituted lieutenant-general of the army. This nobleman advanced against Tyrone; but his troops being in a miserable condition, he agreed to a truce for a few months, during which he expected to receive a reinforcement from England.

§ LII. Elizabeth now resolved to make an attempt upon Tercera, the principal island of the Azores, and, if possible, intercept the Spanish flota in their passage from the West Indies. Five thousand soldiers were embarked in a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships; and to these were added five and twenty Dutch ships, under the command of admiral Warmout, having on board one thousand English veterans from the Low-Countries, headed by Sir Francis Vere, governor of the Brille. The chief command of this armament was conferred upon the earl of Essex. The lord Mountjoy was his lieutenant for the land forces; and his second and third squadrons were conducted by lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh. He was instructed to destroy the Spanish fleet at Ferrol, and then proceed to the Azores. He sailed from Plymouth on the tenth day of June, but the fleet was scattered by a violent tempest, and the ships were obliged to put in at different ports of England; though, in a few days, they rendezvoused at Plymouth. They sailed again in August, and were damaged in such a manner, by another storm, that they laid aside their design upon Ferrol, which was by this time strongly fortified, and proceeded directly to the Azores. Raleigh being parted from the other admirals, arrived at Flores, and sailing to Fayal, in quest of the earl of Essex, took that town before he joined the general, who resented his acting without orders; but was pacified by Raleigh's submission. The earl proposed to wait at the island of Graciosa for the Indian fleet; but was persuaded by a pilot to sail for the isle of St. Michael, where he would find a safer harbour. He had not sailed two hours from Graciosa, when the plate fleet arrived at that island; and being informed of the English armament, steered directly for Tercera, where they anchored under the town of Angra, and castle of Brazil. They passed in the night through a small squadron of four ships, commanded by Sir W. Monson, who dispatched a vessel with intelligence to the earl of Essex: but they were posted in such a manner, when that nobleman came to observe them, that it was judged impracticable to attack them, without the utmost danger; and all their treasure was by this time sent on shore. He had, however, taken three vessels which had straggled from the flota. He now sailed back to St. Michael, and made himself master of Villa Franca, where he found a considerable booty, and store of refreshment for his people. Raleigh, meanwhile, drove ashore and destroyed an Indian carrack. Then the earl set sail for England, and arrived at Plymouth in the latter end of October. The lord treasurer had resigned the place of master of the court of wards, in favour of his son Sir Robert; and Essex complained that old Cecil had taken the advantage of his absence. The earl was likewise mortified to see the admiral created earl of Nottingham, so as to precede him in rank; but he received some satisfaction in being promoted to the honour of earl marechal of England.

Camden.

§ LIII. We have already observed, that the Hanse towns had complained that the English fleet had seized their ships at Lisbon. As they were not satisfied with Elizabeth's answer, they appealed to the diet of the empire, and obtained a decree, prohibiting the English to trade in the dominions of Germany. The English merchants were driven from Hamburg, and other Hanse towns; and Sigismund king of Poland sent over an ambassador to England, to demand the ships belonging to his subjects, which had been taken in Portugal. This envoy, in a Latin oration, spoke in very high terms, and even threatened the queen with his master's resentment. Elizabeth answered him extempore, in the same language, telling him his master was a raw, hot-headed, young prince, who did not know the nature of such negotiations; and that he himself was a pedant, ignorant of mankind, and unacquainted with the rules of decorum. She justified her conduct by the law of nations; said the king of Poland was impertinent to mention and boast of his alliance with the houses of Austria and Spain; observing that she was very little obliged to the first, and had set the other at defiance. The dispute between England and the Hanse towns became so serious, that Elizabeth issued a proclamation, inhibiting them from trading to her dominions, and ordering the lord mayor to dispossess them of the steel-yard. The towns on the other hand resolved to form an association to prevent the English from trading to Germany and Poland; but this confederacy was prevented by Sir George Carew, who being empowered to offer an enjoyment of their antient privileges, as an indulgence from the crown of England, and a free traffic to Spain with corn, and all other commodities, except naval stores, the magistrates of Dantzick refused to send deputies to the congress at Lubec, and all differences were compromised between the citizens of Elbing and the English factory.

Rymer.
Camden.

§ LIV. It was the fate of Elizabeth to be continually wrangling with her allies, because they were in continual want of her assistance, which she seldom granted, except upon such terms as they could not easily observe. Henry IV. being greatly incommoded by the Spaniards, since they had made themselves masters of Amiens, resolved to retake that city, and summoned the queen of England to send over the four thousand men stipulated in the last treaty. She consented to his request, on condition that he would pay them while they should be in his service; but, this being a condition which he could not easily fulfil, he endeavoured to extort her compliance by alarming her jealousy. He gave her to understand, that he had it in his option to make a separate peace with Philip, who had offered to restore all the towns he had taken but Calais and Ardres, provided he would detach himself from the interest of England. This expedient answered his purpose. Elizabeth desired her ambassador to tell him, that she could not persuade herself he would violate the treaty, to the observation of which he had so solemnly sworn: and that he might be encouraged to fulfil his engagements, she sent over her troops, with a round sum of money. By virtue of this supply, he was enabled to carry on the siege of Amiens, which surrendered to him in September. Then the private negotiations between him and Spain were renewed; and the principal articles were settled before he dropped the least hint of peace to his allies. The queen, however, discovered these practices, at which she was not a little alarmed. The parliament meeting on the twenty fourth day of October, she gave them to understand, that she had expended

D'Ewe.

pended in the wars of France, Flanders, Spain and Ireland, above three times the amount of the subsidies she had received. The commons and convocation indulged her with a considerable supply; and the Parliament was dissolved in February.

§ LV. Sir Robert Cecil was dispatched to France to know upon what footing Henry treated with Spain; and that prince owned that Philip had made such offers as he could not refuse with any regard to the welfare of his people. He promised, however, that he would employ all his influence in obtaining honourable and advantageous terms to the queen of England and the states general. As he expected nothing but reproaches from his allies, he resolved to spare himself the mortification of bearing them in his own person, and therefore appointed commissioners to treat with the English and Dutch ambassadors. At this conference, Barneveldt, one of the Netherland envoys, summoned Henry, though absent, to answer on his conscience, whether or not he thought it was beneath the honour of a prince to abandon his allies in such a manner. Cecil spoke with great freedom on the same subject; and demanded that the peace might be deferred until he could receive new instructions from his mistress. The two ambassadors even offered, in the name of their constituents, to furnish him with ten thousand infantry, and one thousand horse, to be maintained by England and the Netherlands through the whole course of the war, provided Henry would renounce his treaty with Philip, and engage with them in a perpetual alliance. The chancellor of France expressed the utmost gratitude for the succours the king had already received; and excused his master's conduct from the necessity of his affairs. In vain did Elizabeth upbraid him in a severe letter with his ingratitude and perfidy: he still persisted in his design, to give peace to his country. The negotiations were carried on at Vervins; and on the twelfth day of June, the peace was ratified by Henry; after he had delayed it for a few weeks, in order to save appearances. Then he declared he would procure an honourable peace for his allies, and exhorted them to take this opportunity of treating with Philip under his mediation. An. Ch. 1598.

§ LVI. Elizabeth immediately sent Sir Thomas Vere to know the resolution of the states general. She was already determined to maintain the war, by which alone she thought Philip would be so much employed in the Netherlands, that he would not find it practicable to execute his schemes against England. But, she affected a strong propensity to peace, alledging that she could no longer bear such a heavy burthen. The states, whose safety in a great measure depended upon her friendship and alliance, were so alarmed at her declaration, that they agreed to such terms of a new league as she thought proper to propose. The treaty was accordingly concluded, on condition, That the states should give security for the payment of eight millions of florins, to which she limited her demands: That one half of this sum should be liquidated during the war, by certain annual payments; and that the restitution of the places which were in the hands of the English, together with the payment of the other half, should be amicably settled after the establishment of the peace: That the queen should furnish eleven hundred and fifty men to garrison different fortresses, and be paid by the states: That, for the future, the queen should stand discharged of the engagement to furnish any other auxiliary troops; but, that the English who either were at that time, or might be in the service of the states, Mezerai.

Grotius.

states, should take the oath to the said states, be maintained by them, and obey their generals: That the power of the deputy of England, stipulated in the former treaty, should be abolished; though the queen reserved to herself the liberty of sending one person to sit in their council: That when she should be engaged in war against the common enemy, whether offensive or defensive, the states should furnish her with forty or fifty ships of war, five thousand foot soldiers, and five hundred cavalry. About this time the earl of Cumberland returned from the West Indies, where he had taken Potosi, and sent away the inhabitants, that he might convert it into an English settlement; but, having lost a great number of men by the dysentery, he re-embarked his people for England, having reaped very little fruit from his expedition, in which he had plundered Lancerata, one of the Canary islands.

§ LVII. In the last voyage of Sir Francis Drake, one Squire had been taken by the Spaniards, and persuaded by Walpole, an English jesuit, to attempt the lives of the queen and the earl of Essex. He furnished him with a poisonous powder, to be sprinkled upon the earl's chair and the queen's saddle; and Squire, at his return to England, tried the experiment, without effect. Walpole supposing that Squire had deceived him, as Elizabeth and Essex still continued in good health, sent over a person in revenge to accuse Squire, who being apprehended, confessed the whole affair, and was executed as a traitor. Elizabeth never thought herself safe from such attempts during the life of Philip II. king of Spain, who now died in the sixty second year of his age, after having reigned two and forty, during which he had embroiled all Europe by his ambition, and lost the seven United Provinces by his cruelty, bigotry, and arbitrary administration. The fire of rebellion which he kindled in Ireland continued to burn violently, even after his decease. The earl of Tyrone had again rebelled, defeated and slain Sir Henry Bagnal, and reduced the fort of Blackwater. Though his progress was checked by the arrival of Sir Samuel Bagnal, with a reinforcement from England, all Connaught revolted; and a rebellion was raised in Munster, by Owny Macroryage and Sir Thomas of Desmond. They drove the English settlers from their houses and plantations, and invested Kilmallock; but, the earl of Ormond advancing with a body of forces, compelled them to raise the siege, put Cork, Kinsale and Youghal in a posture of defence, exacted hostages from the chieftains: then marching into Leinster, he routed a body of the rebels, and relieved the castle of Maryborough.

Camden.

§ LVIII. Elizabeth consulting with the earl of Essex and the admiral about the choice of a proper person for the administration of Ireland, Essex recommended Mr. George Carew, in opposition to Sir George Knolles, whom, however, the queen preferred to his competitor. The earl was so provoked at her slighting his recommendation, that he turned his back upon her in contempt; and she, incensed at his insolence, gave him a box on the ear, bidding him go and be hanged. Essex laying his hand upon his sword, swore he would not have taken such an affront from Henry VIII. and retired from court in a transport of passion. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his friends, he for some time breathed nothing but revenge and defiance; but at length his passion subsiding, he was pardoned, and received again into favour. In the midst of these broils, the lord treasurer Burghley died in extreme old age, having preserved his influence to the last moment of his life, against all the intrigues of Leicester

Leicester, Essex, and other persons who shared the queen's favour. He was one of those cold, plodding, illiberal statesmen, who think honesty and plain dealing are incompatible with the art of government. He had ordinary parts, was capable of incredible application, and inculcated upon Elizabeth the maxim which influenced her whole conduct; namely, that it was her interest to keep all the states of Christendom embroiled by domestic dissensions. He was an excellent minister for the revenue, which he managed with equal frugality and address. In his private behaviour he was close, covetous, ill-bred, and ungracious. He died unregretted by the people, and was succeeded in office by the Lord Buckhurst.

§ LIX. The rebellion continuing still to rage in Ireland, the queen and council deliberated upon the choice of a proper person to send over as lord deputy, and the majority inclined to Charles Blount, lord Montjoy; but Essex objected to him as a nobleman of little experience, and, without an open declaration, gave them to understand, that he himself was desirous of the office. He was accordingly appointed lord deputy of Ireland, with a more extensive commission than ever had been granted to any of his predecessors; and setting out immediately for his government, arrived in Dublin the seventeenth day of April. Instead of advancing directly against Tyrone, according to the instructions he had received, he marched into Munster, where, having reduced the castle of Cahir, received the submission of the inhabitants, and performed some inconsiderable exploits against a body of the rebels. He returned to Dublin in the latter end of June, after having lost a great number of his men by sickness and fatigue. The queen being informed of his transactions, wrote a severe letter, reproaching him with his contempt of her orders. He excused himself by saying he had followed the advice of the council of Ireland, and promised to march into Ulster against Tyrone; nevertheless, he turned his arms against the O Moires and O Connors in Leix and Offaly; and by that time he returned from this petty expedition, his forces were so much diminished, that he demanded a reinforcement of one thousand men from England. In the mean time he ordered Clifford, governor of Connaught, to make a diversion on the side of Belick, where he was routed and slain by O Rourke. Essex, having received a supply of troops from England, marched against Tyrone to the borders of Ulster, and obliged him to retire into woods and fastnesses. Then that rebel craved a parley, which he obtained at Louth, where both parties agreed to a cessation for six weeks, to be renewed occasionally for the same term, or vacated on a fortnight's notice from either side. Having concluded this inglorious truce, he marched back to Dublin, where he understood the queen was greatly incensed against him, for having presumed to disobey her orders a second time. He therefore resolved to return to England, even without leave, to counter-work the efforts of his enemies at court; and his departure is said to have been hastened, by false reports of the queen's being dangerously ill, and despaired of by her physicians. These rumours were industriously circulated by his adversaries, who, at the same time, stopped all ships but those that carried this intelligence. The friends of Essex advised him to land in Wales with the Irish army, which was at his devotion; but, he rejected this council, and leaving the administration of Ireland in the hands of the lord chancellor Loftus and Sir George Carew, set sail for England with a very small retinue.

§ LX. Elizabeth had received such bad impressions of him from his enemies, that she now began to suspect him of designs upon the crown, and made preparations for her own safety. On pretence of having received intelligence that the Spaniards were employed in equipping a powerful fleet against England, she granted commissions for levying six thousand men, and bestowed the command of them upon the lord admiral, who was no friend to Essex. She ordered the trained bands of London to be armed and exercised. Chains were drawn across the principal streets of London, and the gates were strongly guarded, as in times of the most imminent danger: but, when she understood by letters from Ireland, that the earl of Essex had no intention to bring over the forces, she disbanded the new levies, and the citizens were released from such severity of watch and discipline. Essex mean while landing in England, with the earl of Southampton, and some other officers, posted immediately to the court, which was then at Nonsuch, about ten miles from London; and, without shifting his dress, or cleansing himself from the soil of his journey, went directly to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found her majesty just risen, with her hair hanging over her eyes. He kneeled and kissed her hand, and after some private conversation, returned to his own apartment, flushed with joy at the gracious reception he had met with from his mistress. After having changed his apparel, he again visited her majesty, with whom he conferred some hours in private, and afterwards dined in great good humour. In the afternoon, when he repeated his visit to the queen, he found her very much altered in her behaviour. She taxed him with neglect of her orders, and desired that he might be examined by the lords in council. Those in waiting met immediately; but, after having sat some time, the affair was referred to the determination of a full council, which was summoned accordingly; and in the mean time the earl was confined to his chamber. Next day he was interrogated at the council-board, touching his contempt of the queen's orders, his making a truce with Tyrone, and his leaving Ireland without her majesty's permission. His answers were so little satisfactory, that he was committed to the custody of the lord privy seal.

§ LXI. In the mean time Tyrone being apprised of the earl's departure, resolved to take advantage of his absence. He had by this time received a supply of money from the king of Spain, and a crown or plume of phenix feathers, with ample indulgences, from the pope. Thus animated, he assumed the title of O'Neill, and advanced with an army of six thousand men within fifteen miles of the Navan. The earl of Ormond, who commanded as lieutenant-general, marching against him with the wreck of the English forces, was fain to conclude a truce, and wrote to the queen for a speedy reinforcement: but before this arrived, the earl drove O'Niny and Redmond Bourke from Leix and Tipperary.

§ LXII. During these transactions, the friends of Essex in England cabaled among the people, endeavouring to raise a powerful faction in his favour. They exaggerated his good qualities, and exclaimed with such virulence against the ministry, that the queen's indignation was augmented, and all her suspicion of the earl's designs recurred. She determined therefore to convince her people, that she had not confined Essex without a cause; and ordered him to be tried in the lord keeper's house before the council, assisted by the four judges. He was there found guilty of divers misdemeanors, and sentenced to be removed from the council-board, suspended from the offices of earl marshal and master of the ordnance, and detained in prison during her majesty's pleasure.

Camden.

Osborne.

Sidney's letters.

An. Ch. 1599.

sure. The earl behaved on this occasion with great humility, and the queen An.Ch. 1660. declaring her intention was not to ruin but chastise him, he was permitted to retire to his own house, under the custody of Sir Richard Berkley. He had from his first imprisonment, dedicated all his time to devotion, and undergone a severe fit of illness, the consequence of his chagrin; so that the queen's heart was by this time almost mollified. He had hoped his submissive behaviour would have entitled him to a free pardon; but finding himself still under restrictions, and having met with a mortifying repulse when he petitioned the queen for a renewal of the lease by which he farmed the sweet wines, his patience forsook him, and all his impetuosity of resentment awoke. He broke out into unguarded exclamations against his enemies at court, and did not even abstain from severe sarcasms against the person of Elizabeth, saying she was now grown an old woman, and as crooked in her mind as in her body. He was surrounded by spies, who reported these expressions to Elizabeth; and this presumption extinguished all her compassion and regard. Such personal reflections she never forgave. She now lent a willing ear to the suggestions of secretary Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the rest of his enemies. She rejected with disdain all the petitions and memorials that were presented in his behalf by himself and his relations; and seemed bent upon provoking him to some step that would be productive of his own destruction. To the indignation of an incensed sovereign was added the rage of a slighted woman. Essex was surrounded by a number of adherents, who poisoned his mind with the most fatal counsels. The chief of these were Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Giles Meyrick, and Henry Cuffe. They fomented his anger, and instigated him to violent measures.

§ LXIII. He by letters endeavoured to persuade the king of Scotland that the English ministers favoured the succession of the infanta of Spain, whose pretended right had been asserted in a late performance; and he exhorted the Scottish king to insist upon Elizabeth's declaring him her successor. James was afraid of teasing Elizabeth upon such a disagreeable subject: for he had already sent ambassadors to the king of Denmark, and several other powers of Germany, desiring their mediation with the queen towards her doing him justice; but they excused themselves from giving her any unnecessary offence. Besides, he was so much embroiled at home, that he would not run the risque of incurring her displeasure, at a time when he might have occasion for her assistance. He was at continual variance with his clergy, who were generally four gloomy pedants, equally inspired with pride and fanaticism. They found him lukewarm to their forms of religion, averse to their personal characters; and, by their influence among the populace, subjected him to divers mortifications. They even refused to give public thanks to God for his miraculous preservation from the swords of the earl Gowry and his brother, who had decoyed him to their house in Perth, in order to sacrifice him to the manes of their father, who had been executed for treason. James was already removed from all his attendants; and, on pretence of receiving a hidden treasure, conveyed into a solitary apartment, where he found a man standing in armour. Gowry's brother Alexander, who was his conductor, having locked the door as he entered, told the king that he now would take vengeance upon him for the murder of his father, and drawing

ing a dagger, would have plunged it in his breast, had not he been restrained by the man in armour, who wrenched the dagger from his hand, declaring that he should not, while he lived, commit so foul a deed. The king himself argued so pathetically against the perpetration of such an act, that Alexander was confounded; and assuring his majesty his life should be safe, desired he would remain in that place, until he could speak with his brother. So saying, he retired; but soon returned, saying the earl was implacable, and swearing by God he should die. He then endeavoured to tie the king's hands with a garter, and James struggled manfully in his own defence. The person in armour, who was Gowry's servant, instead of assisting the assassin, opened a window, towards which James pulling his antagonist, cried Murder! treason! and demanded assistance. His voice being known by some of his attendants who were in the street, John Ramsay, one of his pages, ran up the back-stairs, and entering the apartment, found the king still struggling with Alexander Ruthven. James desiring him to strike the traitor, he wounded him in two or three places with his dagger, while the man in armour retired another way. Alexander then quitted his hold, and running down stairs, was met by Sir Thomas Erskine, who killed him outright. This gentleman, followed by doctor Hugh Hereife a physician, and one Wilfon a footman, repaired immediately to the place where the king remained with Ramsay. As they expected an assault from earl Gowry himself, they locked their sovereign in a closet, and prepared to defend the entry. Immediately they were attacked by the earl with a sword in each hand, attended by several armed domestics; and a fierce conflict ensued. The defenders of James were in danger of being worsted, when one of them exclaiming, "You have killed the king our master; will you take our lives also?" Gowry was so confounded at this exclamation that he set the points of his two swords to the ground, in token of a cessation. He was that instant run through the body by Ramsay, and fell dead at his feet. His servants seeing him fall, betook themselves to flight; though not before Sir Thomas Erskine and Dr. Hereife were dangerously wounded. By this time the noblemen and their followers had broke open the doors of the ordinary passage, and rushing into the chamber, expressed their joy at the safety of the king, who, falling upon his knees, gave thanks to God for his deliverance. A day of public thanksgiving being appointed, the ministers of Edinburgh refused to bless God for having protected his majesty, alledging that it was a sham conspiracy. The king and council, therefore, went in procession to the market-place, to countenance Lindsay bishop of Ross in preaching a sermon suited to the occasion. After this ceremony, the king repaired to Dumfermling to visit the queen, who had been just delivered of a prince, christened by the name of Charles, afterwards king of Great Britain and Ireland.

§ LXIV. In the course of this year, Elizabeth treated with the kings of France and Denmark, about the regulations of traffic, and some disputes subsisting between the English and Danes, touching the fishery on the coast of Norway. Commissioners being appointed on both sides, met at Bremen; but they could not agree, and the matters were left undetermined. At the pressing solicitation of Henry king of France, the queen appointed Sir Henry Nevil, Sir John Herbert secretary of state, Sir Thomas Edmonds, and Sir Robert Beale, her commissioners to treat of a peace with those of Spain and the arch-

duke Albert; and the conferences were opened in May at Boulogne; but, after several previous objections had been removed, the plenipotentiaries disagreed about precedence, and this dispute could not be decided; so that the congress proved ineffectual. During these debates, the archduke Albert advanced to the relief of Nieuport, which prince Maurice had invested, and was defeated in a pitched battle; the victory having been in a great measure owing to the valour of fifteen hundred English auxiliaries, commanded by Sir Francis Vere, who sustained the whole shock of the Spanish infantry, until the prince's horse had routed the cavalry of the enemy, and then attacked their foot in flank. This disaster did not at all diminish the pride and inflexibility of the Spanish plenipotentiaries, who depended upon the success of the rebellion which their master fomented in Ireland. Winwood.

§ LXV. Elizabeth resolving to quell at once those insurrections by which she had been alarmed through the whole course of her reign, sent over the lord Montjoy as lord deputy, and appointed Sir George Carew president of Munster. Sir Henry Docwra, and Sir Matthew Morgan, landing with a considerable body of forces near the mouth of Lochfoyle, erected two forts, and fortified Derry. The earl of Ormond being treacherously surprized at a conference, by Owny O More, was detained by Tyrone, until he gave hostages for the payment of three thousand pounds; and engaged that he would never carry arms against that chief, or any of his confederates. The lord deputy marching into Ulster, compelled Tyrone to retire into the woods and fastnesses, supplied the English garrisons in those parts, and afterwards falling into Leinster, defeated and slew Owny O More. In the mean time, Ormond being released, reduced all the rebels of Leinster. The lord deputy having received a reinforcement from England, marched towards Armagh, and erected a fort which he called Mount Noris, the command of which he bestowed upon Edward Blaney, an officer of approved courage, experience, and fidelity. The rebels were worsted in several skirmishes, and at length defeated near Carlinford: Sir Henry Docwra reduced the whole country in the neighbourhood of Lochfoyle, while Sir George Carew sowed dissensions among the rebels of Munster: he drove the Sagan earl of Desmond out of the country; Florence Maecarty, O Sullivan Beare, the white knight, John and Theobald Bourke, with other chieftains, were intimidated into submission; and the peace of the whole province was established before the end of December. Camden.

§ LXVI. The earl of Essex still continued to minister food for the queen's jealousy and indignation. Finding James of Scotland averse to his proposals, he took under his protection some presbyterian ministers, who preached at his house; and multitudes of people went thither on pretence of hearing their sermons. He formed a kind of council, composed of the earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges governor of the fort of Plymouth, Sir John Daveys surveyor of the ordnance, and Sir John Littleton of Franckel. These being assembled at Drury-house, he produced a list of individuals, whom he supposed attached to his fortunes. It contained the names of a great number of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen. There they deliberated upon the measures to be taken; and resolved, that the palace and person of the queen being secured, the earl should throw himself at her feet, demanding that certain

tain persons should be removed from her presence, and deprived of the offices they enjoyed. The queen and council, alarmed at the great resort of people to Essex, and suspecting the earl's intention, sent secretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, convened in the lord keeper's house. Essex dreading a second imprisonment, excused himself on account of indisposition, and consulted his friends touching the emergency of his situation. He was destitute of men, arms, and ammunition; the guards were doubled, and he was averse to any attempt against the palace, which would look like open treason. While he and his confidants were in consultation, a person, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendship and assistance against all his adversaries. This intelligence was confirmed by others, who assured him that Sir Thomas Smith, one of the sheriffs, would raise one thousand men of the trained-bands for his service. The earl's vanity being flattered by these insidious proposals, he resolved to enter the city next day; and, in the mean time, sent notice to his friends, that the lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh lay in wait for his life. Early in the morning he was visited by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lord Sandes, Parker, and Monteagle, with three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked, that none might go forth without permission: Sir Walter Raleigh sending a message to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer visited him in a boat upon the river, and discovered all their transactions. The lord keeper, accompanied by the earl of Worcester, the lord chief justice Popham, and Sir William Knolles, uncle to the earl of Essex, were sent by the queen to learn the meaning of such a concourse of people. Being admitted through the wicket, they found the court-yard filled with the populace. When the lord keeper mentioned the cause of their coming, Essex replied aloud, that there was a conspiracy against his life; and that his friends were assembled for the security of his person, since nothing but his blood could satisfy his enemies. The lords endeavouring to expostulate with him, were interrupted by the multitude, which raised a terrible clamour, threatening them with instant death. The lord keeper charged them, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and following Essex into the house, was, with his attendants, committed to the guard of Sir John Daveys, Francis Tresham, Owen Salisbury, and some musketeers. The counsellors being thus secured, Essex leaving two hundred men with Meyric to defend his house, repaired to the city, where he exclaimed in the streets, "For the queen! For the queen! My life is in danger!" hoping to engage the citizens to rise in his behalf: but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houses; so that he was not joined by one single person. Then he proceeded to the house of sheriff Smith, whom he dispatched to the lord mayor, desiring he himself, or four aldermen, would come and confer with him upon the situation of his affairs: but, before he received any answer from that quarter, the earl of Cumberland, with Sir Thomas Gerard knight-marshal, came into the city, and proclaimed him and all his adherents traitors. This circumstance was no sooner known, than many of the earl's followers slunk away; and he himself, in manifest dejection, attempted to return to his own house, intending to make his peace with the queen, by means of the counsellors whom he had left in custody. Finding

Ludgate

Ludgate guarded by Sir John Levison, who denied him passage, he asked and obtained leave for Gorges to pass, that he might release the counsellors, whom he forthwith conducted to Whitehall. The earl, in returning towards the heart of the city, found a chain drawn across the street, at the corner of St. Paul's, and guarded by armed men, who had been assembled by the bishop of London. In fighting his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman for whom he had a singular affection, lost his life; and Sir Christopher Blount was wounded and taken. The earl, going down Friday-street, embarked in a boat at Queenhythe, and landing at Essex-house, began to make preparations for his defence.

§ LXVII. He was immediately invested by the lord admiral, at the head of several regiments provided with artillery; and, about ten at night, he, with his company, surrendered at discretion. He and Southampton were immediately conveyed to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, from whence they were next day sent to the Tower; and his friends were confined in other prisons. The ministry still alarmed the queen with assurances that the danger was not yet over. The citizens were obliged to keep double watch and ward; and captain Thomas Lea was executed at Tyburne, because he had said to Sir Robert Crofts, "Might not seven or eight honest fellows, as we are, throw ourselves at his majesty's feet, and represent the injury that is done to so many brave gentlemen, who may one day do her good service?" This insinuation being reported by Crofts, was interpreted into a design of setting Essex at liberty: Lea was apprehended, convicted, and condemned. He died with great intrepidity, declaring himself entirely innocent of the crime laid to his charge. Essex and Southampton were tried by their peers on the nineteenth day of February; lord Buckhurst presiding as high steward, and both were condemned as traitors. Essex, after condemnation, was visited by that superstitious devotion which took possession of his mind in all his disgraces. He was terrified almost into despair by the ghostly remonstrances of his own chaplain Ashton; he was reconciled to Cecil, and the rest of his adversaries, and made a full confession of his conspiracy. On Ash-wednesday he was brought to the scaffold, which was erected within the Tower, and suffered in presence of the earls of Cumberland and Hertford, the lord viscount Bindon, the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Darcy, the lords Compton, Morley, and many other persons of distinction: Sir Walter Raleigh retired into the armoury, from whence he saw the execution, at which he could not help shedding tears. Essex appeared in a suit of black sattin; and, after having made an obeisance to the spectators, confessed his sins with marks of uncommon sorrow and contrition, though he protested that he never entertained a thought to the prejudice of her majesty's person. His behaviour denoted penitence, not without a mixture of apprehension: he resigned himself intirely to the direction of the divines who attended him; and, after set exercises of devotion, submitted his neck to the executioner, who, with three strokes, severed his head from his body. Camden. Thus died, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, Robert Devereux earl of Essex, once the minion of fortune, and always the darling of the people. He was a nobleman possessed of excellent and amiable qualities; brave, liberal, and humane; a patron of learning, in which he himself had made good progress; a warm friend, and an avowed enemy. His foibles were vanity, am-

Reliq. Wor-
bition, ton.

Winwoo.

bition, and an impetuosity of temper, by which he fell a sacrifice to the artful intrigues of those who dreaded his power, and envied his good fortune. His accomplices Meyric and Cusse were executed at Tyburn; Sir Charles Danvers and Sir Christopher Blount were beheaded: Littleton, Orel, and Sir Edmund Bainham were tried and condemned; but the first dying in prison, the others were pardoned. The earl of Southampton was detained in the Tower till the accession of king James, by whom he was set at liberty, and restored in blood by act of parliament. Elizabeth certainly looked upon Essex with the eyes of particular affection, which in all probability was not extinguished at the time of his condemnation; for the betrayed great agitation of mind, and even countermanded the order for his execution. But she was provoked by his contemptuous forbearance to implore her mercy; and being alarmed at his own declaring that his life would be dangerous to her safety, she ordered the sentence to be executed. He is said to have made application to her for pardon; but his letters and messages were intercepted by the earl and countess of Nottingham. It does not appear, however, that she underwent any violent transports at the news of his death; though, when her indignation subsided, she became pensive and melancholy, and never heard his name mentioned without sighing.

Id.

Grotius.
Mezerai.

§ LXVIII. The king of Scotland, when he heard of the earl's being apprehended, had dispatched the earl of Mar, and the abbot of Kinlofs, as his ambassadors to the court of England; and, by the notes with which they were furnished, we may conclude that he was interested in some project which did not take effect. But the earl being executed before they arrived, they pretended their errand was to congratulate her majesty upon her happy success in quelling the late audacious attempt. Elizabeth affected to take the compliment in good part; and was even prevailed upon to add two thousand pounds a year to their master's pension. During their residence in England, they managed his affairs so dexterously, that the majority of the council was won over to his interest; and among the rest, secretary Cecil, who from this period corresponded with James, by means of the lord Henry Howard. About the same time Ostend was invested by the archduke Albert, and defended with incredible valour by Sir Francis Vere, at the head of the English garrison. Henry IV. of France, repairing to Calais, Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Edmonds with a compliment to that prince, who returned it by the marshals du Biron, de Lavardin, and the duke d'Aumont. These noblemen were received at the court of England with great magnificence; and, though no part of their negotiation transpired, are said to have conferred with her majesty upon a scheme which Henry had formed against the house of Austria. The parliament meeting on the twenty seventh day of October, the queen gave them to understand, that the wars in Flanders and Ireland had drained her exchequer, in spite of all her frugality; and they indulged her with a more considerable subsidy than had ever been granted since her accession. In consideration of this supply, she issued a proclamation for repealing some monopolies of salt, oil, starch, and other commodities, which gave offence to the nation; and the commons deputed fourscore of their body to present their humble thanks for this instance of her parental regard. Then they passed an act for the relief of the poor;

poor: and having made some other laws of public utility, were dissolved in the month of December.

D'Ewe.

§ LXIX. The rebels in Ireland being again put in motion, by supplies and promises from the king of Spain, the lord deputy marched against Tyrone, whom he drove from his camp under Blackwater, expelled the Macgeniffes from Lecale, took Dundrum, and several other castles belonging to the rebels, secured the abbey of Armagh with a strong garrison, advanced as far north as Dungannon, and routed them in several encounters. Sir Henry Docwra compelled Macswiny Fanagh to submit, and retrieved some castles which had been betrayed to the rebels; and Sir George Carew seizing the titular earl of Desmond, and Florence Maccarty, sent them to England, where they died in prison. On the twenty-first day of September, a Spanish fleet entered the harbour of Kinsale, and Don John de Aguilla landing with four thousand veterans, Sir Richard Piercy retreated with his men to Cork, in obedience to the order he had received. The Spanish general immediately published a manifesto, declaring he was come to execute the pope's bull against Elizabeth, and re-establish the catholic religion. Tyrone and O Donel assembling their forces, resolved to join him; but, before they could advance into Munster, the lord deputy had invested the Spaniards in Kinsale; and detached Carew to stop their progress on the frontiers: but another reinforcement of two thousand Spaniards landing at Beerhaven and Baltimore, under the command of Sibeure and Alonso O Campo, were joined by O Donel and Tyrone, so as to constitute an army of seven thousand horse and foot, with which they advanced to the relief of Kinsale. Instead of throwing a supply into the place, they were defeated by the lord deputy, with the loss of twelve hundred men killed on the spot; and O Campo with three Spanish officers were taken. Syriago arriving with seven hundred recruits at Castlehaven, was no sooner informed of this defeat, than he set sail for Spain, carrying O Donel along with him; and Tyrone retired to his fastnesses in Ulster. Aguilla, discouraged by these disasters, surrendered upon honourable conditions, and the lord deputy took possession of Kinsale. The Spaniards were conveyed to their own country in English bottoms; and Aguilla gave such an unfavourable account of Tyrone and his confederates, that Philip would send no more troops to Ireland, though he still supplied the rebels with money, arms, and ammunition.

An. Ch. 1602.
Camden.

§ LXX. In the beginning of this year, an ambassador extraordinary arriving from France, in order to regulate the navigation which had been interrupted on both sides by depredations, the queen appointed commissioners to treat upon the subject; and all differences were compromised. The English minister in Paris had, in the name of his mistress, made a proposal to Henry of a league offensive and defensive, in order to drive the Spaniards intirely out of the Low Countries; but the finances of the French king were so disordered, and his kingdom so filled with malecontents, that he could not engage in an enterprize of such importance. The archduke Albert had made some advances towards a peace with Elizabeth, but she rejected them, lest the states of the Netherlands should be tempted to throw themselves into the arms of France. That they might be encouraged to maintain the war, she suspended their annual payment for two years, and allowed them to raise seven

Camden.

thousand men in England. Frederic Spinola had undertaken to fortify himself on the Isle of Wight; and his master Philip had equipped fifteen gallees, having two thousand soldiers on board for that service. The queen being informed of his design, sent vice-admiral Levison, and Sir William Monson, to destroy the Spanish fleet in the harbours of Portugal. Monson being left behind to wait for a reinforcement of Dutch ships, Levison proceeded on his voyage, and fell in with the Spanish plate fleet from America, which he immediately attacked without success. It was so numerous, and strongly convoyed by galleons, that he was surrounded, and in great danger of being taken. He made shift, however, to retire, and being joined by Monson, sailed to the port of Sesimbria, in which he found an East India carrack of fifteen hundred tons: she was richly laden, and guarded by eleven gallees, under the command of the marquis de Santa Cruz and Spinola. Nevertheless, the English admiral attacked her without hesitation, sunk two of the gallees, compelled the rest to sheer off in a shattered condition, and taking possession of the carrack, valued at one million two hundred thousand crowns, brought her in safety to England. Spinola having refitted six of the gallees, set sail from Lisbon for Flanders; but falling in with Sir Robert Mansel in the channel, two of them were sunk, a third wrecked, and he escaped with the rest to Dunkirk.

§ LXXI. In the course of this year, a rancorous quarrel broke out between the Jesuits and the secular priests in England, which last accused the others as the cause of all the severe laws which had been enacted against the catholics; because they had been concerned in all the conspiracies, and even hired assassins to murder her majesty. Bitter pamphlets were published on both sides. The secular priests were saddled with a superior called Blackwell, attached to the Jesuits, who continued to oppress, and even declared them schismatics; but they appealed to the pope, who revoked his authority. Secretary Cecil recommended the seculars to the protection of the French king; but Elizabeth issued a proclamation, commanding all the Jesuits to depart the kingdom immediately; and this order was extended to such seculars as would refuse to take the oath of allegiance. It was at this juncture that Henry IV. of France ordered the marechal de Biron to be beheaded, for having conspired with other noblemen to dismember the French monarchy. The marechal de Bouillon, who was likewise concerned in this conspiracy, retired to Germany, from whence he solicited Elizabeth's intercession with his master; and she, by her ambassador, hinted to Henry, that this might be a Spanish stratagem to infect him with suspicions of his best subjects; but that prince told the English ambassador, his mistress had a better opinion of Bouillon than he deserved, inasmuch as he had actually engaged in the conspiracy of Essex, against her own person and dignity.

§ LXXII. The rebellion in Munster being revived by a supply in money from Spain, the president took by assault Dunboy, which had been fortified by O Sullivan, and drove him with his confederates out of the province. The lord deputy marching to Blackwater, erected a bridge over the river, and a fort, to which he gave his own name of Charlemont: Tyrone having fled to castle Roe on the Ban, the whole country was wasted, and the castle, in which his most valuable effects were secured, fell into the hands of Sir Arthur Chichester,

chester, on whom the lord deputy bestowed the government of Montjoy, another fort which he had just raised at Locheaugh. O Cahan, Macguire, Rory O Donel and the O Rileys, having submitted, he directed his route into Connaught, where he finished the fort of Gallway: then Sir Arthur Chichester and Sir Henry Docwra joining their forces, pursued Tyrone through the fastnesses till the approach of winter. By this time the native Irish were reduced to a deplorable condition. Their corn and houses were destroyed, their cattle driven away: so that many thousands of them perished in the woods by cold and famine. They now cursed Tyrone as the author of all their miseries. His adherents dropped off daily, and submitting to the deputy, met with a favourable reception. Tyrone himself had, in the spring, sent proposals of submission, which the queen rejected with disdain, until she was importuned by Cecil, by the French ambassador at his request, and lastly by her council, to indulge him with such terms as would put an end to an expensive rebellion, fraught with misery and bloodshed. At length she consented to sign his pardon, which was sent to the lord Montjoy, with powers to grant part of the conditions he demanded. The necessities of Tyrone were so urgent, that he repaired to Millefont, where, throwing himself at the deputy's feet, he submitted his life and estate to the queen's mercy. O Rourke followed his example; and the rebellion being entirely suppressed, the whole kingdom was reduced to obedience and tranquillity. An. Ch. 1603.

§ LXXIII. The queen had pardoned him with such reluctance, that many people imagined her last illness was produced from her chagrin at that event. It must be owned, however, she had many more powerful causes of grief and mortification. She was very loth to relinquish the pleasures of life and royalty. She endeavoured to conceal the ravages which time had made upon her constitution, even from her own knowledge. She affected an extravagant gaiety both in her dress and diversions, and even engaged in a childish intercourse of love with the earl of Clanrickarde, a young Irish nobleman, who resembled Essex in his personal qualifications; but he did not meet her advances with equal warmth, and for that reason the intercourse was soon laid aside. She tried to divert her attention from disagreeable objects, by hunting, tournaments, and parties of pleasure: but, in spite of all her endeavours, she was seized with the horrors of melancholy. She became peevish, pensive, silent, and sighed and wept insensibly. Perhaps the faculties of her mind were impaired by long and violent exercise. Perhaps she reflected with remorse upon some actions of her life, which were contrary to humanity, candour, and good morals. She had just lost a friend and confidant in the countess of Nottingham; she had been thwarted by her ministry and council in the affair of Tyrone; she found her constitution decaying; she foresaw, through the exaggerating mist of jealousy, her courtiers and dependants, shrinking away in the evening of her life, in order to recommend themselves to her successor; and her indignation against the unfortunate Essex having subsided, she lamented his fate, remembering nothing of him but the amiable side of his character, and the pleasure she had enjoyed in his conversation. Such a concurrence of causes, joined to the infirmities of her body, was more than sufficient to plunge her into an abyss of despondence. She lost her ap-

Ware.

petite, and could enjoy no repose: feeling a perpetual heat in her stomach, attended with an unquenchable thirst, she drank without ceasing, but refused the assistance of her physicians. When the archbishop of Canterbury, secretary Cecil, and others of her council, intreated her on their knees to take what was necessary for her sustenance and relief, she peevishly replied, that she knew her own constitution, and was in no danger. At length, teased by their intreaties, she desired they would let her die in quiet. Her melancholy and distemper gaining ground, Cecil and the lord admiral desired to know her sentiments with regard to the succession; and she said, as the crown of England had been always held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon rascals, but upon her immediate heir the king of Scotland. Having continued sitting upon cushions for ten days, without closing an eye, or uttering a syllable, she was put to bed partly by force, and seemed to revive a little: she heard some pious meditations, and joined in prayer with the archbishop of Canterbury.

Camden.

§ LXXIV. After she was deprived of her speech, the noblemen of her council desired she would give some token of her approving the Scottish monarch as her successor; and she laid her hand upon her head as a mark of approbation. On the twenty-fourth day of March, about two o'clock in the morning, she expired, in the seventieth year of her age, and in the forty-fifth of her reign. She had given orders that her corpse should not be touched or seen by any person but her own women: it was therefore not exposed to public view, but being conveyed from Richmond, where she died, to Whitehall, was interred in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, with great magnificence. Elizabeth, in her person, was masculine, tall, straight, and strong limbed, with an high round forehead, brown eyes, fair complexion, fine white teeth, and yellow hair. She danced with great agility; her voice was strong and shrill; she understood music, and played upon several instruments. She possessed an excellent memory, understood the dead and living languages, had made good proficiency in the sciences, and was well read in history. Her conversation was sprightly and agreeable, her judgment solid, her apprehension acute, her application indefatigable, and her courage invincible. She was the great bulwark of the protestant religion: she was highly commendable for her general regard to the impartial administration of justice; and even for her rigid economy, which saved the public money, and evinced that love for her people, which she so warmly professed: yet she deviated from justice in some instances when her interest or passions were concerned; and notwithstanding all her great qualities, we cannot deny that she was vain, proud, imperious, and in some cases cruel. Her predominant passions were jealousy and avarice; though she was also subject to such violent gusts of anger as overwhelmed all regard to the dignity of her station, and even hurried her beyond the bounds of common decency. She was wise and steady in her principles of government; and, above all princes, fortunate in a ministry*.

* Her vanity appeared in her love of flattery, which she greedily swallowed even when it was fulsome and absurd; and in the variety and richness of her apparel, which she continued to wear even in her old age. Her behaviour to Sir James Melvil, when he came as ambassador from Mary queen of Scots, was altogether childish. Understanding that he had been a traveller, she shifted her dress

dress every day, that he might tell her which kind of habit became her best. She asked whether she or his queen was the fairer, the taller, and the better dancer; and when he said that Mary was taller than her highness, she answered, that then Mary was too high, for she herself was neither too high nor too low. She directed the lord Hunsdon to conduct Melvil, as if by accident, into a gallery, where he should hear her play upon the virginals. He guessed the contrivance, and without leave entered her apartment. Then she desired to know whether she or his mistress was the better musician. In order to display her learning, she spoke to him in the French, High Dutch, and Italian languages; and detained him two days, until he should see her dance a sarabrand.

Her cruelty and jealousy were too conspicuous in the fate of the duke of Norfolk and Mary queen of Scots. Of avarice and parsimony she exhibited numberless proofs, in extorting presents from noblemen, on pretence of visiting them at their houses: in allowing her ambassadors in foreign countries to live at their own expence, until some of them were ruined; and in carrying on the war against Spain at the charge of private adventurers. When she died, besides a vast quantity of plate and jewels, she left three thousand robes,

none of which she had the liberality to distribute among her servants. She raised one hundred thousand crowns yearly, by granting licences to Roman catholics and non-conformists, exempting them from the penalty inflicted by law upon those who did not regularly attend divine worship. She exacted every new-year's day above sixty thousand crowns in gifts from her dependants. She entertained spies in all the houses of the nobility, encouraged informers, introduced the use of tortures, enacted a great number of penal laws; and by the terror of her suspicion, which was generally fatal to the object, drove many gentlemen into exile, that she might prosecute them to confiscation, and enjoy their estates. Her choleric disposition prompted her often to revile foreign ambassadors in the grossest terms; to insult her ministers and subjects in the most abusive language, and even to chastise her female attendants with her own hand. On such occasions, she used to utter oaths and imprecations in the most vulgar stile; and the ladies of her court did not scruple to follow her example. Her great art consisted in cajoling her parliament and people with the most flattering caresses, the sincerity of which they could not doubt, when they found themselves rich and happy under her administration.

Winwood. Melvil. Osborne. Carte.

CHAP. IX.

History of the English Church, from the Union of the two Roses to the Union of the two Crowns.

§ I. Henry VIII. expresses an uncommon zeal for the catholic religion. § III. Suppression of religious houses. § III. A set of articles concerning religion, drawn up in the convocation, and published. § IV. Henry's inconsistency in religion. § V. Declaration of doctrine for the erudition of a christian man. § VI. Project for reweaving and digesting the canons. § VII. Proposal for abolishing the mass in France and England. § VIII. Opposition to the reformed doctrines in the beginning of Edward's reign. § IX. A general visitation of England. § X. Proceedings in convocation. § XI. Gardiner is committed to the Tower. The new liturgy is established. § XII. Compliance of Bonner. § XIII. Sects of anabaptists and gospellers. § XIV. Implements of superstition suppressed. § XV. Hooper refuses to wear the episcopal vestments. § XVI. The book of Common Prayer corrected. § XVII. Reformation of ecclesiastical laws. § XVIII. Proceedings in the council of Trent. § XIX. The see of Durham divided. § XX. State of the English church under Mary. § XXI. The reformation established by Elizabeth. § XXII. She acts with vigour against the dissenters. § XXIII. Jesuits appear in the disguise of Puritans. § XXIV. Opinions of the dissenters. § XXV. Who are severely treated, at the instigation of Parker archbishop of Canterbury. § XXVI. They are favoured by his successor Grindal. Sect of Brownists. § XXVII. The Puritans are persecuted by archbishop Whitgift. § XXVIII. But they continue to multiply and gain ground.

§ I. **A**RCHBISHOP Bouchier, who crowned Henry VII. dying soon after that ceremony, was succeeded by Morton bishop of Ely, who had been so instrumental in raising Henry to the throne. One of this prince's maxims was to live well with the clergy: and therefore we find no disturbance in the English church during his whole reign; nor any ecclesiastical step of importance, except a regulation of sanctuaries, which the king obtained from the pope, who, by way of recompensing himself for this favour, sent Jasper Pons as his agent to collect money from the English people for dispensations from going to the jubilee. We have, in the course of the history, mentioned this pontiff's scheme against the Turks, in which he invited Henry to engage. His successor Julian II. wrote to him on the same subject; and he amused both with general promises which he had no intention to perform. The affairs of the church are so interwoven with the civil history of Henry VIII. in whose reign the reformation began, that the chief ecclesiastical events are there recorded; and indeed there was no room to treat of the English church apart, after it had renounced the papal supremacy. During the first eighteen years of this prince's reign, he acted in spiritual matters as an humble dependant of the Roman pontiff. He exercised his pen in defence of the papal

author-

authority: he sent deputies to the council of the Lateran, which had been convoked in opposition to that of Pisa. He called in all the books of Luther, from whose doctrine two and forty articles were collected, and condemned by virtue of a commission which Wolsey issued as legate in England: Henry likewise granted a privilege for printing Fisher's book against the German reformers; and, upon all occasions manifested uncommon zeal for the catholic religion. The cardinal being vested with his legatine power, expressed uncommon animosity against those who professed the new doctrine. Six men and one woman were condemned to the flames at Coventry, for having taught their children to repeat the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the apostles creed, in the vulgar tongue. Severities of the same nature were practised in different parts of the kingdom, where the reformation began to gain ground. This, however, was the only practice in which the cardinal and the clergy could agree. He assumed a power of calling convocations, and laying them under contribution; and, when they complained of these encroachments, he threatened them with a general visitation. He was supported in these arbitrary proceedings by the king, who reaped the fruits of his exaction, and began to hold the persons of the clergy in contempt, on account of their ignorance and profligacy. Nevertheless, he still retained his attachment to the old religion. When Luther, at the desire of his patron the elector of Saxony, wrote a letter to the king of England, excusing the acrimony and abuse with which he had treated him in his writings, Henry, in his answer, retorted the other's virulence, in sarcasms upon his doctrine, and refused to forgive him on any other terms than those of his retracting his errors, renouncing his wife, and retiring from the world, to pass the remainder of his days in penance and mortification. It appears from a letter of cardinal Wolsey to the bishop of Winchester, that the first had formed a plan for a reformation of the clergy; and pope Adrian himself was so well disposed in this particular, that the German princes were encouraged to present him with the grievances of the church, digested into an hundred articles, containing an account of the luxury, prophanity, avarice, superstition, and pride of ecclesiastics: but the good effects of the pope's moderation were prevented by the cabals and intrigues of his clergy; and, in England, Henry still continued to prosecute the Lutherans.

Strype.

§ II. After the fall of Wolsey, we have seen in the civil history, the demands of Henry upon his clergy; and in what manner they subscribed to the articles in which they owned his supremacy. Cranmer being appointed archbishop of Canterbury, the king deliberated with him about the suppression of monasteries; and it was resolved, that this should be preceded by a visitation which in all probability would reconcile the people to the scheme, by bringing to light the vices and imposture practised in religious houses. Cromwell was created vicar-general, with such powers as absolutely suspended all episcopal jurisdiction; and this power he delegated to his deputies, enabling them to confirm or annul the election of prelates, to suspend or deprive them; to convene synods, try ecclesiastical causes, pass censures, and grant pensions to such monks as might be willing to quit a monastic life. Their instructions were extremely minute touching their inquiry into the doctrines, morals, and behaviour of abbots and abbeesses, nuns, and friars; and they followed them with

with the utmost rigour, disclosing such scenes of vice, obscenity, and imposture, as exposed them to the detestation of all those who retained the least regard for decency and good order. After three hundred and seventy-six abbies had been suppressed, when a motion was made in convocation for translating the Bible into the English language, Gardiner and the popish bishops opposed it with all their power; till Henry himself ordered that the translation should be begun; and it was afterwards printed at Paris. In the mean time, an English book, called the King's Primer, was published, containing the doctrines of christianity, set forth in a plain, familiar manner, and exposing the superstitions of the Romish clergy.

An. Ch. 1535. § III. A convocation being held, to confirm the sentence against the king's late marriage, the lower house presented the upper house with fifty-nine opinions meriting reformation, extracted from the sermons and writings of Cranmer and the protestant party. After a long debate, they established a set of articles concerning religion, ordaining bishops to instruct the people in the Bible and the Creed, and to condemn all doctrines that were declared heretical by the first four councils of the church; namely, those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon: acknowledging baptism to be a divine institution, and condemning the doctrines of the Anabaptists and Pelagians on that subject: limiting penance to the articles of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, as necessary to salvation; and declaring absolution pronounced by the priest to be as effectual, as if by God himself: confirming the doctrine of transubstantiation; and defining justification to be a perfect renewal in Christ, the fruit of the christian virtues operating both outwardly and inwardly; and recommending images in churches as helps to devotion: exhorting the people to honour the saints as persons in glory; to praise God for them, and imitate their virtues; and to solicit their intercession at the throne of grace: to retain certain symbols, as containing mystical significations, and serving to lift up the mind to God: such as the priest's vestments, the ceremony of sprinkling holy water, to remind us of our baptism and the blood of Christ; of giving holy bread in sign of our union with Christ, and in remembrance of the sacrament; of carrying candles on Candlemas day, alluding to Christ as the spiritual light; giving ashes on Ash-wednesday, in token of penance and mortality; bearing palms on Palm-sunday, thereby shewing a desire to receive Christ in our hearts as he entered into Jerusalem; creeping to the cross, kissing it, and setting up the sepulchre on Good-friday, in token of humility, and in remembrance of his death; of hallowing the font, together with exorcisms and benedictions; recommending prayers for departed souls as good and charitable: but, as the scripture did not ascertain the pains they suffered, or the place in which they were confined, the people were enjoined to remit them wholly to God's mercy, and to reject the notion of their being delivered from purgatory by the pope's pardons, by masses said in particular places, or before certain images. These articles were published with a preface by Henry himself; and the emperor made them the basis of the famous Interim which he granted in favour of the German protestants.

§ IV. The pope having summoned Henry to his council at Mantua, the king protested against the legality and proceedings of this assembly, and was seconded by the convocation of Canterbury. Hitherto he had acted under the sanction

sanction of this authority; but now Cromwell, as his vicar, independent of all restriction, published a set of instructions to the clergy, enforcing the late articles, and recommending order and discipline among the people. These were followed by a new visitation and dissolution of the greater monasteries. Some infamous methods were practised to persuade and intimidate the abbots and monks into a surrender of their houses and charters. Henry was resolved to be absolute both in church and state: he had formed a religion of his own, and persecuted equally the papists and protestants, who refused to conform with his opinions, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Melancthon, who by letters exhorted him to a greater consistency in his doctrines and conduct. There was not one person in his dominions who durst openly dissent from his system, except Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury; and we have already observed, in the civil history, that this prelate was screened from destruction by the personal affection of Henry.

§ V. After the fall of Cromwell, the archbishop was obliged to proceed with great caution, and resolved to befriend the protestants, by gradually sapping the foundations of the Romish religion. He called a convocation in London, to consult upon means for putting a stop to the persecution, and reforming the clergy; he recommended a revision of the laws and canons enacted against simony, perjury, blasphemy, and other crimes, and proposed a translation of the Bible, which was actually printed by Grafton, and published by the king's authority. He likewise, with the king's permission, decreed that the use of tapers, silk habits, and other ornaments of images, should be abolished; that a chapter of the New Testament should be read in every parish, morning and evening; that the missals, and other books of liturgy, should be examined, corrected, and castigated of all feigned legends, superstitious oraisons, collects, versicles, responses, and names of saints, not mentioned in the scripture. The king afterwards granted a commission to a select number of the convocation, to draw up a declaration of the christian doctrine, for the necessary erudition of a christian man. This performance contained the declaration of faith, the creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the Ave Maria; an article of freewill; an article of justification; an article of good works, and another of prayer for departed souls.

§ VI. Notwithstanding these points which Cranmer gained in favour of the reformed religion, in opposition to Gardiner, Bonner, and other Romish prelates, the doctrine of transubstantiation still remained in full force, under the protection of the king himself, who was so bigotted to this article of belief, that many persons were brought to the stake for disbelieving the real presence in the Eucharist. We have seen what snares were laid for the destruction of Cranmer; and that they not only miscarried, but even served to confirm Henry's confidence in that prelate's innocence and integrity. The king was so much convinced of the purity of his intention, that he did not take umbrage at the archbishop's making a motion in the house of lords for moderating the proceedings upon the act of the six articles, which had been the foundation of a most cruel persecution. Though Cranmer was on this occasion unsupported by the other prelates, he argued with such strength of reason, that the house agreed to the act of mitigation. In the same parliament he proposed a digest of the ecclesiastical laws; and an act passed, autho-

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rising the king to nominate sixteen ecclesiastics, and as many laymen, for reviewing the canons. Cranmer actually finished the draught of a code, intitled *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, which he presented to the king at Hampton-court; and letters patent were drawn up for authorising this digest. Nay, Henry about this time seemed bent upon a further reformation. In a letter to the archbishop, he forbade the practice of creeping to the cross, and of several other superstitious ceremonies of popery: but his intention was partly frustrated by the remonstrances of Gardiner, who, in a letter to him from the imperial court, where he resided, gave him to understand, that if any further innovations should be made in the religion of England, the emperor would never consent to a pacification. This was the true reason for dropping the scheme of the digest, in which Cranmer had made such considerable progress. Nevertheless, Cranmer, in obedience to Henry's commands, translated the liturgy, and some processions, into the English language.

An. Ch. 1546.

§ VII. Towards the latter end of his reign, he became more and more arbitrary, both in spirituals and temporals. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, Bonner of London, and several other prelates, were fain to make conveyances in his favour, of many manours belonging to their different dioceses, upon very slight considerations; and these deeds were confirmed by parliament, which had already bestowed upon him all the colleges, free chapels, and other remaining religious endowments. In the last year of his reign, the French king sent over Annibault his admiral, with a proposal for abolishing the mass in both kingdoms; and Henry relished the scheme so well, that he ordered Cranmer to draw up the form of a communion, to be substituted in the room of it; but his death prevented it from being put in execution.

§ VIII. When Edward succeeded to the throne, the archbishop exerted all his influence to complete the reformation. The king had been instructed by tutors, who were attached to the protestant doctrines; and the protector openly favoured that religion. Cranmer was assisted by Barlow bishop of St. David's, Ridley afterwards bishop of London, and several other able preachers, who, by their zeal and elocution, contributed to the success of his endeavours. Gardiner perceiving, from the complexion of the ministry, and the inclinations of the people, that he should be of very little service to the cause of popery, by openly opposing the tenets of the reformation, endeavoured to check the progress of them, by representing to the protector, that all innovations during a minority, would produce confusion and disturbance in the state; and proposing that matters of religion should continue as they were left at the death of Henry, until the reigning king should take the management of affairs into his own hands. Very little regard was paid to his insinuations. A book written against the corruptions of popery, and published by Herman archbishop-elect of Cologne, was now translated into the English language, and printed in London by the direction of Cranmer. This performance made a strong impression upon the minds of the people, which were further enlightened by Marcart's declaration of the mass, and the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament, which were carefully translated and published for the general use of the nation. Glasier, in a sermon at St. Paul's church, affirmed, that the institution of Lent was no more than a positive law; and others preached against other parts of the popish worship: but, these were virulently opposed by the inferior

ferior clergy, who derived their subsistence from the fees they received by the sacraments, and other sacramentals, and chiefly by singing masses for the departed souls of the poor; for which they charged two pence a mass. These therefore were enemies to the reformation, which would have deprived them of bread; and they were supported by Gardiner, Bonner and Tonstal, who declared against all alteration in religion: but, the chief of the party was the princess Mary, who now openly espoused the regulations of her father, and in particular the act of the six articles.

§ IX. On the other hand, the props of the reformation were first, the young king himself, who had been carefully educated in protestant principles by Dr. Cox, and Mr. Chiek, the protector, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, Holbeach bishop of London, Goodrich of Ely, and Ridley elect of Rochester. Old Latimer was now released, but refusing to resume his episcopal function, lived privately with Cranmer. This prelate and his friends obtained letters patent for a visitation over England, during which all bishops were prohibited from preaching in any place but in their own cathedrals; and other ecclesiastics were restricted to their collegiate or parochial churches, unless provided with the king's special licence. The kingdom was divided into six separate districts or circuits; and the visitors for each consisted of two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a register. They were furnished with injunctions, articles, and homilies drawn up for the instruction of the people; and they were accompanied by the most eminent preachers, to explain the most useful articles of religion. The common people considered the priests as so many mountebanks, who had secrets for the salvation of their souls, and thought nothing was necessary but to leave their spiritual concerns to the skill and direction of such empirics. Some preachers had run into the other extreme, and persuaded their hearers, that if they magnified Christ, and depended wholly upon his merits and intercession, they could not perish, even though they should lead the most profligate lives. In the homilies these errors were rectified. They ascribed the salvation of mankind to the death and sufferings of Christ: but they declared there was no salvation through Christ, but to such as truly repented, and lived according to the rules of the gospel. The articles and injunctions related to the renunciation of the papal power, the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, preaching and teaching the elements of religion in the vulgar tongue, taxing the benefices of the clergy for the support of the poor, the maintenance of scholars and mansion-houses, regulating the lives of churchmen, and abolishing superstition, pilgrimages, images, and other absurdities of the popish religion. In a word, the instructions and injunctions contained excellent rules for the reformation of the clergy, as well as of the ignorant laity, and for the advancement of true piety and good morals. Nevertheless, they met with great opposition. Bonner received them with a protestation, that he would observe them, if they were not contrary to God's law, and the ordinances of the church. Sir Anthony Cook, and the other visitors, complaining of this protest to the council, he was ordered to appear; and though he made a full submission, was committed to the Fleet-prison. The council being informed of Gardiner's intention to reject the homilies, summoned him to the board, and expostulated with him upon the subject. He affirmed that the homilies contained manifest contradictions, and excluded charity from justification; he offered to dispute upon
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this subject at Oxford, against any opponent whatsoever: and he exclaimed against the paraphrase of Erasmus, which he said was bad enough in the original, but much worse in the English translation. Notwithstanding all his arguments, he was likewise sent to the fleet, from whence he wrote a letter in his own vindication to the protector, when this nobleman returned in triumph from Scotland: but he was not released till after the session of parliament, when he was set at liberty by an act of pardon.

An.Ch. 1547.

§ X. On the fifth day of November, the convocation met, and Taylor dean of Lincoln was chosen prolocutor: Crammer opened the assembly with a speech, in which he pressed the members to a further reformation, that the remains of popery might be entirely laid aside. The lower house presented four petitions to the upper house, praying that the ecclesiastical laws might be reviewed and published, pursuant to a statute enacted in the late reign, that the clergy of the lower house might be admitted to sit in parliament with the commons, according to ancient usage. That the corrections made by the bishops and others in the offices of divine service, by order of the convocation, might be laid before the house; and that the rigour of the statute for the payment of first-fruits might be mitigated. The attendance of the lower clergy in parliament had been two hundred years in disuse; and therefore no regard was paid to this petition. It was resolved, however, that some bishops and divines should be appointed to labour for the reformation of the church-service. In this convocation, a motion was made for annulling all canons, laws and usages against the marriage of priests, and likewise all vows of celibacy; and a resolution taken to administer the communion in both kinds: this was immediately confirmed by act of parliament.

§ XI. At the same time the privy-council published a proclamation, indemnifying all those who had omitted bearing candles on Candlemas day, taking ashes on Ash-Wednesday, creeping to the cross, carrying palms, and other ceremonies of superstition. They likewise directed a mandate to the archbishop of Canterbury, for a general suppression of images; and this order was rigorously put in execution, though not without a dangerous opposition. Crammer's next care was to form a committee for reforming the offices of the church. It was composed of eminent prelates and doctors in divinity, who proceeded with equal accuracy and circumspection. A form being drawn up for the communion in both kinds, was published by the king's proclamation, and the books distributed through all the parishes of England. The new book of Common-prayer, and the other offices composed by the committee, were extremely disagreeable to Gardiner, who exerted all his eloquence and influence in exciting the people to reject such innovations; he preached openly against the proceedings of the government, and employed all his emissaries to bring their injunctions into contempt with the multitude. Accordingly several dangerous commotions were raised, and the Lollard mob being the stronger, became very insolent and licentious, until they were suppressed by the care and vigilance of the administration. Gardiner was several times summoned before the council, and reprimanded for the liberties he had taken in defending popery; at length he flatly told the protector, that as a bishop, he could not be answerable to his own conscience, for omitting to preach upon the mass and the eucharist, which

which he conceived to be the principal points of the christian religion. He was therefore committed to the Tower, and all his papers were secured.

An. Ch. 1549.

§ XII. The new liturgy being established, and the act of uniformity passed, another visitation was set on foot. The instructions given to the visitors imported, That in all parish-churches the service should be read in a plain audible voice, as the people did not understand it while the priests retained the tone they used in reading Latin prayers: That some of the old rites should be abolished, such as the priest's kissing the altar, the practice of crossing, lifting the book from one place to another, breathing on the bread, and shewing it before the distribution, praying by beads, and substituting a certain number of Ave-Marias for one Pater-noster. That the priests should exhort the people to remember the box of the poor; and that curates should preach and catechise at least once in six weeks: That the communion should not be sold in trentals; and that there should be but one communion in one church, except on Easter-day and Christmas, when people came to the sacrament in greater numbers; and that no markets should be held, or bargains made in churches or church-yards, especially in time of divine service or sermon. Cranmer, at the same time, held a provincial visitation, in which the articles were drawn according to the king's injunction. The council sent orders to the bishop of London, to forbid special masses in St. Paul's church; and to take care that there should be only one communion at the great altar. Bonner immediately complied with this order, and the new service was universally received, except by the princess Mary, whose chaplains still continued to say mass in her own family, notwithstanding the exhortations, and even threats of the council.

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§ XIII. In the course of this year public disputations were held at Oxford and Cambridge, touching the real presence in the sacrament. The Lutherans affirmed, That in the sacrament, there was both the substance of the bread and wine, and Christ's body together. The protestants of Switzerland taught, That the sacrament was only an institution, to commemorate the death and sufferings of Christ. Martin Bucer believed in the real presence, though he did not think the mystery was to be explained; and Calvin agreed with him in maintaining, that the body and blood of Christ were really present. Peter Martyr settled at Oxford, publicly explained the eucharist in the Helvetian manner, and a tumult was raised on the occasion. Public disputations were afterwards held in presence of the king's commissioners. Cranmer collected and published all the reasons against the doctrine of transubstantiation, and was answered by Gardiner, under the name of Marcus Constantius. It was at this time, that the council ordered the laws to be put in execution against anabaptists, and other heretics, who began to abound in England, and broach doctrines equally absurd and blasphemous. Of these we have already mentioned Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, whose death-warrant the young king signed with the utmost reluctance. There was another sect called Gospellers, who professed the doctrine of predestination, from which they made such inferences, that many people gave way to their passions, under the notion of their being predestined to such actions; so that impiety, and even desperation, was often the consequence of such a belief. Luther altered his opinion concerning this tenet, and Melancthon condemned it in his writings: but it was still maintained by Calvin and Bucer.

§ XIV.

An.Ch. 1550.

§ XIV. We have, in the civil history, seen how Gardiner was deprived, and the protector disgraced. Upon the fall of this nobleman, the hopes of the papists began to revive; they even gave out that the old religion would prevail, as the new service was nothing more than an act of the duke of Somerset. The council being apprised of this report, wrote to all the bishops of England, requiring all clergymen to deliver up all antiphonals, missals, grayles, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuassles, journals and ordinals, to such as should be appointed by the king to receive them; injoining the bishops to observe one uniform order, in the service set forth by the common consent of the realm: and in particular, to take care that there should be provision made of bread and wine for the communion on Sunday. At the same time, an act passed in parliament, decreeing, That all books of superstition should be destroyed; that all images in churches should be defaced; and that the prayers to saints should be expunged from all the primers which the late king had published.

§ XV. Ridley's elevation to the see of London, and Hooper's promotion to that of Gloucester, were events that operated strongly in favour of the reformation. Yet, this last refused to wear the episcopal vestments, which he said were human inventions, and not suitable to the simplicity of the christian religion. In vain Cranmer and Ridley exhorted him to comply with this ceremony, as a law enjoined by the magistrate, and a matter of little or no consequence in religion. In vain did Bucer and Peter Martyr second the opinion of these prelates: Hooper continued obstinate, and was for some time suspended from preaching. In the course of this summer, John-a-Lasco was allowed to preach at St. Austin's in London, to a congregation of Germans, who had fled from their own country, rather than receive the Interim of the diet. They were erected into a corporation, and four other ministers were associated with John-a-Lasco, though he was superintendant. At this juncture, Polydore Vergil was permitted to retire to his own country, and to hold the archdeaconry of Wells, with his prebend of Nonnington, notwithstanding his absence from the kingdom. Poinet was declared bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale was appointed coadjutor to Veysey bishop of Exeter. The book of Common-prayer was reviewed, and many articles of it censured by Martin Bucer, who now wrote a book for the king's use, intituled, Concerning the kingdom of Christ. Young Edward was bent upon reforming the abuses of the church. He even began to write a discourse about a general reformation; and it was at this period, that the journal of his proceedings commenced.

An.Ch. 1551.

§ XVI. In the beginning of the following year, Bucer died at Oxford, universally regretted by all those who favoured the reformation. He was a person of great learning, modesty, and zeal, and had nothing so much at heart as the union of those who professed the doctrines of christianity. The greatest part of this year was spent by Cranmer and Ridley, in preparing the articles which should contain the doctrines of the church of England, in a concise and plain form, cutting off the errors of popery, as well as those lately introduced by the anabaptists and enthusiasts of Germany; avoiding the niceties of schoolmen, together with some points of controversy; and with regard to others leaving a liberty to divines, of following their private opinions, without disturbing the peace of the church. The next care of the reformers was to correct the book of Common-prayer, in which they made some additions and alterations, which were

were authorised by act of parliament. In the same session another act was passed, relating to holidays and fasting-days. It was decreed, That all Sundays, with the days marked in the calendar and liturgy, should be kept as holidays; and that the bishops should proceed by the censures of the church against the disobedient. A proviso was added, for the observation of St. George's feast by the knights of the garter; another in favour of labourers or fishermen, who might work on these days, in case of necessity. The eves of holidays were ordained to be kept as fasts; and on Fridays and Saturdays, as well as in Lent, abstinence from flesh was enjoined. Other laws were enacted against usury and simony, and in favour of the marriage of the clergy.

§ XVII. After the dissolution of this parliament, the chiefs of the reformed religion were employed in devising proper rules and regulations for the ecclesiastical courts, and all things relating to the government of the church. An act had passed, empowering the king to nominate two and thirty persons for making a general reformation of the ecclesiastical laws; and, during this session, a commission was given to eight persons to prepare the matter for the review of the one and thirty, that it might be the more easily compiled. This work was chiefly composed by Cranmer, and proves that he was the greatest canonist then in England. Dr. Haddon, university-orator at Cambridge, and Sir John Chiek, were employed to translate it into the Latin language; a task which they performed with equal accuracy and elegance. It was digested into fifty one titles; and the thirty two commissioners divided themselves into four classes, in order to revise, correct, and bring it to perfection: they accordingly finished the work; but the king died before it received the royal confirmation. At this period, the clergy were brought into contempt by their extreme poverty. Many ecclesiastics exercised the trades of carpenters, tailors and publicans. The rich did not maintain students at the universities, according to the king's injunctions. The places designed for poor scholars in schools and colleges, were given to the children of wealthy people: the livings were sold in a scandalous manner, and the majority of the country clergy were so ignorant, that they could hardly read the service.

§ XVIII. The council of Trent was now suspended for two years, without having made any progress in the reformation of the church. When it was convoked by the pope, the king of France had protested against it, and threatened to call a national council in France. Nevertheless the emperor pressed the Germans to go to Trent; and Maurice, with the other princes of the Augsburg confession, ordered their divines to consider of the matters to be propounded in council. They demanded a safe-conduct from the council, as well as from the emperor; and this was obtained, though not in the terms of that which was granted by the council of Basil to the Bohemians. Mean while the fathers published their decrees about the eucharist, confirming the doctrine of transubstantiation. Then they proceeded to enjoin auricular confession as necessary to salvation. The ambassadors of the duke of Wirtemberg moving, that they might have a safe-conduct for their divines to come and propose their doctrines, the legates answered, that they would not engage in any disputation with the protestant divines; but, if they had any scruple, in which they desired satisfaction, with an humble and obedient mind, they should have a hearing; with regard to the safe-conduct, they said it argued a distrust of the council, to

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ask any other than what was already granted. When the ambassadors of Maurice arrived at Trent, they desired that every article might be reconsidered: but this proposal was rejected with disdain. Then they excepted to the safe-conduct which had been given, as different from that of the council of Basil; the legates promised to take that affair into consideration. The pope understanding that the emperor intended to revive the spirit of former councils, in order to lessen the pontifical power, made peace with France, and ordered the legates to proceed in the decision of the doctrine, hoping the protestants would retire from Trent, in despair of obtaining their demands. The safe-conduct they desired was refused; and another being granted for the security of their persons, divines arrived from Wirtemberg and Strasbourg; but, the war of Germany breaking out, the bishops of the empire and the ambassadors retired, and the legates suspended the council for two years. The history of this famous council, which ended in smoke, was written with equal elegance and impartiality by father Paul of Venice; though, after the death of this celebrated author, Pallavicini, a Jesuit, pretended to refute him in another history on the same subject, from pretended journals and memorials of those who were present at the council.

§ XIX. In the last parliament of Edward, an act was passed for dividing the diocese of Durham into two bishoprics, one of which was denominated the see of Newcastle. The council afterwards appointed visitors to make an inquiry about the plate, jewels, and other furniture, in all cathedrals and churches, and compare what they should find, with the inventories made in former visitations, that they might know how far, and in what manner, it had been embezzled.

§ XX. When Mary ascended the throne, the deprived bishops were restored, the protestant prelates were set aside, and the council wrote a letter to the bishops, attended with a proclamation, forbidding all persons to preach or expound the scriptures without the queen's licence. The papists, even before they were supported by any legal authority, began to erect altars, and revive the superstitious ceremonies which had been abolished. We have seen, in the civil history, how Mary, with the assistance of cardinal Pole, re-established the Roman catholic religion. After the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, instructions were sent to the bishops, enjoining a visitation of their clergy, and a restoration of all the rites, ceremonies, and canons of the Roman church. The bishops who favoured the restoration, were now deprived in their turn; and the jails were filled with protestant divines. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were committed prisoners by the queen's precept, to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, where they were obliged to dispute with four popish divines in public, and treated with the most insolent partiality. Those who were imprisoned in and about London, drew up repeated addresses and petitions to the queen and parliament; and these being altogether neglected, their friends and partisans were inflamed into some indecencies against the government, which were productive of a severe persecution. In the beginning of this reign, a great number of English protestants retired to the continent, and settled in several different places. Those residing at Franckfort were greatly influenced by John Knox the Scottish reformer, who exclaimed against the English liturgy, and was a violent asserter of purity in church-government. These principles pro-

produced a schism among the English refugees. Those who had retired to Zurich, disclaimed all such innovations. Knox and Whittingham consulted Calvin, who disapproved of the English service. Nevertheless, they agreed to compromise the difference, and to compile a new liturgy from those of England and Geneva. Dr. Cox, however, with some other refugees, arriving at Franckfort, acquired a majority in the assembly, and fixed the imputation of treason on Knox and his party. They supported the charge from parts of his own writings, levelled not only at queen Mary, but also against the emperor; so that he was obliged to take refuge in Geneva; and Cox modelled the church at Franckfort according to the English constitution.

§ XXI. Upon the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, all the ecclesiastical measures which had been taken in the last reign were reversed. She assumed the supremacy, ejected the popish bishops, restored those few of the protestant prelates who were alive; prepared a set of injunctions that differed very little from those of Edward; and gave order for a royal visitation of the clergy all over England. The commissioners were chiefly laymen, to whom she delegated her whole supremacy. The English refugees now returned to their own country, the greater part of them with strong prejudices against the church-service; and several foreign princes interceded with the queen in behalf of those dissenters, that they might be indulged with the liberty of a separate worship. This, however, she would never grant, though they enjoyed a toleration from her connivance. Dr. Parker had been prevailed upon to accept of the archbishopric of Canterbury; and the papists affected afterwards to ridicule the irregularity of his ordination, which they branded with the name of the Nag's head consecration; because, after he had been consecrated in Lambeth-chapel, the officers of the court of Canterbury were entertained at a tavern of that name in Cheapside. It appears, however, from incontestible evidence, that he was duly consecrated; and thus authorized, he proceeded to the consecration of other prelates, who were elected into the vacant sees. Jewel bishop of Salisbury published a list of the absurdities in the religion of Rome; and declared from the pulpit, that if any papist would make good a single proposition of those he had stigmatized, either from the scripture, or the ancient fathers and councils, he would give up the contest and subscribe himself a proselyte. He afterwards distinguished himself by his apology for the church of England, and acquired great reputation for learning all over Europe.

§ XXII. Notwithstanding Elizabeth's aversion to popery, she did not approve of the marriage of the clergy. She even directed an order to the archbishop of Canterbury, implying, That no head of a cathedral or college should keep his wife or family within those places; and signified her dislike of marriage among the clergy, in a private letter to Parker himself, who was a married prelate. The dissenters, who about this time published the Geneva Bible, were become so bold and troublesome with their fanaticism, that the queen found it convenient to check their vivacity, by a proclamation commanding all heretics, whether foreigners or natives, to depart the kingdom in one and twenty days. This served to keep them within bounds; and the majority of them thought proper to dissemble their opinions. Nevertheless, the worship of Geneva continued to make proselytes, even in the convocation, where some prelates proposed a further reformation in church-ceremonies: a proposal

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which occasioned very warm debates, though no innovation was made. They insisted upon doctrinal points, and settled the articles of religion as they now stand in the book of Common Prayer. Yet the heats concerning forms were so very violent, that Elizabeth, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, required him to exert his authority against those who refused to conform with the established church, threatening to employ more rigorous methods for that purpose, should the efforts of him and the other prelates miscarry.

§ XXIII. The puritans were patronized by the earl of Leicester, and Pilkington bishop of Durham: but, notwithstanding their interest, Elizabeth resolved to make some examples. Sampson dean of Christ's-church in Oxford was deprived of his deanery; and Humphrey, president of Magdalen-college, was confined and censured. The dissenters still gaining ground, under the auspices of Beza, a foreigner, archbishop Parker prevailed upon the queen to publish a proclamation enjoining conformity to the habits; and some of the inferior clergy were silenced, suspended, and even imprisoned. The puritans are said to have been clandestinely encouraged by the jesuits, some of whom were taken in the act of preaching their doctrines, in order to foment divisions in the church of England. It must be owned, however, that if the dissenters were thus encouraged, they themselves did not know the real characters of their auxiliaries; for, of all other christians, they were the most rancorous enemies of popery, and all its adherents. We have elsewhere observed that missionaries were sent over from the English seminaries abroad, to foment the intestine troubles of the kingdom; and, as they wore all kinds of disguise, some of them might appear in the shape of puritans, that they might the better avoid the cognizance of the law, and have opportunities of misleading the weakest-minded people, who are those that are the most subject to the impressions of fanaticism.

§ XXIV. The chief preacher and director of the puritans was Thomas Cartwright of the university of Cambridge; and the tenets in which he dissented from the established church were these that follow. He taught that the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be suppressed: That the office of a bishop ought to be limited to preaching and praying; and that of a deacon to the employment of taking care of the poor: That the government of the church ought to be vested in the minister and elders; and that every minister ought to belong to a particular congregation; and that his office ought to be conferred upon him by the public choice of the congregation: That no person ought to be admitted into the ministry, unless he had the talent of teaching and preaching; and that the same person ought to preach, pray, and administer the sacrament: That nothing but canonical scripture ought to be read in the church: That there ought to be no private prayer in the church-liturg; but all the audience should attend to the minister, whether preaching or praying: That the minister has no exclusive privilege for burying the dead, which equally belongs to the rest of the parish: That all portions of scripture, names and distinctions of God, ought to be treated with the same degree of regard; so that the people need not stand at the reading of the Gospel, or bow at the name of Jesus: That the posture of sitting at the communion is as lawful as that of kneeling or standing, and exhibits a more natural representation of a supper: That the sacrament ought not

to be administered in private, even to those in danger of death : That the sign of the cross in baptism is a superstitious practice : That the father ought to present the child for baptism, and make a confession of the faith in which he intends to instruct him : but that there ought to be no set form ; nor should the child's name be given by a woman ; nor should any person be allowed to engage for the education of the infant, but such as is qualified to receive the Lord's supper ; and all names of paganism should be avoided, as well as sacred epithets, such as Christ, Angel, Baptist, &c. That matrimony ought to be celebrated at all times of the year ; and that it was scandalous to take money for a licence to marry at certain prohibited times : That no persons ought to marry without the knowledge of the congregation : That it is unlawful to fast in Lent, as well as on Fridays and Saturdays : That the keeping of holidays and fairs upon the Lord's day is unlawful : That kings and bishops ought not to be anointed ; and that these words, " Receive the holy Ghost," at the ordination of ministers, ought to be omitted, as a ridiculous and wicked expression.

Collier.

§ XXV. These were the opinions espoused and asserted by Cartwright, who made such progress in his teaching, as alarmed the established church. Dr. Chaderton of Cambridge, and afterwards the two archbishops, complained of him to Cecil and the council. In the next parliament, an act was passed obliging the clergy to declare their assent to the thirty-nine articles ; and several canons for discipline were enacted in the convocation. Two protestations were imposed upon the papists, and those of the reformed religion. By the first they acknowledged the queen's supremacy, and disclaimed the power of the pope. By the other, they renounced any act or sentence of any synod, church, consistory, or ecclesiastical assembly, to the prejudice of this supremacy. Cartwright published pamphlets in defence of his tenets. He was seconded by one Edward Deringe, who gave lectures in St. Paul's cathedral ; and a presbytery was formed at the village of Wandsworth, on the model of the Geneva institution. Some dignitaries of the church took up the pen and answered those pamphlets. A proclamation was issued for executing the laws against nonconformists ; and some of the principal dissenters were suspended, deprived, and imprisoned. The severities exercised against them were chiefly attributed to archbishop Parker, who suspected them of practices against his person. He had always been a bitter enemy to their opinions ; and now perceiving they were countenanced by persons of high rank, he complained that the church had no friend at court, but the queen herself. She ordered the lord treasurer Burleigh to make a severe speech in the council against nonconformity. She declared against the religious exercises of the dissenters ; and seemed at this juncture inclined to a persecution ; for ten Dutchmen and one woman were condemned to the stake for heresy. Though the sentence was afterwards mitigated into banishment ; yet two persons of the same nation were actually burned at Smithfield.

§ XXVI. Parker dying, was succeeded in the archbishopric by Grindal of An. Ch. 1575. York, a prelate of great moderation. He was favourable to the puritans, and even recommended their Exercise of prophesying to the queen and council. But she ordered him to suppress them, though they consisted in nothing but an exposition of the scripture. He wrote some strong remonstrances in their

An Ch. 1583.

favour; and was so inflexible on the subject, that the members of the Star-chamber, by virtue of their ecclesiastical commission, confined him to his house, and sequestered him for six months from his jurisdiction. The persecuting spirit seemed to revive. Two fanatics were put to death; and all the jails of the kingdom were filled with popish and protestant recusants. Grindal's sequestration was continued, because he refused to submit, and alter his opinion of the prophesyings. At length, however, he was restored to his functions, which he exercised, until finding himself pressed with infirmities, he resigned his archbishopric, and retired to Croydon, where he died in a few months after his resignation. He was succeeded by John Whitgift bishop of Worcester, at a time when the nation was infested by the sect of Brownists, the most rigid of all puritans, who derived their name from their founder Robert Brown, a weak enthusiast of Rutlandshire. He had written some pamphlets against both church and state; and Elias Thacker and John Copping were executed for having dispersed them among the people. Brown was saved by the interest of lord Burleigh, to whom he was related. He conformed and relapsed several times, and at last died in a jail, to which he had been committed for a breach of the peace.

§ XXVII. Whitgift harboured the keenest animosity against the Dissenters, whom he represented to the queen as a sect which restrained her supremacy to a temporary jurisdiction. Jealous of her power and prerogative, she conceived a very bad opinion of the puritans, and finding the archbishop a prelate of resolution, according to her own heart, she delegated all ecclesiastical power to him, that she might not be importuned by the patrons of the dissenters, some of whom were her chief ministers and favourites. The first step which the archbishop took, was to press the clergy of his diocese to subscribe three articles declared legal by the civilians and judges of England. These imported, that the bishop might punish, by a pecuniary mulct, any person, whether ecclesiastic or layman, guilty of any ecclesiastical crime or offence: That the ordinary may inflict a pecuniary punishment upon such as absent themselves from divine service, without reasonable excuse; and that a bishop may make an ordinance, by which an excommunicated person shall pay ten pounds for every month during which he shall stand excommunicated for contempt. His imposing these articles served only to draw upon himself a load of calumny and resentment. At length he disputed with the heads of the dissenters at Lambeth, in presence of the earl of Leicester and other ministers, who, though puritanically inclined, could not help deciding in his favour. Nevertheless, in the next parliament, a strong party in the house of commons joined in presenting a petition to the upper house in favour of the nonconformists: but they were baffled by the vigilance of the archbishop, who prevailed upon the queen to quash all objections to the established religion, in the house of commons, and inflict further severities on the dissenters. They were subjected to the oath *ex officio*, as often as it should be administered, on pain of imprisonment. Cartwright was sent to the Fleet for refusing it. Udal, one of their preachers, was condemned to death; and Penry was executed for having written some satirical libels.

§ XXVIII. Puritanism, like every sect, flourished under persecution; and almost all the towns in England were filled with dissenters. At last, they disputed the legality of the ecclesiastical commission, under which they had suffered such severities; and the matter was solemnly argued at the bar, in an action brought by one Caudrey, a deprived minister. Many learned arguments were produced on each side of the question; but the judges came to a resolution, that if the act of supremacy had never been made, the king or queen of England, for the time being, might establish such an ecclesiastical commission as was then in force, by the ancient prerogative and law of England. John Greenwood a priest, and Henry Barrow a gentleman, were condemned and executed for heresy: but, in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, those sanguinary laws were not put in execution.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND
SIXTH BOOK.

From the Union of the two Crowns, to the Restoration
of CHARLES II.

CHAP. I.

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England. § XXXVII. James is captivated by George Villiers, whom he retains at court. § XXXVIII. The queen recommends him to his majesty's favour. § XXXIX. The interest of Somerset declines. § XL. He rejects the advances of Villiers. § XLI. Is committed prisoner to the Tower. § XLII. He and his countess receive sentence of death. § XLIII. Charles created prince of Wales. § XLIV. James proposes a match between his son and the infant of Spain. § XLV. His impolitic conduct and profusion. § XLVI. He delivers up the Cautionary towns to the Dutch. § XLVII. The earl of Suffolk is disgraced. § XLVIII. The king visits his ancient kingdom of Scotland. § XLIX. Is thwarted by the presbyterian clergy of that country. § L. He publishes the book of Sports. § LI. Expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh. § LII. Who is beheaded. § LIII. Mutual disgust between the king and his people. LIV. James is amused by the king of Spain. § LV. The states of Bohemia rebel against the emperor. § LVI. They chuse Frederic elector palatine their king. § LVII. James disavows the conduct of his son-in-law. § LVIII. Great influence of Gondemar at the English court. § LIX. A small body of English troops engage in the service of the elector palatine. § LX. Who is totally defeated. § LXI. James convokes a parliament. § LXII. Prosecution of Sir Giles Montpeyson and Francis Michel. § LXIII. The king endeavours to cajole the commons. § LXIV. The lord chancellor Bacon is disgraced. § LXV. Dispute between the king and the house of commons about the power of adjourning. § LXVI. Death of Philip III. of Spain. § LXVII. James carries on a fruitless negotiation with the emperor in favour of his son-in-law the elector Palatine. § LXVIII. Demands a supply from parliament. § LXIX. Breach between the king and the commons. The parliament is dissolved. § LXX. James is hated at home, and ridiculed abroad. § LXXI. He sets at liberty all the Roman catholic priests who were in custody. § LXXII. The Imperialists reduce the whole Palatinate except Frankendabl. § LXXIII. Fruitless conference at Brussels. § LXXIV. A truce between the emperor and the elector palatine. § LXXV. The prince of Wales and Buckingham resolve to visit Spain. § LXXVI. Where Charles is treated with great honour and hospitality. § LXXVII. James agrees to the marriage-articles proposed by the pope and the king of Spain. § LXXVIII. The match is broke off by the intrigues of Buckingham. § LXXIX. The prince and the duke return to England. § LXXX. James convokes a parliament. § LXXXI. Buckingham becomes popular. § LXXXII. The parliament petitions the king against the papists. § LXXXIII. The Spanish ambassador privately accuses Buckingham to the king. § LXXXIV. The earl of Bristol is confined. § LXXXV. Treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France. § LXXXVI. English levies for the service of the Palatinate, rendered useless by want of foresight in the English ministry. § LXXXVII. Death and character of James I. king of Great Britain.

§ I. **A**T the death of Elizabeth, the crown of England peaceably devolved An. Ch. 1603. to James VI. of Scotland, as the descendant of Henry VII. who was great grandfather to both his parents; and he succeeded to the English throne in the thirty-sixth year of his age. Immediately after the decease of Elizabeth, the council, with the unanimous consent of the lords spiritual and temporal then at London, proclaimed the new king; to whom they dispatched a letter, by

by Sir Charles Piercy and Sir Thomas Somerset, to notify his accession, and receive his commands. But Robert Cary, son to the lord Hunsdon, was the first person who arrived at Edinburgh with the tidings of Elizabeth's decease. James no sooner understood that he had been proclaimed, without the least opposition, than he began to prepare for his journey to England. In the mean time, he sent Sir Roger Ashton to inform the council and nobility of his intention; and confirmed the lord keeper, with all the rest of them, in their offices, during pleasure. Having left a commission with his Scottish council, for the administration of affairs in that kingdom, he, on the fifth day of April, departed from Edinburgh, attended by the duke of Lennox, the earls of Mar, Murray, and Argyle, the lords Hume and Kinlos, Sir George Hume treasurer, and secretary Elphinston. He had received from the English council six thousand pounds to defray the expence of his journey; and the sheriffs of the counties through which he passed had been ordered to attend him in their respective districts, and supply him plentifully with provisions and other necessaries. The people in general expressed the most tumultuous joy at his entering the kingdom. The towns through which he travelled vied with each other in the magnificence of their entertainments. The roads were crowded with innumerable multitudes, who came to see their new sovereign. They called aloud to heaven to bless him with a long and prosperous reign: the air rung with repeated acclamations; and he was feasted and flattered in such a manner, that one of his attendants could not help saying, the English would spoil a good king. James was not all pleased with the concourse of people that continually surrounded him. Though meanly familiar with his particular friends and courtiers, he was extremely averse to crowds and ceremony. Perhaps he was ashamed of his ungracious figure, and awkward address; and, in all probability, he did not think himself safe in the midst of so many strangers. Whatever were his motives, he certainly issued a proclamation, forbidding all strangers to approach his person. At York he received the respects and homage of almost all the nobility in the kingdom; and there he favoured secretary Cecil with a most gracious reception, contrary to the expectation of every body in the kingdom: for that minister had been the inveterate enemy of Essex, whom James considered as a martyr to his interest; and he was moreover son of that Burleigh who had brought the king's mother to the block. He had, notwithstanding those disadvantages, found means to insinuate himself into the favour of James, with whom he had carried on a correspondence during the latter part of the queen's reign. In all appearance he accommodated himself to the king's notions of government, and rendered himself necessary to his occasions, by his wealth, experience, and sagacity. This prince had conceived a most romantic notion of the kingly prerogative; and, in order to communicate this idea to his people betimes, he commanded a thief to be hanged at Newark, without any form of trial.

Wilfon.

Stowe.

§ II. When he arrived at Theobald's, a house belonging to Cecil, he was visited by the council in a body, and augmented the number of the members, with some of his Scottish attendants; namely, the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, the lord Hume, and Sir James Elphinston. He likewise added the lord Zouch and baron Burleigh, brother to secretary Cecil. He afterwards admitted the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, together with
Thomas

Thomas and Henry Howard, son and brother of the late duke of Norfolk. The first of these was, in the sequel, created earl of Suffolk and lord treasurer; and the other was promoted to the earldom of Northampton. The king's gratitude to this family, which had been ruined for its adherence to his mother's cause, was not limited to these benefits. He restored to his title Thomas Howard, son of the earl of Arundel, who had been condemned in the reign of Elizabeth. By these steps, he signified his disapprobation of her conduct; and paid so little regard to her memory, that he would not suffer any person to appear at his court in mourning. Notwithstanding the good will which the English people had manifested towards their new king, they soon began to draw odious comparisons between him and his predecessor. They were shocked at his reserve; they ridiculed his person, and they despised his conduct. He had already discovered marks of idle prodigality; and dealt out his honours with such a lavish hand, that, before he reached London, he had conferred the order of knighthood upon two hundred persons. In a few days after his arrival at the capital, he doubled that number. Thomas Sackville, baron of Buckhurst, and lord treasurer, was created earl of Dorset: the barony of Essendon was bestowed upon Sir Robert Cecil the secretary, afterwards viscount Cranburn, and finally earl of Salisbury; and Philip Herbert, brother to the earl of Pembroke, was promoted to the earldom of Montgomery. While the king was on the road from Scotland, he had given orders for releasing the earl of Southampton, who, with the son of Essex, was restored to his honours and estate: but the lords Grey, Cobham, Carew, and Sir Walter Raleigh, met with a very cold reception from his majesty. They had been concerned in the death of Essex, and were now deserted by Cecil, though he had acted as their confederate in that tragedy. The king's resentment demanded a sacrifice; and the secretary was not sorry at the disgrace of Raleigh, whose talents had excited his jealousy. This cunning politician soon gained an ascendancy over the spirit of James, who, with very little experience and judgment, had gleaned some knowledge from books, which rendered him extremely self-conceited, and laid him open to the arts of adulation.

§ III. While the courtiers plied him on this weak side, with the most extravagant encomiums upon his wisdom, learning, and capacity, extolling him as the Solomon of the age, and flattering him with the epithet of his most sacred majesty; the nation in general despised him for his timidity, his ridiculous attachment to worthless favourites, certain low prejudices he had imbibed from nature and education; and they saw, with resentment, his partiality in favour of his own countrymen. These not only engrossed his bounty, but also became so insolent, that daily quarrels arose; assassinations were committed; and the people did not scruple to exclaim that there was a necessity for Scotch vesters, alluding to the massacre of the Provençals in Sicily. James understood the general maxims of government in theory; but he wanted resolution to put them in practice. He looked upon hereditary right as indefeasible, and the regal power as absolute and without controul. He was encouraged in these sentiments by Cecil the secretary, the earl of Suffolk lord chamberlain, and Northampton keeper of the privy seal, to whom he left the chief management of his affairs. Though the English people detested these maxims, they were still more disgusted by the disagreeable peculiarities of his disposition. He neglected

glected all business, to indulge his passion for hunting: when the country people assembled in crouds, while he was engaged in that diversion, he used to curse them bitterly, and protest he would leave the kingdom, rather than be subject to such intrusion. Such was his aversion to company, that he issued an order, forbidding all persons to enter the drawing-room but the lords and gentlemen in waiting; a prohibition which all the people of fashion resented as an affront. It must be owned, however, for the credit of his administration, that he suspended, by proclamation, all the monopolies which had been granted in the late reign to the prejudice of commerce; superseded all illegal protections for the delay of suits, and put a stop to the abuse of purveyors.

Strype.

§ IV. In a little time after his arrival in London, he sent a numerous train of noblemen and ladies into Scotland, to accompany his queen and children to his new dominions. She accordingly set out for England with prince Henry and the lady Elizabeth; but Charles being sickly, did not arrive till the month of October in the following year. James met his consort at the house of Sir George Farmer, at Easton near Towcester, from whence he accompanied her to Windsor. Anne was a princess of violent resentment. She had lately miscarried, from a transport of indignation, at Stirling, where the servants of the earl of Mar refused to deliver prince Henry into her hands; and, although the earl himself had no concern in this refusal, she would not be reconciled to him, until after she had been some time in England. When the king removed from the Tower to Greenwich, he knighted two hundred and thirty-seven persons, exclusive of a general summons, commanding all who possessed forty pounds a year in land, to come and receive the order of knighthood, or else compound with the king's commissioners. This was an expedient to raise money, suggested by Cecil, which did not at all inhanche the reputation of the king; nor did he recommend himself to his subjects by his severity to Valentine Thomas, of whom he had complained to queen Elizabeth, that he had calumniated his person. This man still remained in prison at the accession of James, who now brought him to his trial; and he was condemned for having conspired against queen Elizabeth and some members of her council.

Memoirs de
Sully.

§ V. Henry the French king being well acquainted with the weakness of James, sent over the marquis de Rosny, afterwards duc de Sully, to compliment him upon his accession to the throne of England; but his chief errand was to hinder the king from being cajoled by the Spaniards, to whom he had a warm side, and to renew the defensive alliance which had been made with Elizabeth; designs in which he succeeded according to the wishes of his master. The count d'Aremberg ambassador from the archduke Albert and the infanta Isabella, sovereigns of the Low-Countries, had got the start of the marquis de Rosny. During this minister's residence in England, he was either sick or feigned indisposition; and it was not till after the departure of the marquis, that he desired the king would send one of his council to know the purport of his embassy, which imported nothing but general compliments; though, in all probability, he had instructions to observe what passed at the court of James, and found the monarch's inclinations touching a peace with Spain. These, indeed, he had already demonstrated, by recalling all the letters of marque which Elizabeth had granted to individuals.

§ VI. He

§ VI. He not only hankered after a pacification with Spain; but likewise entertained an aversion to the states-general, although they had more than once relieved him in his necessities. Such was his idea of the kingly power, that he looked upon the Dutch as rebels, and even branded them in public with that denomination. Nevertheless, finding his new subjects of very different sentiments; and being convinced by the marquis de Rosny of his true interest, he, in his treaty with Henry IV. of France, agreed that they should be allowed to levy troops in the dominions of both kings, who should also assist them with the annual sum of one million four hundred thousand livres, to be advanced by the French king, though he was at liberty to deduct one third of it from the debt which he owed to Elizabeth. It was also stipulated, *Memoirs de Sully.* that the two kings should mutually assist each other with a certain number of forces, in case of their being attacked by the Spanish monarch. Notwithstanding these engagements, James longed to be at peace with Philip III. who soon sent Taxis as his ambassador to congratulate the king on his accession, and demand that commissioners might be appointed to treat of a peace. The negociation was accordingly begun, and ended in a treaty which was ratified in the following year.

§ VII. The plague raging with redoubled force at London, during the heats of summer, the court retired to Wilton, an house in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, belonging to the earl of Pembroke. During the king's residence at that place, he discovered the plan of a strange conspiracy, projected by the lords Grey and Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, Markham, George Brook, Anthony Copley, and two popish priests, named William Watton and William Clark. The design was to dethrone James, and substitute in his place his cousin Arabella Stuart. Lord Cobham undertook to treat with the archduke at Brussels, for a supply of six hundred thousand crowns; as well as to present letters from the lady Arabella to the archduke, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, engaging to take an husband at their recommendation, and grant a free toleration to the catholics. The conspirators had also agreed that lord Cobham should demand the king's permission to levy two thousand men for the service of the Hollanders, and with those very troops make sure of his majesty's person. They had actually conferred with the count d'Aremberg, and settled the shares of the money allotted to each individual. Lord Cobham had, by letter, desired an audience of the lady Arabella, in order to make her acquainted with the scheme; but, instead of granting his request, she forthwith sent his letter to the king. The design was discovered by a sister of Anthony Copley, who being alarmed at an expression which dropped from her brother, imparted it to her husband, and he communicated his suspicion to the lord admiral. Copley being apprehended, confessed the design. The other conspirators were arrested, tried at Winchester, and convicted of high treason. Raleigh made such a vigorous defence, and so little appeared against him, that every body exclaimed against those who found him guilty, though he was at that time the most unpopular man in the nation, on account of the part he acted in the prosecution of Essex. He was now condemned on the single testimony of the lord Cobham, a nobleman of weak intellects, and an infamous character. He had even retracted his first evidence against Raleigh, though he afterwards affirmed it; nor was he produced in court upon the

Beaumont
Dep.

Camden.

trial. Notwithstanding these appearances of innocence, and the small likelihood of his engaging in such an unpromising scheme, with a set of idle confederates, divided in interest, politics, and religion, this great man was undoubtedly guilty. He had been superseded in his post of captain of the guard, and lost the office of lord warden of the stanneries: his passions were turbulent and impetuous; and the transports of his resentment overwhelming all his reflection, hurried him into this imprudent conspiracy. Cecil prosecuted him in the most rancorous manner, and Coke the attorney-general reviled him upon his trial in the most scurrilous terms of reproach. George Brook and the two priests were executed: the lords Cobham and Grey, with Markham, were pardoned on the scaffold, even after having laid their heads upon the block; and Raleigh, though reprieved, was detained many years in the Tower, where he wrote his history of the world.

§ VIII. Immediately after the discovery of this plot, the king returned from Wilton, and with the queen was crowned at Westminster. Then he published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, who were not immediately necessary, to approach the court till winter, on account of the plague, which in the course of one year had swept off above thirty thousand souls in London, though the whole number of inhabitants at that period did not amount to two hundred thousand. The papists, flushed with the hope of a toleration, under a monarch who at one time seemed to favour their religion, presented a petition for this purpose: and were not a little mortified when he gave them to understand that he thought himself obliged to maintain those regulations in religion which he found in force at his accession. Though James was no enemy to the catholic religion, he was extremely averse to their attachment to the court of Rome, and the power of the papacy; and Cecil had persuaded him that a toleration was incompatible with his regal power and prerogative. The puritans flattering themselves with the hope of a more favourable answer from a prince who had been educated in their religion, petitioned not only for a toleration, but likewise demanded that he would give order for reforming some articles of the English doctrine and discipline with which they could not conform. There was no set of people which James detested so much as the puritans. The Scottish presbyterians had thwarted him on many occasions: they had treated his person with indecent familiarity, and his power with disrespect; and the republican spirit by which they were animated could not but be extremely odious to a prince who prided himself in cherishing the most arbitrary maxims of absolute monarchy.

§ IX. He had by this time joined in the English communion, and resolved to oblige the dissenters to a conformity with the established religion: but, with a view to maintain the appearance of impartiality, he desired that a conference might be held between some bishops and ministers of the puritan party at Hampton-court, where the king appeared in person, not as a judge, but with all the zeal of a warm partisan. He began with declaring that he would not alter one tittle of the established religion; and, indeed, they did not dissent so much in doctrinal points as in the exterior forms of worship, and in the government of the hierarchy. They complained that the churches were filled with ignorant pastors; that they were obliged to conform to the book of Common Prayer, that contained many things which their consciences could

not digest; that the clergy were subjected to the censure of laymen, by means of the high commission-court, which exercised the king's ecclesiastical supremacy: that the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and the surplice worn by the priests, were superstitious ceremonies, and remnants of popery. These important articles produced warm debates, in which the king mingled with great eagerness. The chancellor exclaimed that he had often heard the priesthood was united to royalty; but now he was convinced of that truth by the learned arguments of his majesty. Archbishop Whitgift carried his flat-tery still higher, in declaring, he was persuaded that the king spoke from the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The puritans, far from reaping any advantage from this conference, were exhorted to conform to the established church, and even threatened with severe prosecution, in case of disobedience. If there was any state scheme on the part of the king, in this disputation, it was to persuade the public that the ministers of the puritans were fairly confuted, and that nothing but obstinacy hindered them from uniting with the church; but in all probability he had no other design in proposing the conference than that of enjoying an opportunity to display his learning.

§ X. In a few weeks after this fruitless conference, the metropolitan see of Canterbury became vacant by the death of archbishop Whitgift, who was succeeded by Richard Bancroft, a declared enemy of the protestant dissenters, against whom he raised such a persecution, that a great number of families retired to other countries, where they could enjoy liberty of conscience. In the latter end of February, a proclamation was issued, commanding all Jesuits and priests ordained by foreign power, to leave the kingdom; and this was followed by another against the protestant nonconformists. A third was published, prohibiting all persons from hunting but such as were duly qualified. A fourth ordained that an annual festival should be kept in remembrance of the king's miraculous deliverance from the conspiracy of Gowry; and, in a word, so many ordinances of this sort appeared, that this was called the reign of proclamations. In that by which the parliament was convoked, he exhibited a strong specimen of his arbitrary disposition. He commanded the counties and boroughs to return members of such qualifications as he described, on pain of their being excluded from parliament; and threatened any city, borough, or corporation, which should act contrary to this order, with fine and deprivation of privileges. On the fifteenth day of March, the king and queen rode in procession through the streets of London, which was now free from the plague; and, on the seventh day of July, the parliament met at Westminster.

§ XI. To this assembly James made a long harangue, expatiating upon the happiness of the nation in his accession to the throne; explaining his sentiments of religion, and enforcing the maxims of his government. It was a cold, tedious, diffuse oration, stuffed with pedantic conceits, culled and studied for the occasion; and formed a natural picture of his own disposition and character, the strongest features of which were his sublime notion of the prerogative, his aversion to the puritans, his tenderness towards the Roman catholics, his vanity and self-importance. Instead of that admiration with which he hoped to inspire his audience, he met with little else than disapprobation and contempt. The members were offended at the expressions he used:

Echard.
Willson,
Coke.

used in favour of the Roman catholics, whom he promised to meet half way in the road of reformation. The puritans were incensed to find themselves represented by the king as a sect of republicans that ought not to be tolerated in a monarchical government; and the nation in general were disgusted at his comparing Scotland with England, as one equal half of the island, which he wished to see united under the same religion, laws, and government. The business with which the parliament began, was an act to acknowledge and confirm his title to the crown of England, though he would have willingly dispensed with this mark of their regard, as he depended intirely on his hereditary title. His branding the Puritans, without distinction, as men of a turbulent and republican spirit, not only alienated that powerful sect from all affection to him and his family, but also obliged them, for their own preservation, to unite and coalesce with the political malecontents of the kingdom; and this junction formed a party strong enough to shake the English monarchy to its foundation. As James had, in his proclamation for convoking the parliament, struck at the freedom of election, the house of commons took the first opportunity of ascertaining their own privileges. Sir Francis Goodwin being returned for the county of Bucks, was pronounced an out-law by the chancellor. His seat was vacated; a writ issued for a new election, and Sir John Fortescue chosen in his room. The house reversed the chancellor's decree, and restored Sir Francis to his seat. They refused to hold a conference with the lords on this subject. In a remonstrance to the king, they maintained, that though the returns were made into chancery, the right of judging elections belonged to the house: yet they afterwards appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council; and, in order to save the honour of the king, who interested himself warmly in this affair, they agreed to an expedient which he proposed; namely, that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be set aside, and a writ be issued, by warrant of the house, for a new election: thus, however, they secured their own right of judging solely in their own elections and returns. This was the first effort of that parliamentary spirit which in the next reign became too powerful for the sovereign. The commons were no longer a passive herd, obsequious to the will of an imperious monarch. They had acquired wealth and property from traffic: their ideas were expanded by learning and commerce, which had now made considerable progress in many parts of Europe, as well as in England; and they were fired with a spirit of independence, which they had now an opportunity of exerting to advantage, under a weak prince, a foreigner, who did not understand the genius of his subjects, and who, instead of conciliating their affection, incurred the hatred of a powerful party, by his ridiculous and impolitic distinctions. James had nothing so much at heart as the union of the two kingdoms. This seems to have been his chief aim in assembling the parliament, which he thought he had eloquence enough to persuade into such a measure. They accordingly appointed commissioners to treat with those of Scotland; but they were too much incensed at the king's partiality for his own countrymen to deliberate in earnest upon the proposal. In the mean time, James, in order to abolish the distinction of England and Scotland, assumed the title of king of Great Britain; joined the armorial ensigns of the two kingdoms; and, by an express proclamation, rendered the

Willson.

the Scottish coin current in England. The commons were already so dissatisfied with their new monarch, that when a supply was proposed by some members attached to the court, warm debates arose, and the motion would have been rejected by a majority, had not the king prevented that disgrace by sending a message to the house, declaring, he desired no subsidy. Then he prorogued the parliament, in which he had the mortification to see the puritanical interest plainly predominate.

§ XII. Immediately after the prorogation, a treaty of peace with Spain was concluded at London, as also another that wholly related to commerce. They were negotiated by Taxis and Richardot, and afterwards signed by the constable of Castile, who came over from the Low Countries for that purpose. The most remarkable article of this peace, imported, That James should fix a day before the expiration of which the states of the United Provinces should make peace with the archduke; and in case of their refusal, the king of England should deem himself absolved from all engagements with that confederacy. Nevertheless, he neither fixed the time, nor withdrew his troops from their service: nay, he even restored the places they had mortgaged, on payment of a much smaller sum than that for which they were deposited. It was after the conclusion of this treaty, that the town of Ostend capitulated, having been three years besieged by the Spaniards, who found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins, in recompence for the vast sums of money, and the incredible number of lives which had been expended in the conquest. James, without concerning himself about the fate of this fortress, resolved to improve his new connexion with Spain; and the earl of Nottingham lord high admiral was appointed his ambassador extraordinary to that court, for which he took his departure with a very numerous and magnificent retinue; while the earl of Hertford was dispatched as envoy to Brussels.

Coke.

§ XIII. James had not long enjoyed the benefit of this pacification, when he was exposed to the most imminent danger, by one of the blackest conspiracies that ever was hatched. The laws against popish recusants had been put in execution; and their estates were sequestered, and assigned to courtiers, with whom they were forced to compound. These severities, inflicted by a prince from whom the papists expected the mildest treatment, exasperated them to such a degree, that the ruin of him and his family became their constant wish and prayer; and some bigots of that persuasion devoted him to destruction. Robert Catesby of Ashby, and Francis Tresham of Rushton in Northamptonshire, encouraged by Henry Garnet superior of the English jesuits in England, had immediately before the death of Elizabeth sent Thomas Winter to Spain, to solicit an invasion of their own country; and even after the death of that princess, they employed other emissaries to carry on the negotiation; but all their measures were broken by the last treaty between James and Philip: and they concerted a new scheme of a much more horrible nature. The invention is charged to Catesby, who proposed that the house of lords should be blown up with gunpowder at the opening of the session of parliament, when the king, queen, prince of Wales, with all the lords spiritual and temporal, the judges, and the most considerable persons of the kingdom would be present. Their purpose was, after this dreadful massacre should have been effected, to secure the person of the princess Elizabeth, who lived with her governess the lady

Baker.

An. Ch. 1605.

lady Harrington, at Combe near Coventry, proclaim her queen, and charge the mischief on the puritans. For the execution of this infernal scene, Piercy one of the conspirators hired a vault or cellar immediately under the house of lords; and by means of Fawkes an old foldier, whom they had brought from Flanders, conveyed into it thirty barrels of gunpowder, artfully covering them with billets and faggots, as a store of fuel which Piercy had provided for the winter. Private attachment hath often prevented public calamity. Before the parliament met, William Parker lord Monteagle, received a letter from one of the conspirators, probably from Tresham, who was kinsman to his lady, advising him to be absent from the ensuing session; for, God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times; and intimating, that the parliament would sustain a terrible blow, without knowing from whom it should come. He likewise observed, that the danger would be past in as little time as he should take to burn the letter. Monteagle being puzzled by this advertisement, carried it at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who being as much perplexed as the other, about the meaning of those enigmatical expressions, consulted the earl of Suffolk, who was lord chamberlain. The letter was afterwards imparted to the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, before the king came to Westminster from Royston. James having carefully perused this dark intimation, is said to have guessed the design of the conspirators; and though many people believed he was on this occasion prompted by Cecil, who made this little sacrifice to the king's vanity, no reason appears in history for depriving him of the honour of the discovery. Personal timidity was one of his principal foibles, which he is said to have inherited from his mother's womb; and derived from the fright she underwent at the murder of Riccio. Fear is ever quick-sighted; and the imagination of such a prince must have been always teeming with those ideas that were the most dreadful to his apprehension. Nothing is so terrible to a coward as the effect of gunpowder; and this having been uppermost in the recollection of James, no wonder that he should interpret into an explosion, the sudden, unseen blow that should come without their seeing who hurt them, and have its effect in as little time as a man would take to burn a letter. It was resolved, that the houses and vaults adjoining, and belonging to the house of peers, should be searched on the eve of the intended meeting of the parliament. On the fourth day of November the lord chamberlain, accompanied by the lord Monteagle, went as usual, to take a slight survey of the neighbouring houses; and the cellar being left open, to avoid suspicion, perceived an extraordinary quantity of wood, which he thought Piercy could not possibly consume for his own use in one winter. This circumstance augmented his suspicion, and Sir Thomas Knevet steward of Westminster was ordered, on pretence of searching for stolen tapestry, to see the wood removed, that if there was any thing underneath, it might appear. He went thither at midnight, with proper attendants, and apprehending Fawkes at the cellar-door, in his boots, with a dark lanthorn in his hand, found a tinder-box, and three matches in his pockets; then the wood being removed, they discovered the barrels of gunpowder. He appeared as Piercy's servant, and was hardened enough to avow his design, when examined before the council; but, he refused to discover his accomplices, who hearing of his being apprehended, fled into different parts of the country. Catesby, Piercy, and the chief of the conspirators,

tors, retired to Warwickshire, in hope of raising, by the interest of Sir Everhard Digby, a sufficient number of recusants to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was immediately removed to Coventry: so that this design was also prevented. Then they repaired to Holbech in Staffordshire, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton; and there they were invested by Sir Richard Walsh high sheriff of Worcestershire, with his posse, as they had broke open stables, and stole horses in the adjoining counties. In preparing for their defence, they met with a miserable disappointment in the explosion of their gunpowder, by which some of them were terribly scorched. Nevertheless, their case being desperate, they resolved to force a passage through their assailants. Catesby, Piercy, and the two Winters were killed on the spot; Graunt, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates were taken and conveyed to London, where they discovered all the circumstances of the conspiracy. Tresham being afterwards apprehended, confessed the whole plot, and was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died of a strangury. The earl of Northumberland being committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, was afterwards condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, for having admitted Piercy into the band of pensioners, without exacting from him the oath of supremacy. On the twenty-seventh day of January, eight of the conspirators, of whom Sir Everhard Digby, pleaded guilty to the indictment, were convicted of treason; and he, together with Robert Winter, Graunt, and Bates, were executed at the west end of St. Paul's church-yard. Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes, suffered in the Old-palace-yard. Garnet superior of the Jesuits in England, was condemned for having administered the oath of secrecy, with the sacrament, to the conspirators; and otherwise encouraged them in the undertaking. At his execution, he confessed the guilt and iniquity of the enterprize; and exhorted the Roman catholics to abstain from all such treasonable practices. Littleton, Hall, and others, were executed in the country, and the lord Monteagle was rewarded with a grant of lands to the value of two hundred pounds a-year, and an annual pension of five hundred.

An.Ch. 1606.

Winwood.
Thuanus.
Wilson.
Echard.

§ XIV. The parliament meeting on the appointed day, adjourned to the ninth of November, when the king, in a long speech, assumed the merit of having unriddled the mysterious letter; and, in order to manifest his tenderness to the catholics, distinguished between those who acknowledged the pope's supremacy, and such as were good subjects to their sovereign, though they belived in transubstantiation, and other scholastic dogmas of the Roman church. At the same time he did not fail to disclose his aversion to the puritans, whom he represented as a sect that deserved to be punished with penal fire, because they believed that no papist could be saved; as if this was not a reproach that might have been much more justly levelled against the whole body of catholics: but, this is one of the many absurdities of his rancorous partiality against those who were supposed to favour republican principles. The two houses having passed an act, for observing the fifth day of November as an annual thanksgiving for the deliverance of the king and parliament, proceeded to take measures for the discovery of popish recusants, and the prevention of their treasonable designs. In one statute they enacted, That those who should be found guilty of having absented themselves from the church for one whole month, should forfeit two thirds of their estates: That all conformists should receive

the sacrament once a-year in their parish-churches: That all recusants should take a new oath of allegiance, renouncing the papal power, of absolving subjects from the obedience due to their sovereign; and abjuring, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine of Rome, implying, That princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, might be deposed, or murdered by their subjects. But, the most severe step taken against the catholics, was another act, prohibiting popish recusants from coming within ten miles of London, or going to the distance of five miles from their own houses, without special licence signed by four justices of the peace: from practising law or physic: from acting as judges, clerks, or officers in any corporation, or as executors or administrators: from presenting to livings, schools, or hospitals: and rendering their children incapable of inheriting estates, should they omit taking the oath of allegiance at the age of eighteen. These acts, however, dictated by the resentment of the nation, were not rigorously put in execution; though the majority of the catholics, with Blackwell their superior, consented to take the oath of allegiance, notwithstanding a brief of pope Urban VIII. who forbade them to comply on pain of eternal damnation.

§ XV. The mutual danger to which the king and parliament had been exposed from the gunpowder plot, seemed to increase their regard for each other; and the commons indulged him with a subsidy which amounted to four hundred thousand pounds. This was a very seasonable supply for enabling him to entertain his brother-in-law the king of Denmark, and the prince of Vaudemont third son of the duke of Savoy, who visited his court in the course of this summer, and were regaled at an incredible expence with plays, balls, masks, and interludes, which did more honour to the hospitality than to the taste and invention of the entertainer. The prorogation of the parliament being expired, James earnestly exhorted the two houses to bring the union of the two kingdoms to perfection; and Bacon the solicitor-general recommended it in a very eloquent harangue. The king had already published a proclamation, declaring all those who were born since his accession to the throne of England, naturalized in both kingdoms. Hearing the two houses were very backward in proceeding upon this subject, he sent for them to Whitehall, where he undertook to answer all their objections; and told them they would be guilty of a double iniquity, should they refuse to grant his request. Notwithstanding these eager remonstrances, the parliament would not agree to the union; and all he could obtain was, a revocation of the hostile laws subsisting between the two nations. The English objected to an union with a kingdom so inferior to their own in power, riches, and extent; to the difference of laws and customs; and to the antient league between France and Scotland: but, the real source of their aversion to this measure was a national animosity, inflamed by the king's partial distribution of his favours. Sir Christopher Pigot knight of the shire for Bucks, launched out into invectives against the Scots, whom he reviled as proud fellows, robbers, beggars, rebels, and traitors. He said twenty Scots were not worth one Englishman: and that there was no more comparison between the one and the other, than between a judge on the bench and a thief at the bar. The natives of Scotland who belonged to the court were so incensed at these reflections, that they not only retorted the obloquy, with menaces of revenge, but also presented a formal complaint to the king, who entered warmly into the

the resentment of his countrymen, thinking himself insulted in the general reproach. The house being informed of his majesty's displeasure, ordered Pigot to be brought to the bar, where he qualified his expressions by protesting, that he did not mean to revile the whole Scottish nation; but, that his words related only to some part of the Western islands. Notwithstanding this explanation, he was expelled the house, and committed to prison. Yet, after the recess of parliament during the Easter holidays, many members spoke with great acrimony in contempt of the king's person, and even pronounced the Scots happy, in being remote from the presence of such a prince. James was so exasperated at these indecent freedoms, that in a speech to the parliament, he declared, since they wished his absence, he would either reside alternately in England and Scotland, or fix his habitation at York or Berwick. The commons intended to have desired, in an address, that he would not listen to private reports, but learn the sense of the house from the mouth of the speaker; that he would give those members whom he had blamed, an opportunity to clear themselves in his presence; and allow them to speak freely in parliament on any subject that might fall under their cognizance. The king being apprized of their intention, sent a message, importing, That he was extremely tender of their privileges; and that every member might speak freely, though with modesty and discretion. When they had passed the bill for abolishing the laws of hostility against the Scottish nation, he prorogued the parliament to the sixteenth day of November, and the prorogation was afterwards continued.

§ XVI. At this period, an insurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester. The peasants assembled to the number of four thousand, under the command of John Reynolds, known by the appellation of captain Pouch, and for a whole month, employed themselves in demolishing parks and inclosures. The sheriffs raising their posses, worsted them in several encounters: at length they dispersed, in consequence of a proclamation, promising redress of their grievances; and captain Pouch with some other ring-leaders being taken, were executed for high treason. In the beginning of this reign, the lord Montjoy had brought the earl of Tyrone from Ireland, and presented him to the king, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. But, ^{Baker.} he was of such a restless and turbulent spirit, that he could not live in quiet; ^{Coke.} and after his return to his own country, he not only raised a fresh insurrection, but even demanded succours from foreign powers. His efforts miscarrying, he fled to the continent with the earl of Tyrconnel, whom he had engaged in his rebellious practices; and pretended that the cruelties exercised upon the papists of Ireland had compelled him to quit his country. James, in answer to this calumny, published an apology, to prove that he had treated the Roman catholics with great tenderness. In the beginning of this year, the archduke had sent father Ney, provincial of the order of St. Francis, with proposals of peace to the states of the United Provinces; and prince Maurice gave him to understand, that there could be no pacification, unless the king of Spain would acknowledge the provinces as a free and independent state. The ecclesiastic having signified this answer to the archduke, was dispatched a second time to Holland, with a writing signed by Albert and the infanta, with which the states-general were satisfied, on condition that it should be ratified at the court of Spain. Henry IV. of France being informed of this transaction, sent the pre-

fidant Jeanin, to offer his mediation to the states, which they forthwith accepted. But, in order to avoid giving cause of jealousy to James, they demanded his advice and assistance; and afterwards sent an ambassador to London, to make him acquainted with the situation of their affairs. When Philip's ratification arrived, it was found so full of equivocal expressions, that they were obliged to demand an explanation, in consequence of which demand the negotiation was protracted; though, in the mean time, both sides enjoyed the benefit of a cessation.

Grotius.

An.Ch. 16c8.

§ XVII. The succeeding year was remarkable for little else than the execution of two popish priests, who refused to take the oath of allegiance: the death of the earl of Dorset, who was succeeded in his post of lord high treasurer, by Cecil earl of Salisbury: an exclusive privilege granted to a merchant for dressing and dying broad-cloth, which had formerly been sent to Holland for that purpose: the king's monopolizing the sale of alom, which had been lately discovered in England: a difference with the Dutch, who were forbidden to fish upon the coasts of Great Britain, until they engaged by treaty to pay a yearly sum for that privilege: and the enmity which archbishop Bancroft expressed against the puritans, a great number of whom resolved to settle in Virginia, where they hoped to be out of the reach of persecution. Many families actually embarked for that colony; and the rest were prevented by a proclamation, forbidding them to quit the kingdom without an express licence from the king, who began to fear this sect would become too numerous and powerful in America. James continued to indulge himself in his favourite diversion of hunting, and dispensed his favours with such a prodigal hand, that he was exposed to all the mortifications of indigence. Indeed, several circumstances concurred with his own lavish disposition to involve him in manifold difficulties. The crown was indebted at his accession in a large sum, which Elizabeth had borrowed of the Londoners. That princess had alienated or mortgaged the crown-lands, in order to exempt her subjects from impositions. The increase of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West-Indies, had not only introduced a more luxurious manner of living than that which had obtained in the reigns of his predecessors, but at the same time raised the price of provisions and every other commodity: so that, as his subjects became wealthy from commerce, he became poor; for his revenue did not increase in proportion: the fee-farm rents underwent no alteration; and the crown-lands were let in long leases, greatly under value.

§ XVIII. Though James paid very little regard to the affairs or interest of the states-general, yet he did not fail to demand the payment of the debt which they owed to the crown of England, amounting to eight hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and eight pounds sterling. After some disputes, matters were adjusted, and the plenipotentiaries of each nation signed a defensive league, importing, That James should assist in obtaining for the states a just and honourable peace; and defend them with a certain number of ships and forces, in case they should be attacked. In return for these stipulations, they entered into the like engagements for the safety of him and his dominions. In another treaty concluded at the same time, they acknowledged themselves indebted to him for the sum already specified, and promised to discharge it at the rate of thirty thousand pounds paid half yearly; the first payment

ment to commence in two years after the peace with Spain. All former treaties were confirmed; together with the privileges heretofore enjoyed by the English in Holland, and the Dutch in England.

Winwood.
Rymer.

§ XIX. These treaties being ratified, the king of England sent Robert Spencer to the Hague, with powers to assist at the congress, in conjunction with Winwood his ambassador in ordinary. The king of Spain had ratified the archduke's declaration touching the independence of the states, only on condition, that the peace should take effect; and they refused to treat on any other footing than that of a free state. They also received intelligence, that Philip had endeavoured to detach the king of Great Britain from his interest, by means of Don Fernando de Gironne, who repaired to the court of London, in quality of ambassador extraordinary. This circumstance was the more alarming, as James declared, upon all occasions, that he looked upon the Dutch as rebels; for, he did not believe that in any case whatsoever, subjects had a right to withdraw themselves from the dominion of their sovereign. These being his sentiments, no wonder that his ambassadors acted a very inconsiderable part at the negotiation for a general peace. Jeanin the French president directed the conferences; but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he could not obtain the consent of both parties to a pacification. Thus baffled, he proposed a truce for twelve or fifteen years; and to this with difficulty they agreed. The king of Spain and the archduke, acknowledged the states, as a free and independent power, and they still maintained their commerce to the East-Indies, which had been one of the principal difficulties that occurred in the negotiation. These advantages were not at all agreeable to the king of England, who considered their success as a precedent dangerous to the regal authority, of which he entertained such a sublime idea, that, in the course of this year, he granted a licence to print and publish two books, written in defence of the most despotic maxims. The first composed by one Cowel, a clergyman, maintained, that the king was not bound by the laws of the land, or by the oath which he took at his coronation. The author of the second was doctor Blackwood another ecclesiastic, who affirmed as a leading principle, that by the conquest of William the Norman, the English had forfeited all their liberties. James understanding how much the people were offended by these performances, and hearing the parliament intended to make examples of the authors, anticipated their resentment, by prohibiting the sale of the books, and recalling the copies by proclamation.

An.Ch. 1609.

Grotius.

§ XX. Being by this time reduced to great distress for want of money, he resolved to solicit a subsidy in this session; and the houses meeting on the nineteenth day of February, the earl of Salisbury was ordered to demand the supply. In order to conciliate their affections, he began with assuring them, that his majesty was resolved to redress all their grievances; and, as a mark of his singular affection, would confer the order of knighthood upon his eldest son Henry prince of Wales, during the session. He then proceeded to explain the causes of the king's indigence, observing, that he had payed the debts of the late queen; that he had maintained an army of nineteen thousand men in Ireland; that he had expended great sums in the funeral of Elizabeth, in his own journey, and that of his queen and children, from Edinburgh to London; in entertaining the king of Denmark, and the foreign ambassadors; in main-
taining

An.Ch. 1610.

taining three separate courts for himself, his consort, and the prince of Wales; in sending envoys to different courts on the continent; and in liberalities to his officers and dependants. He launched out into extravagant encomiums upon the king's wisdom and probity; and declared that his majesty, far from intending to rule despotically, was ready at all times to hear the remonstrances of his parliament, provided they would confine themselves within proper bounds, without deviating from that respect which was due to such a great and gracious sovereign. Notwithstanding these professions, the members of the house of commons loudly complained of the king's prodigality and excessive profusion towards his own countrymen. Others ventured to affirm that his intention was to sap the privileges of the subject by gradual usurpation. He had been heard to declare at his own table, that the civil law of the Roman emperors ought to be substituted in room of the common law of England; and approved of the treatise called the Interpreter, written by Dr. Cowell on that subject; but the chief cause of their complaint was the high commission court, which had exercised great severities against the puritans, whose party was espoused by a majority of the commons.

§ XXI. James, being informed of these proceedings, had recourse to his own eloquence, which he thought irresistible, and harangued the two houses at Whitehall. His speech, however, was very ill calculated to sooth the animosity of his people. He told them that the prerogative of kings resembled the divine power: that, as God could create or annihilate, make or unmake, according to his own will; so kings could bestow life or death, and judge all mankind without being subject to any earthly judicature. They could exalt the lowly, and abase the lofty: and, like persons playing at chess, make a simple pawn overcome a knight or bishop: nevertheless, all kings, that were not tyrants, would confine themselves to the laws they had enacted. He affirmed, that as it was held blasphemous to dispute what God may do, so was it seditious in subjects to dispute what a king might do in the height of his power. He assured them of his attachment to the common law, provided it were reviewed and corrected. He desired they would not intermeddle with him on the exercise of government, which he called King-craft; for he had been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship in England; so that there needed no Phormios to teach Hannibal. Finally, he expatiated upon his own necessities, and demanded a supply; observing that his reputation was now at stake among foreign princes; for, should his request be refused, the world would impute his disappointment either to his own lack of merit or to their want of affection. The commons, though highly disgusted at some of the maxims he had broached, thought proper to dissemble their resentment, and express a willingness to comply with the king's desires. The earl of Salisbury moved for a conference with the commons, in order to obtain an adequate supply for his majesty's present occasions, as well as a grant for two hundred thousand pounds a year, for the future support of his royal dignity. The commons fired at this proposal, and voted only one subsidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to the sixth part of what had been asked for the king's present occasions. They refused to settle any standing revenue, unless the king would purchase it with some valuable consideration. They complained of respects of homages, and consented to settle an annual revenue of two hundred thousand

thousand pounds, provided wardships should be suppressed, purveyances abolished, and some further privileges granted to the subject: but, they afterwards rose in their demands, and insisted upon the redress of their grievances. They complained of the king's pretending that his proclamations ought to have the force of laws; of the power arrogated by the high commission court; of his majesty's having altered the book of rates, and imposed new customs on certain species of merchandize. They petitioned that no body should be forced to lend money to the king, or to give a reason for his refusal; and, having received divers messages, forbidding them to debate upon his right of laying imposts, they represented that it was their fundamental right to debate freely upon all matters that concerned the subject. They afterwards passed a bill against taxes and impositions on merchants and merchandize; but it was thrown out of the house of lords at the first reading.

Winwood.

§ XXII. During this session, young Henry was created prince of Wales in the sixteenth year of his age. He was a youth of very promising talents and an amiable character; by which he acquired the love and esteem of the English people. He spent his time in studies becoming a prince, and exercised himself in the most manly diversions. He possessed the advantage of a fine person; and there was a martial turn in his disposition, that could not but be agreeable to a warlike nation. He kept his court at St. James's, while his mother resided at Somerset-house, where she lived at great expence: so that James was obliged to maintain three separate households. At length the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth day of October; the king and they parting equally dissatisfied with each other.

Echard.
Coke.

§ XXIII. James began to leave the administration entirely in the hands of his ministers; and, while he indulged himself in hunting, payed very little attention to the affairs of the continent, when the house of Austria endeavoured to aggrandize itself at the expence of its neighbours. The elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg, who were competitors for the succession of the duke of Cleves, perceiving that the emperor Rodolphus II. intended to defraud them both of the inheritance, compromised their difference; and implored the assistance of France and Holland. Henry IV. had already resolved to humble the house of Austria, and was glad of having this pretence for commencing hostilities. He promised to lead his troops in person into the country of Cleves; and desired the states-general to send thither prince Maurice with part of their forces: but, in the midst of these preparations, he was assassinated by Ravillac, who stabbed him as he alighted from his coach, in the very middle of his own capital. The murderer was a desperate bigot, who had lately resided in Brussels, where his enthusiasm had been inflamed by the emissaries of Spain. As he had acted upon the maxim of the Jesuits, who looked upon Henry as an heretic in his heart, James was alarmed at an event which might affect his own preservation: in order to secure himself against a set of men, who maintained such a detestable doctrine, he published a proclamation, commanding all Jesuits to quit the kingdom, and prohibiting all popish recusants from coming within ten miles of the court. Then he exacted the oath of allegiance from all his subjects.

§ XXIV. Although the court of Spain was generally suspected of having effected the death of the French monarch, James discovered a warm inclination to

Wilfon.

to be more closely connected with Philip. Perhaps he thought it would be a prudent step to acquire the friendship of a power so formidable to protestant princes. He therefore dispatched the lord Cornwall to Spain, with proposals of a match between the prince of Wales and the eldest infant. Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, died about this period, after he had obtained a patent for founding a college at Chelsea for the maintenance of able theologists, to confute, in their sermons and writings, the adversaries of the English church, whether papists or puritans. Bancroft was succeeded in the metropolitan see by George Abbot, who was of a character very different from that of his predecessor, and even accused of being a puritan in his heart. When the parliament re-assembled, the king found the commons still inauspicious, complaining, and inquisitive; and therefore dissolved them by proclamation, after they had sat seven years. Then the ministers were obliged to find means for raising money to relieve the king in his necessities.

An.Ch.1611.

§ XXV. The court now expressed uncommon joy at seeing him freed from such troublesome counsellors: it resounded with music, mirth, and jollity; while the English and Scottish dependants vied with each other in their endeavours to attach the king to some favourite, who should be the dispenser of his bounty. He was much more pleased with personal beauty than any other qualification; and the first object that made an impression upon him was Robert Carr, a youth who had been his page in Scotland. Since that time he had travelled in France, and acquired some exterior accomplishments, which served to set off the beauty of his person. The lord Hay, looking upon him as a proper subject for the king's weakness, caused him to be arrayed in the gayest apparel; and, at a public tilting match, invested him with the office of presenting the buckler and device to his majesty. Performing this service, his horse, being unruly, flung him to the ground, and his leg was broke by the violence of the fall. James could not help taking particular notice of this accident: he was struck with the beauty of Carr's person, as well as with the richness of his apparel, and gave order for his being lodged in the palace, where he visited him after the tournament. He found him extremely illiterate, and was charmed with his simplicity; resolving to mould this ductile clay according to his own fancy and inclination. He now undertook the office of a pedagogue, for which indeed he seemed to have been designed both by nature and education. He took infinite pleasure in teaching him the rudiments of the Latin tongue. He created him knight and gentleman of his bedchamber. The earl of Dunbar, who possessed a good share of the king's favour, dying at this juncture, Carr engrossed the whole without a rival, and succeeded that nobleman as treasurer of Scotland. He was afterwards made baron of Brandspech, and viscount of Rochester; finally honoured with the order of the garter, and enriched with grants and donations†.

† The king having one day presented him with an order upon the Exchequer for five thousand pounds sterling, the earl of Salisbury, lord high treasurer, made use of a stratagem to convince the king of his own prodigality. He invited his majesty to dinner, and conducted him through an apartment, where he saw the whole sum in specie upon a table: James, surpris'd at the sight of so

much gold, asked what use he intended to make of that treasure? and the other answering, with affected indifference, it was the money which his majesty had ordered for the viscount of Rochester, the king swore it was too much for any private man, and desired the treasurer would give no more than two thousand pounds. Wilfon.

§ XXVI. James

§ XXVI. James, about this time, was roused from his indolence by a theological dispute that happened in Holland between the disciples of Francis Gomarus and James Arminius, concerning absolute predestination, and the inamissibility of grace. Arminius dying, his place of professor of theology in the university of Leyden was filled with Conrad Vorstius, professor at Steinfort, who had already published a treatise intituled *De Deo*, which had drawn upon him the enmity of all the Gomarians. He published an apology; notwithstanding which they reviled him as a Socinian, and offered to demonstrate damnable errors in both his performances. The king of England, having perused his treatise and apology, was so shocked at his heretical opinions, that he forthwith sent a list of them to Winwood his ambassador at the Hague, with orders to declare to the states, that he was resolved to publish a manifesto, expressing his detestation of those errors, as well as of those who permitted them to be circulated. In the mean time he ordered some copies of the treatise and apology to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, at London, Oxford, and Cambridge. The states general, though not a little shocked at the insolence of his interposition, answered the ambassador's memorial in a civil manner; yet, nevertheless, Vorstius was received in his professorship. James wrote to them, declaring that simple death was too gentle a punishment for such a wretch, whom if they were resolved to tolerate, he would separate from the communion of Holland, and take such measures that other churches should follow his example. The states, being unwilling to break with the king of England, told the ambassador, that they had ordered Vorstius to abstain from the exercise of his office, until a new assembly could be convened, in order to enquire into the affair. James, not yet satisfied with this answer, published a declaration, in which he treated the states of Holland with very little ceremony; and they, in order to avoid a quarrel, dismissed Vorstius from Leyden, though they procured another settlement for him at Gouda. All this exertion in James, a prince of remarkable indolence, who had already treated transubstantiation and the number of the sacraments as scholastic questions, of little consequence to salvation, is not to be accounted for but from his vanity and self-conceit. He thought himself the most able theologist in the whole world; and, after he had signified his sentiments on this dispute, he could not brook the least opposition. Perhaps too he was influenced by motives of resentment, against pensionary Barnevelt, the patron of Vorstius, whom he hated as a rank republican.

Winwood.
Willon.

§ XXVII. No transaction of this reign reflected so much honour on the sovereign as did the settlement of Ireland, in which James had been seriously engaged ever since his accession to the English throne. He began with passing an act of oblivion to quiet the minds of the people. He took them into his immediate protection, indulged them with the benefit of the English laws, and caused justice to be administered with the utmost impartiality. Wicklow, Wexford, Tyrone, Tyrconnel, the northern parts of Ulster, half of Connaught, and all Munster, were divided into counties, supplied with sheriffs and justices of the peace; and the judges made their circuits regularly twice a year. The lords and chieftains made surrender of their lands to the crown; and, before they were regranted, all oppressive exactions were abolished. The Irish duties, rents, and services, were valued and reduced to certain sums of money, on

payment of which the tenants possessed their lands in security; so that the most miserable slavery was succeeded by wealth and independence. Tyrone, Tyrconnel, Odogharty, and other rebellious chieftains, being forfeited; their possessions, together with Ardmagh, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, and Fermanagh, which had escheated to the crown, were granted out in different portions to English, Scottish, and Irish adventurers, in order to be properly cultivated. These undertakers obliged themselves to make certain improvements; and, in a word, such measures were taken, that Ulster, the wildest part of Ireland, became one of the best cultivated countries in Europe.

Carte.

An.Ch. 1612.

§ XXVIII. James now enjoyed himself in the most profound tranquillity, which was seldom invaded but by the difficulty he found in raising money for his ordinary expence. He caused his mother's body to be transported from the church of Peterborough to Westminster, and deposited in the chapel founded by Henry VII. and, in the course of this year, he had an opportunity to exhibit an agreeable specimen of impartiality in the execution of lord Sanquar, a Scottish nobleman, who was convicted of having murdered a fencing-master. In vain did the archbishop of Canterbury and several other noblemen intercede for this malefactor: James, perceiving how much the English nation was exasperated at his partiality for his countrymen, prudently sacrificed him to their resentment. In the month of October, Frederick V. elector palatine, arrived in England, in order to espouse the princess Elizabeth; and was entertained with great magnificence: but, in the midst of these rejoicings, the nation was overwhelmed with sorrow, by the death of Henry prince of Wales, who, being seized with an epidemic fever, expired on the twelfth day of November, in the nineteenth year of his age. He is celebrated by historians as one of the most promising princes that ever any country produced; and died universally regretted by the people, not without suspicion of poison, which was even imputed to the contrivance of his own father. But this seems to be a groundless calumny, built upon some expression of the king, which argued him jealous of his son's popularity, and afraid of his martial disposition. Certain it is, prince Henry despised his father's pusillanimity, and publicly disapproved of his conduct; and James payed so little deference to the memory of this excellent prince, that he would not even allow the courtiers to wear mourning. His death did not even interrupt the preparations for his daughter's marriage; which, however, was deferred a few weeks, until Henry's funeral obsequies could be performed.

Coke.
Wilson.

An.Ch. 1613.

§ XXIX. The elector palatine, having been installed a knight of the garter, was, on the fourteenth day of February, married to the princess Elizabeth, and the nuptials were celebrated with incredible pomp and profusion; the expence of which the king was enabled to defray by an aid from the people. This he demanded and received, as an antient custom observed upon all such occasions. The elector remained in England about six weeks after his marriage; and all that time was spent in feasts, balls, masquerades, and other diversions. The city of London made a superb entertainment for the new-married couple, and presented the electress with a pearl necklace of immense value. In the month of May James sustained another irreparable loss by the death of Cecil earl of Salisbury, a solid politician, who was perfectly acquainted with the genius of the people, and the affairs of the kingdom. His weight and sagacity served

as a counterpoise to the rashness and ignorance of the other ministers; and he possessed the art of diverting the king insensibly from the pursuit of measures that might have been attended with pernicious consequences. He was succeeded in the post of treasurer by the earl of Suffolk, who had neither his talents nor integrity.

§ XXX. The lord Rochester still continued to engross the favour of his sovereign, and bore his good fortune with such equanimity and discretion as rendered him equally agreeable to the prince and people. He carefully avoided the least appearance of partiality towards his own countrymen, and conducted himself according to the counsels of Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of virtue, sagacity, and experience, who carefully directed him how to shun those rocks upon which so many favourites had been shipwrecked. But at length, all the wisdom of the monitor proved insufficient to guard him against the allurements of a baneful passion that hurried him into ruin and disgrace. He became enamoured of the countess of Essex, daughter to the earl of Suffolk, one of the most beautiful young ladies in the kingdom. She had been married at the age of thirteen; and her husband, being likewise a minor, the consummation of the marriage was deferred until he should return from his travels. Mean while Rochester found means to make an impression upon her heart, and they gratified their mutual passion in stolen interviews. The king himself was privy to this amour; for he delighted in acting the part of a confidant in such intercourse, as well as in listening to tales of obscenity, which his courtiers often invented for his entertainment. The return of Essex interrupted the enjoyment of the lovers: that nobleman, fired with the charms of his young consort, claimed the privilege of a husband with all the impatience of youthful ardour. She had conceived a detestation of Essex, which increased in proportion to her affection for Rochester: she treated him with indifference, coldness, and repulse; and, by means of one Turner, a physician's widow, had recourse to a pretended magician of the name of Forman, who supplied her with powders, which he said would render her husband impotent. Whatever means were used, the earl found it impossible to converse with his lady, who practised so many extraordinary methods to inspire him with aversion and disgust, that she at length succeeded in her endeavours. He began to think she was different from all the other individuals of her sex, and the extravagant sorrow she affected to display, persuaded him that her heart was in the possession of some more favoured lover. On these considerations he neglected her in his turn; and when he discovered the intercourse between her and Rochester, which became every day more and more notorious, he relinquished her intirely, as an abandoned woman unworthy of his affection.

§ XXXI. The countess, not satisfied with being the mistress, eagerly wished to be the wife of Rochester, to whom she communicated her sentiments on this subject; not doubting but that, by his influence with the king, she could procure a divorce from her husband. When Rochester imparted this scheme to Sir Thomas Overbury, that faithful counsellor argued with great vehemence against such an expedient, which he said would be attended with infamy and disgrace. The countess, being apprised of his opposition, marked him out as a sacrifice to her resentment; and, as the favourite was by this time infatuated by her charms, engaged him in a plan for the destruction of Overbury. He

told the king that Sir Thomas was become insolent and unruly; and desired he might be sent ambassador to Muscovy. Then he persuaded Overbury to refuse the office, assuring him he would obtain something more advantageous as soon as the king's resentment should be blown over. The unhappy victim, trusting to these assurances, declined accepting the office which the king proposed; and Rochester expatiating on his refusal as a mark of insolence and disrespect to his majesty, an order was granted for committing him prisoner to the Tower, the lieutenancy of which had been lately bestowed upon Sir Gervase Elwaies, one of the favourite's creatures. The troublesome counsellor being thus removed and sequestered from all intercourse with his friends and acquaintance, the earl of Northampton, uncle to the countess, solicited the king in behalf of his niece, who demanded a divorce on account of her husband's impotence. James, pleased with an opportunity to oblige his favourite, granted a commission under the great seal to the bishops and judges, empowering them to hear and determine the affair. A jury of matrons was impanelled to inspect the countess, and they reported her a virgin. In consideration of her modesty she obtained permission to appear before them in a veil, and is said to have substituted in her place a young woman of her own shape and stature. The earl of Essex, being examined by the commissioners, declared that he had never performed the rites of matrimony; nor did he believe he should ever be able to converse with her as a wife, though he did not find the same difficulties with other women. The report of the matrons, corroborated by this confession, induced the judges to declare the marriage a nullity. Bilson bishop of Winchester having strenuously contended for this dissolution, his son was knighted by the interest of Rochester, and ever after distinguished in derision by the name of Sir Nullity Bilson.

§XXXII. In a few weeks after this decision, the favourite was created earl of Somerset, and his marriage with the countess solemnized in the most ostentatious manner. Nothing was now wanting to their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be satisfied. They had already practised upon his life with slow poison, administered by one Weston, recommended by Mrs. Turner as a proper instrument for this purpose: he attended the prisoner as a domestic, and the poison was compounded by another miscreant called Franklin, an apothecary. Overbury, finding his health considerably impaired, and guessing the cause of his indisposition, wrote a pathetic letter to Somerset, imploring his mediation with the king, that he might be restored to liberty; and the earl assured him, that in a few days he should be released from his confinement. The accomplices redoubled their efforts, but the effects of what they administered proving less violent than they had expected, Weston and Franklin are said to have stifled him with the bed-cloaths. He was immediately interred, on pretence that the smell of the body was intolerably offensive; and the earl of Northampton, in a letter to Somerset, intimating his decease, declared that he died of the venereal distemper, which had proceeded to such a degree of inveteracy, that his whole body was covered with loathsome ulcers. These, in fact, were the efforts of a vigorous constitution, to discharge the poison which this unfortunate gentleman had received.

§XXXIII.

§ XXXIII. Northampton was privy to every circumstance of this barbarous ^{An.Ch.1614.} assassination, and succeeded Overbury as the counsellor of Somerset. He was a Roman catholic in his heart, and being warden of the Cinque-Ports, persons of that religion were admitted into the kingdom without examination; so that England was in a little time filled with popish priests and jesuits. The people began to murmur; and the earl of Northampton being accused as the cause of this grievance, prosecuted several persons on the writ of Scandalum Magnatum. In the midst of these prosecutions the archbishop produced a letter, written by the earl to cardinal Bellarmine, declaring himself a zealous catholic, wholly devoted to the see of Rome. The king reproached him bitterly for this instance of his dissimulation, and he retired to his country-house, where, in a few weeks, he died a professed papist. The Roman catholics, however, did not sustain so many mortifications as were devised against the presbyterians, great numbers of whom quitted their native country, and settled in New-England, which soon became a flourishing colony; though they were not permitted to depart from Britain until they had given sufficient security for their good behaviour.

§ XXXIV. James was of such a profuse disposition, that no revenue could have been sufficient to exempt him from want and indigence†; therefore his minister's whole attention was employed in devising means for raising money without the sanction of parliament. He now had recourse to a scheme formed by the late earl of Salisbury; namely, the creation of baronets, a species of nobility between a baron and a knight, to descend as an hereditary title. One hundred were invested with this new dignity, by patents, obliging them to maintain a certain number of soldiers in Ireland: but this service was commuted for a sum of money. The king had recourse to other expedients for filling his empty coffers: he sold monopolies, revived the antient custom, by which every person possessing forty pounds a year in land was obliged to receive the order of knighthood; and compounded with those who desired to be excused from an honour which they could not maintain. He created a certain number of knights of Nova Scotia, who likewise purchased this distinction. The titles of earl, viscount, and baron, were set to sale at different prices, in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Those who had defective titles were obliged to pay for a confirmation, and the Star-Chamber imposed excessive fines for the use of his majesty.

§ XXXV. Even all these channels were unable to supply the waste of the king's prodigality; so that the favourite and his son-in-law the earl of Suffolk persuaded him to convoke a new parliament, with assurances that they would take care to return a majority of the commons, that should be at his devotion. This promise, however, they were not able to perform. The parliament meeting on the first day of April, the king demanded an aid on account of his

† Being one day in the gallery at Whitehall, attended by Sir Henry Rich and James Maxwell, some porters happened to pass, loaded with money for the privy purse. The king, perceiving Rich whispering to Maxwell, insisted upon knowing what he had said; and being told that he ex-

pressed a wish that he had so much money, he ordered the porters to carry the whole sum, amounting to three thousand pounds, to his lodgings; saying, he had more pleasure in giving, than the other could possibly have in receiving his bounty. Willon.

daughter's

daughter's marriage, giving them to understand, that they should be afterwards allowed to examine into the grievances of the nation. Instead of complying with his request, they began by enquiring in what manner the crown-revenues had been expended; and found that his majesty had made excessive donations to his own countrymen, not only in money, but in lands, which they had sold to the English, remitting the money to Scotland, an insatiable gulph, from which it never returned. Then they examined into the cause of the surprising increase of popish recusants, which they imputed, first, to the king's admitting popish lords into his council; and, secondly, to the negotiations which had been set on foot for the marriage of the king's sons with the daughters of popish princes. They next deliberated upon the monopolies which were prejudicial to commerce; and the extraordinary means which had been used to raise money without the intervention of parliament: finally, they resolved to present an address, beseeching his majesty to redress these grievances; and, in particular to hinder his Scottish subjects from making any future settlements in England. James was so incensed at their rough manner of proceeding, that he dissolved the parliament before it had enacted one statute; and ordered some of the members to be imprisoned, for having spoken too freely of him and his prerogative.

§ XXXVI. The parliament having proved so unpropitious, the court could devise no other feasible scheme for relieving the king in his necessity, but that of a Benevolence, which was immediately put in execution. All the sheriffs of the kingdom were ordered by an act of council to levy a sum under this title, from the individuals of their different districts; and to send up to court a list of those who should either refuse to contribute, or bestow a present inadequate to their circumstances. Even this contrivance did not answer the king's expectation. It produced very little money and a great deal of clamour. Yet the supply, inconsiderable as it was, came very seasonable for the reception of the Danish monarch, who made a second visit to his sister, and was entertained for fifteen days with an uninterrupted succession of feasting and diversions. After his departure an ambassador arrived from the czar of Muscovy, to desire the king's mediation in a quarrel between him and the king of Sweden.

§ XXXVII. The earl of Somerset possessed the king's affection so intirely, that the queen is said to have become jealous of this favourite. Whether this was the real cause of her aversion, or she suspected him of having been concerned in the death of her eldest son prince Henry, she certainly hated him with an uncommon degree of rancour, and resolved, if possible, to effect his ruin. For this purpose she interested in her resentment Sir Ralph Winwood, who enjoyed the title of secretary of state, though all the functions of the office were performed by the express direction of Somerset. The king, in his winter's progress, passing through Cambridge, was entertained by the students with a comedy intitled Ignoramus, composed with a view to ridicule the common law and lawyers of England; a subject extremely agreeable to James, who detested all laws which the people had any hand in framing. The earls of Pembroke, Bedford, and some other noblemen, who were enemies to Somerset, either presuming upon the king's levity of disposition, or perceiving some marks of abatement in his affection for that favourite, determined to display

Coke.
Wilson.

Annals of
James.

An.Ch. 1615.

display a new lure for his fancy ; and for this purpose pitched upon George Villiers, second son of Sir Edward Villiers, a gentleman of Leicestershire. George was just turned of twenty, and possessed of all those exterior graces by which the weak mind of James was so liable to be captivated. He had lately returned from France, with all the personal accomplishments which could be acquired in that country ; and being gorgeously apparelled for the purpose, was placed at the comedy, in such a manner that he could not fail to attract the king's notice. James no sooner beheld this gaudy figure, than he exhibited marks of admiration ; and retained him in the court as one of his cup-bearers.

§ XXXVIII. Somerset was too jealous of his influence to look upon this new comer with unconcern. By his office of chamberlain he exercised authority over all the cup-bearers, and subjected Villiers to continual mortifications. Nevertheless, that young competitor deprived him every day of a new share of the king's favour. The enemies of Somerset nursed the king's growing inclination for Villiers with extravagant encomiums upon the beauty, virtue, and accomplishments of this minion. Somerset was like a mistress in the wane of her charms : the king was cloyed with possession. He began to be disgusted with the change in this nobleman's appearance and disposition. Since his marriage he was become melancholy, and seemed to feel the poignant stings of conscience : he neglected the ornaments of his person : his vivacity vanished : he no longer mingled in the fooleries that were daily practised in the king's anti-chamber ; and he began to exhibit marks of avarice, than which nothing was more despicable in the eyes of his sovereign. James had declared that he would have no favourite but such as should be recommended by the queen : that in case she should complain of him in the sequel, he might have it in his power to say he had favoured him at her own express desire. Abbot archbishop of Canterbury besought her to recommend Villiers ; and at first she flatly refused to comply with his request, observing, that should he be received on the footing of a favourite, the king would soon teach him to despise those who recommended him, that he might be the more attached to his majesty's own person : but, by dint of importunity, she was at length prevailed upon to use her influence with the king in his behalf. James, charmed with her request, immediately knighted Villiers, and appointed him one of the gentlemen of his chamber.

§ XXXIX. The court was immediately divided between the two favourites. Though the king still affected to treat Somerset with marks of particular consideration, every body perceived a constraint in this complacency ; and Villiers, by his affability, deprived his rival every day of some considerable adherent. Somerset perceiving his progress, thought it high time to screen himself from the machinations of his enemies ; and, throwing himself at the king's feet, supplicated a general pardon, that his foes might not be able to take advantage of any error or offence he might have committed during his administration, through frailty or ignorance. James forthwith granted his request, and ordering an ample pardon to be expedited, signed it with his own hand. But the chancellor refused to give it the sanction of the great seal, alledging that it was a pardon not only for all the treasons, felonies, and murders, which Somerset might have already committed, but also for all those of which he

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might

might be guilty in the sequel. Another pardon couched in proper terms might have been easily drawn up; but whether the queen opposed it, or the earl of Somerset thought it impolitic to give the world any further reason to believe he stood in need of such an amnesty, no such pardon was ever obtained.

§ XL. Upon the king's return to Royston from his summer-progress, the train was laid for the destruction of this favourite. The apothecary's servant who had compounded a poisonous clyster for the unhappy Overbury, having retired to the Low-Countries, discovered this and other circumstances to Trumbull the king's envoy at Brussels, who communicated this intelligence to Sir Ralph Winwood; and the king being made acquainted with the whole affair, commanded them both to keep it secret, until they should receive further orders. In all probability he would have let it rest in oblivion, had not Somerset's indiscretion compelled him to take other measures. The peace of his court was now every day invaded by the quarrels and disputes of the two favourites and their dependants. He expressed a desire that they should live together on terms of friendship. He ordered Villiers to solicit Somerset's protection. The young knight accordingly visited the earl at his own house, where he told him he was come to desire he might be admitted into the number of his humble servants, protesting that he would serve him with the utmost fidelity, and depend upon him for his fortune and preferment. Somerset rejected all his advances, telling him he had no service for him; and that he would break his neck, should he ever find an opportunity of so doing.

§ XLI. The king was extremely incensed at this brutal reply, and from that moment destined Somerset to infamy and ruin. While he resided at Royston, he sent a messenger to lord chief justice Coke, with a letter, desiring him to issue warrants for apprehending the earl of Somerset and his countess, Sir Gervase Elwaies lieutenant of the Tower, Mrs. Turner, Weston, and Francklin, the accomplices in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. When the officer came to serve the warrant upon the earl at Royston, he found him on the point of setting out for London: the king hung about his neck, asking, in the most affectionate tone, when he should see him again. Somerset being made acquainted with the purport of the warrant, exclaimed in a furious strain against the insolence of the officer who presumed to arrest a peer of the realm in the king's presence; but James being informed of the transaction, said, with a smile, "Nay, nay, you must go; for if Coke should send for me, I must comply." Then he accompanied him to the stair-case, embraced him at parting, begging he would return immediately, in as much as he could not live without his company. Yet he had no sooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, "Go, and the devil go with thee: I shall never see thy face again." Somerset and his countess were committed to the Tower, and all the other accomplices to different prisons; and next day judge Coke repairing to Royston, the king commanded him to examine the affair with the utmost impartiality, wishing that the curse of God might fall upon him and his family should he spare the guilty; and imprecating the same malediction upon himself and his posterity, in case he should pardon any of those whom the law should condemn.

§ LII.

§ XLII. The instruments of this foul murder were accordingly tried, condemned, and executed. The earl and his countess being brought to trial in the following year, were likewise found guilty, and received sentence of death: but they were reprieved from time to time for several years, and at length pardoned; and the king favoured the earl with a grant of four thousand pounds in land, in the name of one of his domestics. The passion of love, which had prompted this couple to act such an execrable tragedy, was soon converted to mutual disgust and implacable hatred. They lived together in the same house, without any personal communication, till the countess died of a loathsome distemper. The earl lived to see his daughter married to the duke of Bedford, by whom she had the lord Russel, who was beheaded in the reign of Charles II *.

Coke.
Rushworth.
Wilson.
Weldon.

§ XLIII. After the fall of Somerset, the favour of James was wholly concentrated upon the youthful Villiers, who shone forth in meridian lustre, and conciliated the affections of all the courtiers by his engaging manners and insinuating address: but the first exertion of his influence was in filling all the places about court with his own creatures; so that the dependants of the old minister were dismissed of course. It was in the beginning of this ministry that lord chief justice Coke was divested of his office, on pretence of some trivial misdemeanours, though the real cause of his disgrace was his opposing the king, in bestowing a vacant bishopric in commendam. His place was filled by Montague; and the lord chancellor Ellesmere being seized with a dangerous illness, resigned the seals into the hands of his majesty. He kept them till the death of Ellesmere, and then they were given to Bacon, who was afterwards promoted to the dignity of chancellor. He was an able lawyer, and an excellent philosopher; but abject, irresolute, and of an unguarded disposition, which was practised upon to the prejudice of his character. In the course of this year, the king's only surviving son Charles was created prince of Wales; and the king vehemently wished to see him married: but as no protestant king had a marriageable daughter, and James thought he should degrade his dignity in matching him with a lady of inferior rank, he turned his eyes upon two catholic princesses; namely, Anne of Austria, who married Lewis XIII. of France, and the infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III. king of Spain.

An.Ch. 1616;

§ XLIV. The marriage of the French monarch was already determined; so that his whole attention was diverted into other channels. He sent the lord Hay ambassador to France, and the lord Ross into Spain, with compliments

* If we may believe Sir Anthony Weldon, Coke discovered among Somerset's papers, some extraordinary particulars relating to the death of prince Henry; for he one day exclaimed upon the bench, "God knows what became of that sweet babe prince Henry! but I know somewhat----" The king is said to have been under a great trepidation when he understood that Somerset was refractory, and refused to appear at the bar: as if he had been master of some secrets which affected the character of his sovereign. The same anxiety he expressed with regard to Sir Thomas Monson,

who was brought to his trial for being concerned in the murder, and remanded to the Tower, by the king's express order, before his examination was finished. His servant Symon, who had carried a poisoned tart to Sir Thomas Overbury, being brought into court, "So, Symon, said the chief justice, you have had a hand in this poisoning business." "Only a finger, my lord (replied the culprit) and that cost me all my nails and hair." He had tasted the syrup of the tart with his finger, and even that small quantity produced violent effects upon his constitution.

of congratulation to the two monarchs, upon the nuptials of Lewis and Anne; and they were instructed to sound the inclinations of the two kings touching the marriage of the prince of Wales with the eldest sister of Lewis, or with the infanta Maria. The French lady was already betrothed to the prince of Piedmont: but the other scheme afforded a more agreeable prospect of success. The duke of Lerma, Philip's prime minister, had already made an overture concerning the match, to Digby the English envoy at Madrid; and the count de Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador at London, was empowered to treat with the king on this subject. This was supposed to be a stratagem of the court of Spain, to interrupt the good understanding that subsisted between the English and Dutch; and Charleton, the king's ambassador at the Hague, gave his master to understand, that the Spaniards had for this purpose circulated a report that the negotiation for the marriage was far advanced. In effect, Philip's aim was to amuse James with this treaty, in such a manner that he should not join against him in the war of Cleves; but, in the sequel he was influenced by a more important motive. The vanity of the English monarch was so agreeably flattered with the prospect of this alliance, that he could not help manifesting the utmost eagerness to see it brought to perfection; and Gondemar, who was perfectly well acquainted with his disposition, managed this desire to such advantage, that for several years James acted in every thing according to his direction, rather than run the risque of seeing the match frustrated, by giving offence to the court of Spain.

§ XLV. Such were the politics of that prince, who was denominated the Solomon of the age. He saw without emotion the efforts of the court of France in suppressing the protestants of that kingdom: he beheld with unconcern the house of Austria forming projects for enslaving all Europe; and, on pretence of indulging his people with the blessings of peace, he neglected every political concern of the nation. Nor did his conduct at home redound more to the credit of his discretion. He squandered away immense sums, and alienated almost all the crown-lands, to enrich a few worthless favourites. The earl of Somerset had, in five years, amassed two hundred thousand pounds in money, jewels, and plate; besides eighteen thousand pounds a year in landed estate. The earl of Salisbury, though a younger brother, had left a large fortune. Northampton had built an expensive palace in London, since known by the name of Northumberland-house; and bequeathed a great inheritance to his nephew the earl of Arundel. Suffolk, another brother of the duke of Norfolk, had expended two hundred thousand pounds in one edifice in the country. The duke of Lennox, the earl of Dunbar, and lord Hay, had remitted vast sums into Scotland; and Sir Henry Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, accumulated an immense estate.

§ XLVI. All the sources of this profusion were now dried up, and the king was bent upon enriching his new favourite. The states of Holland knowing his situation, and afraid of their cautionary towns, which he might be prevailed upon to deliver into the hands of Spain, in order to promote his son's marriage, seized this opportunity to reobtain possession of those places; and, at the same time, compound for the debt which they owed to the crown of England. They began by abating their punctuality in paying the English garrisons; and these complained to the king, who was in no condition to provide for

for their subsistence. When he sent remonstrances to the states on this subject, they expatiated upon the bad situation of their affairs, occasioned by the vast expences of the war. Caron, their envoy in England, insinuated to the ministry, that if the king would consent to restore the cautionary towns, he believed the states would endeavour to raise money by borrowing at high interest, in order to satisfy him with respect to the debt they owed. This was a temptation which James and his courtiers could not withstand. He forthwith wrote to the states on this subject; the pensionary Barnevelt was sent over to manage the negotiation at the court of London, where he acted his part with such dexterity, that James accepted of one third of the sum which was due; and delivered up the cautionary towns which had been pledged to queen Elizabeth.

§ XLVII. This money no sooner appeared than it vanished in an unaccountable manner. The king payed no creditor; the fleet was ruined for want of repair; and not one farthing was sent to the troops in Ireland, which for several years had received no regular subsistence. The earl of Suffolk lord treasurer had embezzled a considerable part of the supply; and Villiers the new favourite would not let slip this opportunity of ruining the father-in-law of Somerset. He was accused in the Star-chamber of divers malversations in the exercise of his office; and being found guilty, condemned to pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds, and be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. The office of treasurer was put in commission; and secretary Winwood dying about the same time, his place was divided between Naunton and Calvert, the first of whom was a protestant, and the other a papist. Villiers was by this time created viscount of Waddon, and earl of Buckingham: he was afterwards raised to the titles of marquis and duke of Buckingham, installed knight of the garter, appointed master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque-ports, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. In the beginning of the succeeding year, Marc Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato in Dalmatia, arrived in England as a convert to the protestant religion. He preached and wrote against the doctrines of the Roman An. Ch. 1617. church; and was appointed dean of Windsor, and master of the Savoy. After having resided some years in England, he was seduced by count Gondemar, with the promise of a cardinal's hat, to go and make a public recantation at Rome. He accordingly went to Rome, and abjured the protestant religion; Wilfon. but, instead of being promoted, he was confined in a dungeon of the inquisition, where he died; and his body was burned in public.

§ XLVIII. James, from his accession to the throne of England, had formed the scheme of reducing the Scottish clergy to a conformity with the English church. He had sent the following articles to be inserted in their canons: That they should receive the communion kneeling: That the sacrament should be administered in private to sick persons: That they should keep the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsuntide: and, That children at a certain age should be confirmed by the bishops. These articles being rejected by the general assembly, as the preliminaries of more important alterations, the king was incensed at their obstinacy; and resolved to visit his Scottish dominions, that he might in person compel them to obedience. The Scottish bishops retained nothing but the name of that dignity; for, the whole ecclesiastical power was lodged in the general assembly of the ministers. James was bent upon restoring

ing episcopacy to its former lustre and authority; but, he did not consider, that the revenues which had maintained that splendor, arose from estates which were now possessed by lay nobleman, who would not easily part with their acquisitions. Besides, the people in general were puritanical, and the spirit of fanaticism prevailed over the whole nation. The king, before his departure from London, issued a proclamation, importing his design of visiting his antient kingdom, that he might reform certain abuses which had crept into the church and state of that country. Then he sent some officers of his household to Edinburgh, directing them to adorn his chapel with pictures and statues, which gave great offence to his Scottish subjects.

§ XLIX. He himself opened the parliament of Scotland with a long harangue, in which he recommended the establishment of regular civil polity, the abolition of all barbarous customs, promised to protect the innocent, and threatened to punish the guilty. He desired they would appoint commissioners to regulate the affairs of religion; and the parliament assenting to his proposal, he himself nominated them from the number of his own creatures. He insisted upon their establishing the following article, That every thing ordained by the king and his bishops, touching the exterior government of the church, should have the force of an ecclesiastical law, to which every person should submit. The ministers immediately took the alarm, protesting against this article; and the whole nation was in a ferment. James, disconcerted by this opposition, desired the clergy would attend him at St. Andrew's, where he told them he was determined to be obeyed; and they, intimidated by his menaces, besought him to convoke a general assembly, that his proposals might be unanimously accepted. With great reluctance he consented to this expedient. In the mean time, Simpson, who had drawn up and signed the protest, was imprisoned; and Catherwood, who had dispersed copies of it, was banished the kingdom. After James had set out on his return to England, the general assembly meeting at St. Andrew's, resolved to delay their acceptance of the four articles, until all the churches of the kingdom could be informed of the affair; and then the session broke up. The king, exasperated at this contempt of his authority, ordered all their stipends to be arrested; but, finding this measure served only to irritate the minds of his Scottish subjects, he allowed them to hold another assembly at Perth, where they were at length prevailed upon to receive his four articles; though this imposition sowed the seeds of those troubles which afterwards ruined his son and successor.

Sportifwood.

§ L. During the king's journey from Scotland to London, he was presented with a petition by a great number of peasants, tradesmen, and servants, requesting, that they might as usual be allowed to take their diversions on Sundays, after divine service. James being persuaded, that those were puritans who forbade such diversions; and that they were Jewishly inclined, because they affected to call Sunday the Sabbath, resolved to re-establish the vulgar in the privilege which they had lost. He published a performance, intitled, The book of Sports, recommending all diverting exercises after sermon. He ordered it to be read publicly in all churches; and such ministers as refused to obey this injunction, were severely punished by the court of high commission. Whatever his motives might have been for enforcing this practice, it was not a bad preservative against the desperate effects of gloomy fanaticism, which had already taken full possession of one kingdom, and made considerable progress in the other.

§ LI. This

§ LI. This year was rendered remarkable for the last expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, which produced loud murmurs against the government. Though he was odious to the nation when the king committed him to the Tower, the hatred of the people was softened by his long confinement; and their admiration excited by the surprising vigour of his faculties, manifested in his history of the world, which had been lately published; a work composed in prison, where he laboured under every species of distress that could dispirit or disconcert the human mind. At length, he was released, though without a pardon; and his estate having been forfeited, he formed a scheme for acquiring a new fortune in America. He gave the king to understand, that he had, in the course of his former expeditions, found a rich gold mine in Guiana, which was uninhabited by any European nation; and he obtained a commission, empowering him to make a settlement on the place. Several wealthy adventurers engaged in this project, for the purposes of which twelve vessels were equipped; and he took his departure from England in the month of August. When he arrived at the mouth of the river Oroonoko, he detached five vessels, under the command of his son, and captain Keymis, to sail up the stream in quest of the mine; and they making a descent near a small town called St. Thomas, lately built by the Spaniards, met with some opposition; in spite of which, they took and plundered the place, though young Raleigh was killed in the action. No mine, however, could they find, nor the least appearance of ore. Raleigh, chagrined at the loss of his son, and their failure in search of the gold, which alone could reconcile the king to the hostilities they had committed against the Spaniards, is said to have threatened Keymis with his majesty's indignation, for having first deceived Raleigh in his description of the mine, and afterwards attacked the Spaniards without his order. Keymis, in order to avoid public punishment and disgrace, made away with himself. A grievous mortality prevailed among the people: the sailors loudly exclaimed, that they had been sacrificed to a chimerical project, and compelled Raleigh to set sail for England. He was obliged by contrary winds to put in at Kinsale in Ireland, where he endeavoured to persuade them to follow his fortunes in France; but, they were deaf to all his arguments and intreaties; he then directed his course to Plymouth, where he was immediately arrested by the king's order, and after having made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, reconveyed to the Tower of London.

§ LII. In his absence the count de Gondemar made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared, that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all dispute and hostilities with the Spaniards. The ambassador, therefore, demanded that he should be punished; otherwise the negotiation for the prince's marriage would miscarry. James was not only intimidated by this declaration, but also incensed against Raleigh, who had returned without the treasure, even after having embroiled him with the court of Spain. He believed the scheme was an imposition from the beginning; and that Raleigh's real design was to plunder the Spanish settlements, never doubting that he should be able to persuade the sailors into these measures. The king, on these considerations, resolved, that his former sentence should be executed. The case was argued in the court of King's-bench, where Raleigh pleaded his commission, which he said implied a pardon, inasmuch as it invested him with the power of life and death over those whom he commanded. The lord chief justice replied, that treason

Coke.
Wilfon.

next

next morning, when he was accordingly beheaded on a scaffold erected in the Old-palace-yard at Westminster. He had formerly practised low shifts, and even feigned madness, to save his life. But, now he collected all his fortitude, and died with uncommon courage and composure. He was certainly a man of admirable talents; but turbulent, rash, and presumptuous. He had maintained a literary correspondence with prince Henry, who admired his character; and, at the queen's request, sent some of the cordial known by his name, to her son in his last illness, affirming, that it was an infallible cure for fevers, except where poison had been administered. This ridiculous asseveration made such an impression upon her mind, that when the prince died, she could not help believing some sinister means had been practised against his life. Raleigh had formerly done great mischief to the Spaniards in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and in divers memorials since his confinement, dissuaded James from any alliance with that people. No wonder then that Gondemar should exert all his influence for the destruction of such an enemy to his nation. On the whole, it must be owned, that Raleigh seems to have undertaken his last voyage with a piratical intention; and that he was capable of imposture, appears from his treatise, intituled, The discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana: an empire which never existed but in his own fancy and description.

An Ch. 1618. § LIII. The people were loud in their clamours at the death of this gallant captain. Indeed, by this time, the king was become the object of universal contempt. The nation complained, that the administration was in the hands of a stripling, who had not only engrossed unmerited honours for himself, but promoted his numerous kindred to the most profitable places in the kingdom; though many of them were papists, and his own mother openly professed the catholic religion. They observed, That the states of Holland had sent a fleet of fishermen on the coast of Britain, without asking the king's permission; but, on the contrary, had supplied them with a squadron for their defence, as if they meant to brave the nation: That the court was become a scene of debauchery, where nothing was heard but curses, blasphemy, and impure discourse: That the number of papists was surprisingly increased: That the king's eagerness for the marriage of his son with a daughter of Spain, too plainly denoted his bias towards the Roman catholic church: that the prerogative of the crown was extended to the oppression of the people in the decisions of the high commission-court and Star-chamber; in granting monopolies prejudicial to commerce; imprisoning members of the house of commons contrary to law; and in levying money without consent of parliament. On the other hand, the king was no less dissatisfied with his people for pretending to censure his government; and he conceived a remarkable antipathy to parliaments, which he considered as an insolent check upon the kingly prerogative. He consoled himself, however, for the censures of his subjects, with the agreeable prospect of the match, and the promise of receiving a very large sum as the infant's portion.

§ LIV. The negotiation had already been spun out for two years by the Spanish ministry, on pretence of regulating the affair of religion; but, now the court of Madrid, fearing that James would begin to doubt their good faith, agreed with Digby and Cottington, the two English ambassadors, to five articles, the first of which imported, That the pope's dispensation should be obtained by the sole

sole sollicitation of his most catholic majesty. The rest related to the education of the children of the marriage, and the regulation of the infanta's chapel. These were approved and signed by James: but, still he was at a great distance from the accomplishment of his wish. The succession of Cleves, which was the first motive of Philip's dissimulation, was now settled; but the affairs of Germany took such a turn as was likely to produce a war of religion; and therefore the house of Austria continued to amuse James with the marriage, lest he should espouse the cause of the protestants in Bohemia.

§ LV. The emperor Matthias having adopted his nephew Ferdinand of Austria, resolved to raise him to the throne of Bohemia. But, as he expected opposition from the protestant incorporated countries of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, he forbore summoning their deputies, when he convoked the states of Bohemia; and Ferdinand was crowned at Prague by the catholic interest. The states, including the protestant deputies, were afterwards convoked by the defenders, a certain numbers of persons chosen and appointed to enforce the execution of edicts; and this assembly having presented a petition to the emperor, demanding the execution of the laws of the kingdom, and a reparation for the injuries they had sustained, adjourned itself to another day. The emperor, instead of answering their petition, ordered his lieutenant in Bohemia to prevent the next meeting of the states, which had been convoked without his permission; but, the deputies, instead of obeying his command, repaired to the chancery, threw three of the emperor's officers out at the window, and expelled the Jesuits from the city. Then they published an apology for their conduct; and engaged in an association for their mutual defence. Upon hearing the emperor was preparing to attack them, they chose four and twenty protectors, whom they empowered to levy troops; and impose taxes for the maintenance of the war. The cardinal infant prepared an army in the Low Countries for the service of the emperor, who bestowed the command of it upon Charles de Bucquoy count de Longueville, while the states pitched upon the counts de Mansfeldt and De la Tour for their generals. On this eve of a bloody war, no wonder that the king of Spain was interested in behalf of the younger branch of the house of Austria, and used all his artifice in dissuading the king of England from declaring in favour of the German protestants. Count Gondemar set out for Spain, with the articles signed by James; and, though he loitered so much time in his voyage, as plainly demonstrated, that his design was to protract the negotiation, the king still continued to believe in his sincerity.

Hist. de la
Rebellion de
Boheme.

§ LVI. In the month of March the queen died, in the forty-sixth year of her age; and James himself was seized with a dangerous malady that brought him to the brink of the grave. The emperor Matthias dying about the same time, his nephew Ferdinand caused himself to be proclaimed king of Bohemia; but, as he had no occasion for the interest of the protestant electors to raise him to the imperial throne, he expressed a desire of terminating the war which had already begun, by offering satisfaction to the states of Bohemia, with regard to their privileges. James, who piqued himself upon the title of the Pacific king, sent the lord Hay, lately created viscount Doncaster, to mediate a pacification in the empire: but Ferdinand would scarce favour him with an audience; and the embassy produced no effect. The elector of Mentz summoning Ferdinand as king of Bohemia, to the election of an emperor, the

An.Ch. 1619.

states of that kingdom protested against the citation, as Ferdinand was not in possession of the throne. But, notwithstanding their opposition, he was acknowledged king of Bohemia at the diet; and elected emperor in the month of August. Then the states took an oath that they would never own him as their sovereign; and chose Frederick elector palatine their king. That prince accepted their offer without hesitation; dispatched the baron D'Aulna to solicit the advice of his father-in-law the king of England. But this was no more than a simple compliment; for, without waiting his answer, he assembled a body of troops; and repairing to Prague, was there crowned on the fourth day of November.

§ LVII. Before the arrival of Frederick's envoy, James hearing of his election, assembled his council to deliberate upon the subject; and they were of opinion, that the king should exhort his son-in-law to refuse the crown of Bohemia. They were influenced by the sentiments of the king, who considered the conduct of the states as rebellious and puritanical; and dreaded that Frederick's opposition to the house of Austria might prejudice the darling match of his son, and the projected alliance between the kings of England and Spain. James was so incensed against the elector, when he heard he had accepted the crown, that he refused to grant an audience to his envoy: by his ambassadors in foreign courts, he disavowed the step which his son-in-law had taken, and even refused to honour him with the kingly title. He attempted to persuade him to renounce the crown, and influence the states of Bohemia to acknowledge Ferdinand. With this view he sent two ambassadors to Prague; but his admonitions were of no signification. Mean while the court of Madrid did not fail to encourage James in his pacific disposition. There the whole conversation turned upon the justice, generosity, and moderation of the English monarch. The negotiation for the marriage, which had been interrupted on account of the pope's hesitating to grant a dispensation, was now resumed; and Cottington was given to understand, that should it be much longer delayed, they would either conclude the marriage without it, or fall upon means to extort the pope's compliance. That minister did not fall into the snare. Being well acquainted with the views and sentiments of Philip, he exhorted his majesty to break off the negotiation, assuring him the design of the court of Spain was to amuse him with vain pretences. James was of another opinion: he ordered Cottington to declare to king of Spain, that he had no share in the affair of Bohemia; that the elector had acted without his knowledge; and that he disapproved of his conduct in accepting the crown.

An. 1620.

Annals of K.
James I.

§ LVIII. While Ferdinand and Frederick were employed in forming alliances, and making preparations for war, James adhered to a neutrality, not without hope of being chosen arbitrator of the difference; but, both parties suspected him of partiality, and resolved to decide the quarrel by force of arms. Frederick's affairs at first wore a promising aspect. Several princes of Germany engaged in a league for his support; Bethlem Gabor prince of Transylvania excited the Hungarians to revolt against Ferdinand; and the greatest part of Austria had followed their example. The elector of Saxony had embraced a neutrality; but, the emperor gained him over by ceding to him the conquest of Upper Lusatia. The duke of Bavaria, and the three ecclesiastical electors declared for Ferdinand; the pope supplied him with a sum of money, and the king of Spain sent to his assistance those troops which were in Naples and the dutchy of Milan. Gondemar was sent back to London, on pre-
tence

tence of putting the last hand to the marriage, though, in reality, to maintain the delusion. That artful minister, by means of his insinuating manners, and a large sum of money judiciously distributed, soon gained the ascendancy over the king, the favourite, and the ministers; so that, in effect, he governed the whole kingdom.

§ LIX. Frederick having marched into Bohemia with ten thousand of the Palatine troops, the archduke Albert levied an army of thirty thousand men in the Low Countries, in order to attack the Palatinate. The Dutch communicated the design of this armament to the court of London; but James, instead of taking effectual methods for the preservation of his daughter and her family, contented himself with ordering Edmonds his ambassador at Brussels, to demand the meaning of these levies. The archduke replied, that the troops were raised by the express order of the Spanish king; and that, perhaps he might learn their destination from Spinola, who was appointed general of the expedition. This officer being interrogated on the same subject, pretended ignorance, alledging his orders were sealed, and that he could not open them until the troops should be upon the march; but, he told the ambassador that if he would accompany him in his route, he might soon be informed. The design was so palpable, that the people of England began to exclaim against the king's indolence and insensibility. Nevertheless, he still persisted in his scheme of neutrality; and the nation was certainly obliged to him for preventing their being involved in a war, which would have not only consumed their treasures, but also deprived them of an advantageous commerce with the Spaniards both in Europe and America. His forbearance, however, was owing to other reflections. By dint of solicitations, he was prevailed upon to allow one regiment of two thousand four hundred men, to be raised for the service of the elector Palatine. It was commanded by Horatio Vere, who had served with reputation in Holland; and the earls of Oxford and Essex acted as captains to two companies of volunteers. They were transported to Hol-

Wilson;

§ LX. By this time Spinola had reached the Palatinate, where he made himself master of some inconsiderable places; but, the season being far advanced, both armies soon retired into winter quarters. In the beginning of this year, the French king had sent the dukes of Angoulesme and Bethune, with Mr. Despreaux to the princes of Germany, to assist in appeasing the troubles of Hungary and Bohemia. James of England had likewise dispatched Sir Edward Wotton to Germany, with the same design; and after he had visited the princes separately, he arrived at Vienna, where he presented some proposals, in the name of his master, to which Ferdinand paid no regard. Frederick elector palatine was now put under the ban of the empire. The elector of Saxony entered Lusatia, which he subdued. The duke of Bavaria joining the count de Bucquoy the imperial general in Bohemia, they advanced towards Prague, in the neighbourhood of which the palatine was posted. A battle immediately ensued; and Frederick being totally defeated, fled with his wife and family to Holland. The inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialists.

The palatine was abandoned by almost all his allies. Even his general the prince of Anhalt, engaged in the emperor's service; though count Mansfeldt still preserved his fidelity. In the course of this year, the protestants of France being oppressed by Lewis XIII. James sent Edward Herbert to intercede with him in their favour, and even to employ menaces, should no regard be payed to his remonstrance. The ambassador executed his commission in such a manner as gave offence to the constable de Luines, who complained of his arrogance to the king, and he was recalled. He afterwards begged his majesty's permission to challenge the constable to single combat for having belied him; but, James refused his request, and sent in his room the viscount of Doncaster, lately created earl of Carlisle, who expended great sums of money to very little purpose; for, the Huguenots reaped no benefit from his solicitations.

Rushworth.

§ LXI. The campaign of the Palatinate was no sooner ended, than the earl of Essex returned to England, and assured the king, that without powerful and speedy succours, that country would fall into the hands of the enemy. Whether James was alarmed at this intelligence, or desirous of using this pretext for raising money, he declared to count Gondemar, that he would not stand tamely, and see his grandchildren deprived of their inheritance; and demanded a Benevolence of his subjects for the defence of the Palatinate. This expedient did not succeed according to his expectation, and the people continuing to blame his indolence and indifference for the protestant interest, he convoked a parliament. With a view to persuade the nation that he was determined to pursue vigorous measures, he convened a number of noblemen and officers of reputation, to deliberate upon the most effectual means to prosecute the war; and, in order to prevent the reproaches and obloquy of his subjects, he issued a proclamation, forbidding them to discourse of state affairs.

An.Ch.1621.

§ LXII. James, without all question, wished to preserve the Palatinate to his son-in-law; but, his weakness was cajoled in such a manner by Gondemar, that he believed no expedient would be so effectual for that purpose, as the match of his son with the infanta of Spain; and that this scheme would miscarry should he attempt to take any other step in the elector's favour: besides, his aversion to war was insuperable. He resolved, however, to seem bent on vigorous measures, in hope that he should receive ample subsidies from the parliament, which met on the twentieth day of January. The king, as usual, made a long speech to both houses, explaining the duty of parliaments; expatiating on his own merit and necessities; and demanding supplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which, he declared he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his own son, should he miscarry in his endeavours to procure a reasonable pacification. The house of commons considering the urgency of the occasion, and being extremely incensed against the house of Austria, immediately granted two subsidies, with which the king was satisfied for the present. This affair being discussed, the commons received petitions against the increase of popish recusants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals, the power of licensing taverns and public houses; and granted to Sir Giles Montpeffon and Francis Michel, an exclusive patent for the sale of gold and silver lace. By virtue of this privilege, they had been guilty of such scandalous fraud and oppression, that, upon complaint to the

upper

upper house, they were committed to prison; though Montpeffon, who was Buckingham's creature, found means to escape: but he was degraded from the dignity of knight, and his estate confiscated. The other was sentenced to do public penance in the street, sitting a-horseback with his face to the tail, to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, and be imprisoned for life.

§ LXIII. James perceiving with what eagerness the two houses proceeded against these delinquents, began to be afraid of his favourite Buckingham, who had been the author of those monopolies. He therefore went to the house of peers, and soothed the parliament with the most affectionate expressions; assuring them, upon the faith of a christian king, that if he had known of those grievances, he would have punished the authors of his own accord; and cautioning them against giving ear to those who should accuse the innocent instead of the guilty. They understood his meaning, and forbore to trace the enormity to its fountain. James afterwards understanding that the commons had impeached chancellor Bacon, lately created baron of Verulam and viscount of St. Alban's, he again harranged both houses, representing the necessity of punishing corrupted judges; and soliciting further subsidies, as the former supply granted by the commons was already expended for the subsistence of the palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He observed that great sums would be requisite to defray the expence of extraordinary ambassadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as for an army to march into the Palatinate, in case his negotiations should prove ineffectual; and, lastly, he protested before God, that he would not dissolve the parliament, until the affairs which were then under their consideration should be fully determined.

§ LXIV. The chancellor being committed to the Tower, and conscious of that corruption which was laid to his charge, presented a petition to the house of peers, confessing himself guilty, and requesting that he might not be exposed to the shame of a public trial. They insisted upon his owning every particular article of the impeachment; yet, notwithstanding this minute confession, he was deprived of his office of chancellor, and even rendered incapable of sitting in the upper house of parliament, fined in forty thousand pounds, and condemned to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure. In consideration of his great genius, James remitted his fine, released him from prison, and favoured him with a very considerable pension, which enabled him to oblige the world with many literary productions of extraordinary merit. He retrieved the favour of his sovereign, by writing the panegyric of Henry VII. whose character James revered as the model of sagacity and king-craft, and whose conduct he endeavoured in vain to imitate. It was in this parliament that the two factions, known by the name of court and country party, began to proceed on a regular plan of opposition. The individuals of each stood up alternately to answer one another in both houses; and even the exercise of the prerogative was disputed with great freedom of altercation*.

Wilson.
Rushworth.
Weldon.

* The lord Spenser talking freely of the government, thought proper to illustrate his arguments with examples from history. The earl of Arundel interrupting him, said, "When those things happened, my lord, your ancestors were keeping sheep." "And yours, (replied Spenser) were hatching treason." They were immediately ordered to retire; and, notwithstanding the court interest, the earl of Arundel, as the aggressor, was sent to the Tower, from whence he was not released, until he had submitted to the orders of the house. Wilson.

§ LXV. The king perceiving that the commons would not grant another supply, until they should see whether or not he really intended to engage in a war, sent the treasurer to adjourn the parliament to the fourteenth day of November. The lower house looking upon this step as an encroachment on their privileges, desired a conference with the peers, that they might concert an address on the subject. James giving them to understand, that he would not suffer his prerogative to be the subject of dispute, the lords refused their concurrence; and the commons protested that the king's resolution hindered them from finishing the work they had begun, for the benefit of the public. The king repairing to the house of peers, told them he would indulge them with a delay of ten days; and they, after a conference with the commons, demanded it for fifteen. He granted their request; but still insisted upon his right to dissolve, prorogue, and adjourn the parliament. The commons desisted from their pretensions; but, on the day of adjournment, drew up a declaration, importing, That they could not help interesting themselves in the invasion of the Palatinate, and the danger with which the protestant religion was threatened; and that they were ready to support the king with their whole power, in doing himself justice by force of arms, provided his negotiation should not meet with success.

Rushworth.

§ LXVI. By this time, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, had submitted to the emperor: the upper Palatinate was subdued by the duke of Bavaria. Spinola, after having made many conquests in the lower Palatinate, consented to a truce for five weeks; and the archduke ascribed this condescension to his regard for the king of England; though, in fact, he was obliged to recal his troops to the Low Countries, because the truce of twelve years between Spain and Holland was expired; and he was glad of this cessation, during which the emperor might fill the place of those forces. This short truce being expired, the Spanish troops left under the command of Don Gonzalez de Cordova, being joined by a strong reinforcement, undertook the siege of Frankendal, defended by some of the English forces under Vere; but he was obliged to raise the siege at the approach of Mansfeldt, who, in his turn, retired before count Tilly into Alsace. In the course of this year Philip III. of Spain dying, was succeeded by his son of the same name. Lewis XIII. of France having distressed the Huguenots, undertook the siege of Montauban; but the valour and obstinacy of the defendants obliged him to relinquish the enterprize.

§ LXVII. The archduke, in order to divert James from any design of assisting the Dutch, now that hostilities were renewed between them and Spain, gave him to understand, that peace might be easily re-established in the empire, provided the palatine would offer a reasonable satisfaction to the emperor. He wrote in favour of Frederick to Ferdinand; and the letter was communicated to James, who firmly believed that, in consideration of him, the difference would be amicably determined. To this letter the emperor replied, That, by his great regard for the king of England, he was disposed to conclude a peace upon equitable terms with the palatine. The king of Spain declared to Ferdinand, that should he, according to report, bestow the upper Palatinate upon the duke of Bavaria, he must no longer expect the assistance of Spain. All these letters were imparted to James, or to his ambassadors, and served

served to confirm his opinion, that any appearance of distrust would ruin all his measures. In these sentiments he dispatched the lord Digby as his ambassador to Vienna, to demand of the emperor, that the imperial ban against the elector palatine should be revoked, or at least suspended; and that Frederick should be re-established in possession of his hereditary dominions: in which case the king would oblige him to make suitable satisfaction. Ferdinand still professed the utmost veneration for the king of Britain, declaring that all he desired was suitable satisfaction for the injuries he had received; but he observed, that he had undertaken the war with the advice and assistance of several princes, without whose consent he would not take any material resolution; but he said he had convoked a diet at Ratisbon, the result of whose determinations he would impart to the king of England. The archduke dying at Brussels about this period; and his widow the infanta Isabella writing to Ferdinand in favour of the palatine, Digby seized this opportunity of demanding a truce for the lower Palatinate: and the emperor promised to comply with his demand, provided the duke of Bavaria would consent to such a cessation: he even advised Digby to go and negotiate the truce with that prince, and he found him in the upper Palatinate; but, when he mentioned the cause of his coming, the duke told him the country was almost wholly subdued, and he would take care that in a very little time there should be no occasion for further hostilities. James being informed of this reply, complained to the emperor of the duke's having invaded the Palatinate; and proposed that his son-in-law should renounce his pretensions to the crown of Bohemia, submit to the emperor, and implore his pardon on his knees: he at the same declared, that if he could not obtain favour for his son-in-law by fair means, he would support him by force of arms. Ferdinand still resolved to amuse and deceive this weak prince; and sent the count de Schwartzenburg ambassador to London, on pretence of concerting the conditions of the truce.

Du Chesne.
Hist. d'Angle-
terre.

Rushworth.

§ LXVIII. When Digby returned to England, the king re-assembled the parliament on the twentieth day of November, and sent the lord treasurer, accompanied by this ambassador, to signify his intentions to both houses. He told them, That since their adjournment, the king had, by his proclamations, redressed seven and thirty grievances, of which his people complained: That he had assembled his parliament on the promise which the commons had made to assist him powerfully for the recovery of the Palatinate: That he had done his utmost endeavours to procure a good peace, though they had not met with the desired success: That he had advanced forty thousand pounds for the payment of the troops employed in guarding the Palatinate; but all his efforts would be fruitless, should the parliament proceed upon modern rather than upon antient principles. Then lord Digby recounted the particulars of his embassy; adding, that a large sum of money was absolutely necessary to subsist the army commanded by the count de Mansfeldt, and to send a reinforcement of English troops into the Palatinate.

§ LXIX. The commons having no faith in the king's sincerity, and being unwilling to grant subsidies which might be misapplied, drew up a remonstrance, imputing all the grievances of the kingdom, and all the dangers that threatened the protestant religion, in a great measure to the projected marriage between the prince of Wales and the infanta of Spain; as well as to the encourage-

encouragement and toleration of papists. As effectual remedies for these evils, they proposed that his majesty should declare war against that prince, whose arms and wealth had maintained the troubles in the Palatinate: that the laws should be put in execution against popish recusants: and that the prince of Wales should be married to some protestant princefs. They likewise suggested other measures for preventing the growth of popery. They promised to grant an intire subsidy for the defence of the Palatinate; in consideration of which they desired that he would give his royal assent to the bills that should be presented before the end of the session, and grant a general amnesty, which should imply a discharge of all was that due to the crown before his accession; and extend to many other transgressions specified in the declaration. The king being informed of their proceedings, was shocked at this unprecedented remonstrance, which not only taxed him with insincerity, and attachment to the Romish religion, but also struck at the very root of his prerogative, in directing his conduct and administration. He then resided at Newmarket, from whence he sent a letter to the speaker, commanding the house to forbear meddling with the affairs of government, the marriage of his son, or the honour of his allies. He gave them to understand, that he was possessed of the right and power to punish faults committed during the session of parliament, as well as at any other time; and that he would not fail to exercise that power as often as the insolence of the members should give him cause. He concluded with assuring them, that if they had touched upon any points which he had formerly forbidden them to discuss, he would not deign to receive or answer their petition. The commons were incensed, not intimidated, by this menacing letter: they knew their own strength and the king's weakness, and immediately framed a new petition, to which they tacked the remonstrance. This new paper was conceived in very respectful terms: but it was no less bold than respectful. After having reminded him of the chearfulness with which they undertook to assist him in the defence of the Palatinate, they observed that their zeal for the protestant religion, and the interest of his majesty's family, had induced them to represent the dangers with which both were threatened: and to point out remedies for those evils: that, by his letter to the speaker, he seemed bent upon depriving them of the parliamentary liberty to speak freely in the house, as well as of the jurisdiction which the house exercised over its own members: they therefore begged he would not violate a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited of their ancestors; a right which he himself had confirmed in his speeches to parliament, and without which it would be impossible to discuss and determine the affairs that might fall under their cognizance. They sent this petition with the remonstrance to the king by twelve deputies, who were treated in a most ungracious manner. He received the petition, but refused the remonstrance; and in a few days sent his answer in writing. He therein chid them severely for presuming to trench upon his prerogative; mentioned the steps he had taken for the defence of the Palatinate; laid the blame of the war upon the imprudence of his son-in law; complained that they had struck at the most essential parts of sovereignty, by violating his alliances; presuming to direct his conduct in the prosecution of the war; and dictating to him with regard to his son's marriage, as well as concerning the amnesty they had demanded. He told them he was an old and
wise

wife king that needed none of their counsel; that those matters were above their comprehension; and they ought to remember the Latin proverb, *Ne futor ultra crepidam*. In all undertakings a man ought to have regard to his own abilities. He said they had misinterpreted his letter to the speaker; that though their privileges were derived from the favour of his predecessors and himself, he would be careful in preserving them, until they should invade his prerogative; but in that case he would strip them of those boasted privileges, which served only to diminish the fairest flowers of the crown. The commons, alarmed at this last part of his declaration, had immediate recourse to a protestation, in which they repeated all their former pretensions to freedom of speech, and liberty of offering their advice to the crown, without limitation; and affirmed, that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdiction of parliament, are the antient and indubitable right of inheritance peculiar to the subjects of England. James no sooner understood their intention, than he hastened to town; and sending for the journal of the house of commons, tore out with his own hand the protestation, which he declared null and void, both on account of the manner in which it had been framed, and of the matter it contained. It had (as he alledged) been drawn up by a committee, and presented at an unusual hour, and in a tumultuous manner, when very few members were in the house. He therefore cancelled the protestation by an act of council. In a few days after this effort in behalf of his prerogative he dissolved the parliament by proclamation, and then wreaked his vengeance upon those members of the house of commons who had taken freedoms with his power and administration. Cook, Philips, Selden, Pym, and Mallory, were committed to prison. Diggs, Crew, Rich, and Sir James Perrot, were exiled to Ireland, on pretence of executing some commission in that country; and a pretext was found for confining the earls of Oxford and Southampton in the Tower.

Rushworth.
Wilson.
Coke.

§ LXX. The whole nation was now divided between the court and the country parties. All the papists and the Arminians, which were by this time formed into a sect in England, espoused the cause of the king, and the puritans declared for the opposition. Faction was inflamed into mutual rancour and animosity. The royalists affected to confound all their opposers under the name of Puritans; and these in their turn accused the royalists of popery and Arminianism. Those who professed the tenets of Arminius were now as much caressed as they had been formerly detested by the courtiers; and William Laud, who adopted this faith, was promoted to the bishopric of St. David's. James had now not only entailed upon himself the hatred of a powerful faction at home, but also incurred the contempt of all the states upon the continent. In his own kingdom they revived the scandalous insinuations touching his mother's connexion with David Riccio; and in the Spanish Netherlands he was publicly ridiculed in comedies, pictures, and pasquinades *.

An. Ch. 1621.

§ LXXI.

† In a theatrical piece acted at Brussels, a courier was introduced, declaring the melancholy tidings that the Palatinate would soon be wrested from the emperor; inasmuch as the king of Denmark had agreed to furnish the expelled elector with one hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch had resolved to spare him the like number of butter-boxes, and the king of England to employ one hundred thousand ambassadors. James was painted with an empty scabbard

§ LXXI. Notwithstanding these insults the king continued to negotiate. He dismissed Digby to Spain, and Weston to Brussels, in order to finish the two important affairs of the marriage and the Palatinate; and, in order to fill his exhausted coffers, directed the judges on their circuits to demand a Benevolence of his subjects. His imagination was still regaled with the portion of two millions, which he should receive with the infanta of Spain; for which reason he ordered Digby to conclude the match, without stipulating for the restitution of the Palatinate; believing, that after the celebration of the nuptials, Philip would not refuse him that favour. When Digby, who was in the course of this year created earl of Bristol, set out for Madrid, the king dispatched Gage to Rome, in order to hasten the dispensation; and, in order to render his holiness the more propitious, released all the popish recusants who were in prison, by an order under the great seal, addressed to all the judges of the kingdom. As this arbitrary step of dispensing with the laws produced loud clamours over all the nation, the bishop of Lincoln, keeper of the seals, published a justification of the king's conduct. He alledged that it would ill become his majesty to solicit foreign princes in behalf of their protestant subjects, while he himself practised such severities against the Roman catholics of his own kingdom; and that the English jesuits had written a book, in which they exhorted the French king to excite the same laws against the Huguenots, which were levelled at the catholics of Great Britain.

Rushworth.

§ LXXII. The count of Schwartzenburg, when he arrived in England, was found to have no power to conclude a truce; and therefore there was a necessity for negotiating with the archduchess at Brussels, whither, as we have observed, Weston had been dispatched as ambassador; and, to pave the way towards success, lord Vaux, a papist, was permitted to levy two thousand men in England, to serve this princess in the war against the states general. Meanwhile prince Christian of Brunswick, administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, who had accompanied the palatine to the Hague, levied an army in Westphalia, which had retired into Alsace: but, being opposed by the Spanish forces, the count of Anhalt, and the Bavarian army under Tilly, they found great difficulty in entering the Palatinate. The elector, travelling through France, arrived at the army of Mansfeldt, which had advanced to Germerheim: but the prince of Baden was defeated on the sixth day of May. In a month after this action, count Tilly routed the palatine and Mansfeldt, who fled to Mannheim; and he afterwards attacked prince Christian, who, though worsted in the engagement, made shift to join the elector with good part of his forces. They were afterwards surrounded by the Spanish and Bavarians, reinforced to the number of fifty thousand. Then the palatine returned to Holland. The prince of Brunswick and Mansfeldt marching to the Low-Countries, were attacked in Brabant by Gonzalez de Cordova; and the battle was fought with equal success on both sides. The prince of Brunswick lost his arm by a cannon-ball; and Mansfeldt continued his route to Holland. Tilly being left without an enemy in the Palatinate, reduced Heidelberg and Mannheim, and then undertook the siege of Frankendal.

hard in his hand; and in another piece with a sword in the scabbard, which a number of persons endeavoured in vain to unsheathe. He was likewise exhibited with his empty pockets turned inside out. The electress queen of Bohemia was represented as a poor Irish trull, with her child at her back, and her husband carrying the cradle behind her.

Wilson.
§ LXXIII.

§ LXXIII. During these transactions conferences were begun at Brussels, at the desire of James, in order to procure the truce which he had desired; but the Spaniards refused to treat with any but principals, and the English ambassador was not vested with sufficient powers from the palatine and his allies. When these were obtained, the archduchess owned that she herself had no other power than a simple letter from the emperor, desiring him to concert measures with the English ambassador: in a word, that princess and the count de Schwartzenburg protracted the negotiation on various pretences, until Heidelberg was taken and Mannheim besieged. James wrote to the Spanish monarch, desiring that the affairs of the palatine might continue in their present posture till the expiration of the truce, and that the blockade of Mannheim might be raised. But before Philip could give orders for this purpose, that city had surrendered, and Tilly had invested Frankendal, which he would soon have reduced, had not the overflowing of the rivers compelled him to abandon his enterprize.

Hist. de Re-
bellion de
Boheme.

§ LXXIV. Hitherto the court of Spain had amused James with a fruitless negotiation for a marriage to which the house of Austria was extremely averse. The pope would not grant the dispensation, without stipulating such advantages for the catholic religion in England, as he could not believe James would ever allow: but this prince was so intent upon the match and the two millions, that he subscribed to all his conditions; and the king of Spain, foreseeing that his condescension would, in all probability, pave the way for the re-establishment of popery in the dominions of Great-Britain, resolved at last to bestow the infanta upon the prince of Wales. He perceived that the king of England would not be much longer amused by artifices, of which he began to find himself the dupe; and took it for granted, that he would, upon his being undeceived, support the palatine effectually: this consideration, added to the other motive, determined him in favour of the marriage. In these sentiments he wrote to the archduchess, desiring she would order the general to raise the siege of Frankendal, and renew the congress for a truce at London, where it was accordingly concluded for eighteen months, on condition that Frankendal should be put into the hands of the infanta Isabella, who should restore it at the expiration of the truce to the English; and that the elector palatine should renounce all connexion with the prince of Brunswick and count Mansfeldt. Before the conclusion of this ridiculous treaty, the emperor at the diet of Ratisbon had transferred the electoral dignity and the upper Palatinate to the duke of Bavaria, in spite of a vigorous opposition from several princes, who dreaded such an example.

An. Ch. 1623.

§ LXXV. The king of England saw with unconcern his son-in-law thus stripped of his estate and dignity; and still consoled himself for the contempt of mankind, with the hope of the marriage, in which he by this time really had reason to think he should not be disappointed. He and the prince of Wales had signed all the articles proposed by the courts of Rome and Madrid, and agreed to every regulation touching the infanta's portion and her jointure. The counts of Olivarez and Gondemar had shewn Philip's approbation, in a writing signed with his own hand. As the dispensation was expected from Rome in the month of March, or April at farthest, it was resolved that the marriage should be celebrated in four days after it should be received; and, that in

twenty days after this ceremony, the infanta should set out for England. Nothing could have prevented the conclusion of this long expected marriage, but the frantic step which was now taken by the prince of Wales and the marquis of Buckingham. This favourite, with a view either to have the honour of finishing an affair of such importance, or to contract a nearer intimacy with the prince of Wales; or, lastly, to display his influence and gallantry to the Spanish nation, persuaded Charles to surprise Philip with a visit, which, from the romantic nature of the adventure, would captivate the admiration and affection of that monarch and his subjects, and induce him to take some resolution in favour of the palatine, as a return for this generous confidence. The prince approved of the proposal, which was communicated to the king, when he happened to be in good humour; and he signed his assent before he had reflected on the consequences, agreeing that the prince and Buckingham should set out in disguise, attended by Sir Francis Cottington, secretary to Charles, and Endymion Porter, gentlemen of his bed-chamber. These were pitched upon, not only as persons in whom they could confide, but also because they had been at the court of Spain, and understood the language of the country. When James began to consider this strange project, the timidity of his disposition exaggerated all the dangerous consequence that might attend the execution of it; and next day he imparted them to his son and favourite, begging they would think no more of such a rash undertaking. The prince insisted upon his promise; the marquis upbraided him with breach of faith: Sir Francis Cottington, being consulted, confirmed all the king's fears: James broke out into a passion of tears and lamentation, exclaiming he was undone, and that he should lose baby Charles. Buckingham chid, reviled, and threatened Cottington for his presuming to give his advice in affairs of state; and the king, rather than disoblige his favourite, renewed his consent to the journey.

§ LXXVI. The necessary preparations being made, they set out for France, through which they travelled in disguise, and even ventured to appear at a ball in Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused. In eleven days after his departure from England he arrived at Madrid, where Philip received him in the most cordial manner. He expressed the deepest obligation to him for the generous confidence he had reposed in his honour; presented him with a golden key that opened the locks of all his apartments; and introduced him into the palace with all the pomp of a coronation. The privy-council were publicly ordered to obey him as the king himself; all the prisons of Spain were thrown open in honour of this royal stranger; sumptuary laws were suspended; and the king honoured him with precedence in every place but the prince's own apartment, where he was supposed to be at home. The only circumstance in which they maintained any reserve, related to the infanta, whom the Spanish manners would not allow him to see but in public, until the dispensation should arrive. In a word, nothing could be more noble and generous than the conduct of Philip on this remarkable occasion. True it is, endeavours were used to convert him to the catholic religion, both by theological arguments and political reasons. He received a letter from pope Gregory XV. exhorting him to return within the pale of the church, and imitate his glorious ancestors, who had signalized themselves so often.

often in defence of religion. To this he sent a civil answer, which gave offence to narrow minds among the protestants. When the dispensation arrived they found it clogged with certain additional articles, importing, That the infanta should have a church in London: That the children of the marriage should be educated by the mother, until they should have attained the tenth year of their age: That the nurses should be catholics appointed by the infanta: And that the king of England should give security for the performance of the articles concerning religion. Philip agreed to be security for James, to whom the new-drawn articles were sent by Cottington.

§ LXXVII. His arrival in England was attended with a report that the pope and the king of Spain demanded a toleration for English papists. James actually consulted his council on this subject, and received a letter from Abbot archbishop of Canterbury, conjuring him, as he tendered his own safety and the welfare of the nation, to forbear taking such a pernicious measure. James, without paying the least regard to this remonstrance, signed, sealed, and swore to the execution of the articles, by some of which he promised that the Roman catholics should not be molested in the private exercise of their religion; and that no new laws should be made to their prejudice. Cottington was sent back to Madrid with those ratified conditions; and the king was so well pleased with the success of the negotiation, that he created his favourite Villiers, duke of Buckingham, though there was not another person in England who possessed such a dignity. His condescension was so great that Philip began to doubt his sincerity. He postponed the departure of the infanta to the spring; and in the mean time ordered his ambassador in England to desire the king would begin to execute his engagements in favour of the catholics. James was embarrassed by this demand: he dreaded the consequence of proclaiming a toleration; but he delivered into the ambassador's hand a declaration of his council, specifying his intention for that purpose; and the court of Spain seemed to be satisfied with this expedient. Pope Gregory dying in the interim, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, until it should be confirmed by the new pontiff; and Urban XIII. being raised to the papacy, deferred this step, in hope of the prince's conversion.

§ LXXVIII. The count de Olivarez, Philip's prime minister, reminded Buckingham of his having promised that Charles should become a profelyte to the catholic religion; and the duke gave him the lie without hesitation. This English minister had rendered himself extremely odious to the Spaniards by his levity and presumption; and he, in his turn, hated them with the like aversion. He saw the disposition of Charles was perfectly well suited to the Spanish gravity and reserve; and was afraid that should the marriage succeed, his influence would be superseded by the interest of that nation at the court of England. He had now gained the ascendancy over the prince's spirit; and whatever arguments he may have used, certain it is, he all of a sudden detached him from the prosecution of the alliance. It was a more difficult task to persuade the king to part at once with the hopes he had so long indulged; yet even this he accomplished. He gave him to understand by letters, that Philip had no intention to effect the restitution of the Palatinate, nor even to accomplish the contract of marriage; but that the prince ran the risque of being detained all his

Clarendon.

Weldon.
Coke.

his life in Spain. Charles wrote at the same time to his father, that he did not expect to return; and desired he would thenceforward consider the electress as his sole heir.

§ LXXIX. James, alarmed at this intelligence, wrote in the first transport of his fear to Buckingham, charging him to bring home the prince immediately; and forthwith dispatched vessels to St. Andero in Biscay, to take them on board. The duke immediately communicated this order to Philip, alledging the prince's return was absolutely necessary to quiet the fears and suspicions of the English people: but, in the mean time, he would leave a proxy, to espouse the infanta, as soon as the confirmed dispensation should arrive. The king of Spain made no objection to his return, but offered to be the prince's proxy; a procuration for this purpose was drawn up and signed by the prince of Wales, who delivered it to the earl of Bristol, with order to put it into the hands of Philip in ten days after the arrival of the dispensation. The Spanish monarch accompanied his guest to the Escorial, where he was royally regaled; and erected a pillar on the spot where they parted, as a monument of their friendship. The prince, before he embarked, dispatched one of his domestics with a letter to the earl of Bristol at Madrid, desiring that he would not part with the procuration until he (Charles) should be satisfied that the infanta, after the ceremony, should not take the veil. The ambassador, willing to remove this obstacle before the arrival of the dispensation, demanded securities of the Spanish monarch, who returned a very satisfactory answer, which the earl communicated to king James and the prince of Wales. James had not yet resigned his hope of the marriage, though he now became more than ever solicitous about the interest of his daughter. He, in a letter to Bristol, expressed his hope that before Christmas he should be blessed with two articles of agreeable news, namely, the marriage of his son, and the restoration of his daughter. The ambassador discoursed on this subject with the count d'Olivarez, who declared that the procuration should never be demanded, until the king should have first delivered a promise in writing, that the Palatinate should be restored. It was at this period that the prince of Wales disclosed to his father the aversion he had conceived to the marriage. His remonstrance was seconded by the duke of Buckingham, who had for many years governed him with the most despotic authority; and his influence must have been very powerful indeed, to overcome the king's attachment to an alliance, for which he had so long sacrificed the interest of his family. He forbade the earl of Bristol to part with the procuration; an order which was no sooner signified to Philip, than the infanta laid aside the title of princess of Wales, which she had assumed since the arrival of the dispensation; and a stop was put to all the preparations for the marriage. The earl of Bristol was immediately recalled; and as he had never humbled himself before the favourite, was exposed in the sequel to his resentment, which Charles himself adopted even after his accession to the throne.

Wilson.
Du Chesne.
Clarendon.

§ LXXX. Since the return of the prince from Spain, he and Buckingham entirely superseded the authority of James, and ruled the kingdom according to their own pleasure. The duke seems to have persuaded Charles that Philip acted with insincerity; otherwise we cannot account for his eager desire of denouncing war against that monarch. The king's reluctance to such measures was

was overpowered by the impetuosity of those who directed his conduct: they prevailed upon him to sign orders for exacting a Benevolence, which was partly levied in the most arbitrary manner, on pretence of recovering the Palatinate; but all of a sudden the collectors desisted; and James convoked a parliament, to which Buckingham thought he should recommend himself effectually by his having broke off the Spanish match, an alliance so disagreeable to the English nation. In order to pave the way to this popularity, he affected to care for some of the leading puritans, consulting them upon means for re-uniting the chapter-lands to the crown; and when the parliament met, the king's speech to the two houses plainly proved, that he spoke the suggestions of a minister, in contradiction to the whole tenor of his former conduct. Instead of expatiating upon his prerogative, as usual, he now modestly craved their advice and assistance touching his son's marriage, the welfare of his daughter and family, and the general peace of Europe. He mentioned the prince's journey to Spain: which, together with all his negotiations for the match, had, as he said, proved ineffectual, from the insincerity of the court of Madrid. He declared that he never designed to grant a toleration to the catholics; protested before God, that his intention was to maintain the commons in the enjoyment of all their privileges; and conjured them again to take into immediate consideration the important subjects he had proposed. This harangue was well received by the house, which Buckingham had filled with his creatures.

§ LXXXI. In a conference between the peers and commons, while the prince of Wales was present, the duke, in a long discourse, explained the motives of the prince's journey to Spain; the negotiation for the marriage and restitution of the Palatinate, and the reasons of the prince's abrupt return. He alledged that the king had been misled by the false reports of the earl of Bristol; that Philip never intended either to conclude the match, or interest himself in behalf of the palatine; and that the whole blame of the miscarriage ought to be laid upon the English ambassador, who had abused his majesty's confidence. For the truth of his assertions he appealed to Charles, who confirmed all his allegations; and his speech was crowned with universal applause. The Spanish ambassador having complained to the king, that the duke of Buckingham spoke of his master in disrespectful terms, the two houses presented an address to his majesty, declaring that the duke had said nothing which ought to give offence to the Spanish monarch; and they thanked that nobleman for his candid narration. As the king had not told them that the negotiation for the marriage was absolutely at an end, they drew up another address, counselling his majesty to break off the treaty; and James, convening them in the house of peers, declared he was ready to comply with their request, provided they would enable him to support the war, which would infallibly ensue. He even condescended so far as to propose, that the subsidies, which they should grant, might be managed by commissioners appointed in parliament. They promised to vote three whole subsidies and as many fifteenths on these terms; and he dispatched a courier to Madrid with letters, by which he formally broke off the negotiation.

§ LXXXII. This resolution was no sooner known to the people than they celebrated the rupture with bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. The two houses petitioned the king to execute the laws against Jesuits and Roman priests; to give order for seizing the arms of popish recusants, and obliging them

them to retire from London; to revoke all licences granted to such recusants, and put a stop to the great concourse of people who resorted to mass in the chapels of ambassadors; to deprive all papists of the posts which they enjoyed; and to engage his royal word that he would not for the future suspend the execution of the laws against popish recusants, on any account whatsoever. To this petition the king sent a very complaisant answer, assuring them in general, that he would comply with their demands: but he artfully avoided explaining himself touching those articles that mentioned the removal of the papists from London, and their being divested of all employments. Buckingham's mother and wife, one of the secretaries of state, and many persons possessed of considerable offices, were either professed or reputed Roman catholics. The commons presented a list of fifty-seven to the king, but he would not signify his sentiments on this subject; and they did not insist upon satisfaction.

§ LXXXIII. The marquis d'Innoiosa, the Spanish ambassador, incensed against Buckingham for having prevented the marriage, and treated his master with such disrespect, took an opportunity of putting a paper into the king's hand privately; and James retired forthwith into his closet, where he was not a little surprised to find it an accusation of the duke, digested into different articles, calculated to alarm him with fears of personal danger. They imported, That the king was surrounded by people devoted to the prince and the duke; so that he could not be informed of what passed in parliament, or even in his own court; where he was in all respects as much a prisoner as ever Francis I. of France was at Madrid: That the prince and Buckingham had resolved to remove him from the throne; and, for that purpose, engaged him in a war, that they might have a pretext for levying troops to dethrone him: That the duke's emissaries endeavoured to render his majesty odious and contemptible among his subjects, and had already corrupted the parliament: That Buckingham had not only broke off the match, but even divulged his master's secrets, and exerted his utmost efforts to embroil him with the Hollanders: That he had been bribed by divers foreign ambassadors, and put himself at the head of the puritans, though he well knew they had formed a scheme for transferring the crown to the electress palatine. In the conclusion of this paper he was desired to take the opportunity of the prince's being in the house of peers with Buckingham, to send for the secretary of the Spanish ambassador, by whom all his doubts and scruples would be removed. James, alarmed with this information, actually conferred in private with the secretary, and another Spaniard, known by the name of father Maestro; and from that day became melancholy and distrustful. He could not conceal his sentiments from Buckingham, nor forbear to exhibit marks of alienation. One day, setting out with the prince for Windsor, he ordered the duke to stay behind, on some slight pretence. Buckingham, shocked at this order, begged in the name of God to know what was laid to his charge; and the king professed himself extremely unhappy in being abandoned by those who enjoyed the greatest share of his affection. The duke retired to his own house, overwhelmed with anxiety; but, by the advice of the bishop of Lincoln, he soon followed the king to Windsor, where he found means to remove his majesty's suspicions: or rather James dissembled his sentiments, through fear of the other's resentment. He longed with impatience for the arrival of the earl of Bristol, on whose integrity and prudence he

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could rely with the utmost confidence. Before the end of the session, the duke of Buckingham, being offended at Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, and lord treasurer, for having refused to answer some demands during the prince's residence in Spain, resolved to shew that as he had influence enough to raise this minister from obscurity, so he had power sufficient left to punish his presumption. He was, by the duke's instigation, impeached of divers misdemeanors; and though the evidence against him was extremely defective, he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty thousand pounds, and rendered incapable of sitting in the house of peers. When this prosecution began, the king, who looked upon Middlesex as a faithful and able minister, conjured the prince and Buckingham to use their interest for putting a stop to the proceedings; but they remained inflexible, and he was obliged to submit.

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§ LXXXIV. Such was the despotism exercised over the mind of this weak prince, that when the earl of Bristol arrived at Dover, he sent an order, commanding him to confine himself within his own house, until he should answer certain questions. After the prorogation of the parliament, that nobleman petitioned that he might be interrogated; and, by dint of repeated solicitations obtained his request. The commissioners appointed by the council for this purpose, having examined him minutely, declared they could find nothing reprehensible in his conduct. Nevertheless, he was still confined, and given to understand, that there was only one way to regain his majesty's favour, namely, that of owning himself guilty of certain misdemeanours which were specified to him in writing. He rejected the proposal with disdain; and the king told Buckingham, that he exercised a most horrible tyranny, in compelling an innocent man to declare himself guilty: but, he had not interest enough to screen him from oppression, or even to see him, though he ardently wished for an opportunity to profit by his advice. In the mean time, six thousand men were sent over to Holland, to serve in the army of the states, under the prince of Orange; and other levies were begun for troops to join the count de Mansfeldt, who intended to make an irruption into the Palatinate during the winter.

§ LXXXV. Henry Rich, lately created earl of Holland, had been sent ambassador to France, to sound that court touching a marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta; and the proposal was agreeable to the French ministry. The earl of Carlisle was sent over to assist Holland in the negotiation; and the conferences were opened in Compeigne, at the very time when James, according to his promise to parliament, ordered the laws to be put in execution against popish recusants. The Roman catholic priests in England implored the intercession of Lewis XIII. who in compliance with their desire, dispatched the archbishop of Ambrun to solicit in their behalf. That prelate arrived at Royston in disguise, and had divers conferences with the king, who declared himself a friend to the catholic religion; assured him that the members of that communion should not be injured under his government, and imparted a ridiculous scheme for procuring a general toleration all over Christendom. The treaty for the marriage was still carried on; and, after some debates, concluded under the auspices of cardinal de Richelieu, on condition, That the princess Henrietta should enjoy all the indulgences with respect to religion which had been stipulated for the infant; among other articles, That she should superintend the education of her children to the age of thirteen.

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Her portion was fixed at eight hundred thousand French crowns; and her jointure at sixty thousand. By three private articles, the king of Great Britain obliged himself to release all the catholics who had been arrested on the score of religion since his last proclamation on that subject; to restore their effects which might have been seized; and protect them for the future from persecution.

§ LXXXVI. The earl of Carlisle had proposed to Lewis, a league against the house of Austria, and the French court not only discovered an inclination to enter into such an engagement; but even promised to join a body of troops to those which James had undertaken to raise for the count de Mansfeldt. This great officer arrived in England, where he met with a very honourable reception; and the king agreed that he should have twelve thousand men, to make a diversion in the lower Palatinate. This body being levied, James demanded of the infantia Isabella the town of Frankendal, which was delivered into her hands, until the truce should expire; and a free passage for the English garrison through the dominions of Spain and its allies. That princess declared, she would punctually comply with the articles of the treaty of London, in delivering up Frankendal, and granting a passage for the English troops through the territories belonging to her and the king of Spain; but, that she could not undertake for their passing unmolested through the dominions of the empire. Thus was the king of England over-reached in such a manner, that the treaty was rendered altogether ineffectual. When the truce expired, the governor of Frankendal marched out of the place with his garrison; but as no person appeared in behalf of his Britannic majesty, he forthwith returned, and retook possession of the town. The troops destined for the service of Mansfeldt were embarked in the severe season of the year; and when they arrived at Calais, the French would not suffer them to land. Then the general set sail for Zealand, where he met with the same repulse. A negotiation was set on foot; but, before he could obtain leave to disembark, an epidemical distemper had destroyed two thirds of his army: the survivors either deserted or enlisted among their countrymen who were in the service of the states; and thus the whole armament was frustrated by the imprudence of the ministry, which had not beforehand stipulated with the French for the landing of the forces.

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§ LXXXVII. When the dispensation for the marriage of Charles and the princess Henrietta arrived from Rome, it was clogged with two new articles, implying, That the servants of the children born of the marriage, should be catholics nominated by the mother; and, That the king of England and the prince of Wales should swear to the performance of this stipulation. James refused to take another oath, observing, that his word was sufficient: so that there was a necessity for having a new dispensation without this clause. But, James did not live to see the marriage take effect. About the middle of March he was seized with a tertian ague, which in a few days brought him to the grave, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after he had reigned two and twenty years in England. On this occasion, Buckingham did not pass unsuspected of having offered violence to the life of his sovereign; for he had applied plaisters to his wrists and belly, and administered medicines internally, without the consent or knowledge of his physicians. James was in his stature of the middle size, inclining to corpulency: his forehead was high, his beard scanty, and his aspect

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aspect mean. His eyes, which were large and languid, he rolled about incessantly, as if in quest of novelties. His tongue was so large, that in speaking or drinking he beslabbered the by-standers. His knees were so weak as to bend under the weight of his body. His address was awkward, and his appearance slovenly. There was nothing dignified either in the composition of his mind or person. We have in the course of his reign exhibited repeated instances of his ridiculous vanity, prejudices, profusion, folly, and littleness of soul. All that we can add in his favour, is, that he was averse to cruelty and injustice; very little addicted to excess, temperate in his meals, kind to his servants, and even desirous of acquiring the love of his subjects, by granting that as a favour which they claimed as a privilege. His reign, though ignoble to himself, was happy to his people. They were enriched by commerce, which no war interrupted. They felt no severe impositions; and the commons made considerable progress in ascertaining the liberties of the nation †.

† James died at Theobald's, from whence his body was conveyed to Westminster-Abbey, in which it was interred. His children by Anne of Denmark, were Henry Frederick, who died prince of Wales; Robert, who did not survive his infancy; Charles, by whom he was succeeded on the throne; Elizabeth electress palatine; Margaret, Mary, and Sophia, who died infants. Carte.

In the year 1609, a new settlement was made on the Bermudas by Sir George Somers, who, with Sir Thomas Gates, had embarked for Virginia, but was driven on those islands, which from him were denominated Somers' Islands.

In this and the preceding reign, England pro-

duced a number of excellent poets, such as Spencer, Sidney, Shakespear, and Johnson; while Bacon excelled in natural philosophy; and Camden flourished as an antiquary and historian. James himself was an author: he wrote the Basilicon doron; a book on witches and apparitions; and a Commentary on the Revelations, proving the pope to be antichrist.

In the 14th year of this reign, Sir Hugh Middleton, a private citizen of London, supplied part of the city with excellent water, conveyed in an aqueduct from Ware in Hertfordshire, now known by the name of the New-River.

C H A P. II.

§ I. Charles I. succeeds to the throne of England. His marriage. § II. The commons are refractory. § III. The seamen refuse to fight against the Huguenots. § IV. The parliament is dissolved. § V. Fruitless expedition against the Spaniards. § VI. The king's coronation. § VII. Another parliament convoked. § VIII. The commons proceed with uncommon vivacity. § IX. They present a remonstrance. § X. The king accuses the earl of Bristol. § XI. The commons impeach the duke of Buckingham. § XII. The parliament dissolved. Remonstrance of the commons. The king's declaration. § XIII. The king practises arbitrary methods of raising money. § XIV. War with France. § XV. Disgraceful expedition to the Isle of Rhé. § XVI. A third parliament is convoked. § XVII. Violent opposition in the house of commons. § XVIII. They prepare the petition of right. § XIX. To which the king gives his assent. § XX. Prorogation of parliament. § XXI. The duke of Buckingham assassinated at Portsmouth. § XXII. The commons examine into religious grievances. § XXIII. Dissolution of parliament. § XXIV. Prosecution of the members. § XXV. Peace with France and Spain. § XXVI. Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden enters Germany, as the protector of the protestants. § XXVII. Laud's attachment to superstitious ceremonies. § XXVIII. The puritans are rigorously treated. § XXIX. Sir Thomas Wentworth created president of the North. § XXX. The king's journey to Scotland. § XXXI. He resolves to restore episcopacy in that kingdom. § XXXII. Laud succeeds Abbot in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. § XXXIII. Severities exercised against Prynne and other puritans. § XXXIV. The tax of ship-money exacted through all England. § XXXV. Famous process of John Hambden. § XXXVI. Tumults at Edinburgh on account of the liturgy. § XXXVII. The Scots publish a protestation against the canons and liturgy. § XXXVIII. They subscribe the solemn league and covenant. § XXXIX. The king sends the marquis of Hamilton as high commissioner to Scotland. § XL. His majesty revokes the liturgy, &c. The general assembly at Glasgow is dissolved by the commissioner; but continue themselves and abjure episcopacy. § XLI. The king resolves to reduce them by force of arms. § XLII. The earl of Holland retreats with precipitation before the army of the Scottish covenanters. § XLIII. An accommodation. § XLIV. Violent conduct of the Scottish assembly and parliament. § XLV. They send deputies to the king. § XLVI. An intercepted letter from the Scots to the king of France. § XLVII. Preparations for war with Scotland. § XLVIII. The king assembles a parliament. Mr. Pym recapitulates the grievances of the nation. § XLIX. Dissolution of parliament. The convocation continues to sit, and enacts canons. § L. Arbitrary measures of the court. § LI. The Scots rout the army at Newburn, and take possession of Newcastle. § LII. They sue for peace. § LIII. Conferences for a treaty opened at Rippon. A parliament convoked.

Immediately

§ I. **I**Mmediately after the decease of James, his son Charles was proclaimed king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. He confirmed all the great officers in their places; appointed Sir Albertus More secretary of state, in the room of G. Calvert lord Baltimore, who had professed himself a Roman catholic; granted a pardon to Cranfield earl of Middlesex; recalled by proclamation all the British subjects from the Imperial, Spanish, and Flemish services; issued commissions for granting letters of reprisal against the Spaniards, as well as for raising ten thousand men, partly for a naval expedition, and partly for the recovery of the Palatinate. These troops were sent to Portsmouth to be embarked, and the expence of their subsistence and cloathing was assigned upon different counties, to be afterwards reimbursed by the exchequer. The marriage of the king being celebrated by proxy at Paris, the duke of Buckingham was employed to conduct the queen to England. She arrived on the twelfth day of June at Dover, where she was received by Charles, and the nuptials were consummated at Canterbury. On the sixteenth day of the same month, the king and queen made their public entry into London; and on the eighteenth the parliament assembled. Charles, in his first speech, reminded the two houses of their having counselled his father to break off the two treaties, and employ more effectual means for the recovery of the Palatinate: he therefore expected they would support him in maintaining the war, which was the result of their advice. He intreated them to be speedy with their supplies; and assured them of his attachment to the protestant religion. Lord Coventry keeper of the privy seal enlarged upon the different parts of the king's speech, recommended his wants to their generosity, and vouched for his majesty's affection to his parliament and people.

§ II. By this time the popularity of Buckingham had vanished: the commons had discovered that they were misled by his false representation of the Spanish affair; and he no longer payed court to the puritan faction, which was now become extremely powerful. Under this denomination, the court affected to consider all those leading members of the lower house, who had associated themselves in a regular design to abridge the prerogative of the crown, and ascertain and augment the liberties of the commons. They looked upon the hierarchy as the firm prop of monarchical power, and detested it accordingly: they found the levelling principles of the puritans more consonant to their republican schemes: they saw them numerous, wealthy, warm, enterprising, and enthusiastic; of consequence, the more easily moved and actuated by art and dissimulation: they therefore enrolled themselves as members of that party. Notwithstanding the eagerness with which the king pressed the commons for an immediate supply, the first business upon which the parliament proceeded, was a petition of both houses against popish recusants; and they received a gracious though a general answer. Then they summoned doctor Montague, the king's chaplain, to the bar of the house, for having written a book, intituled, An appeal to Cæsar, in which he gave it as his opinion, that a virtuous catholic might be saved from eternal damnation; and seemed to favour the Roman doctrine. He was remitted to the archbishop of Canterbury, who contented himself with exhorting him to avoid writing on such subjects for the future. The king was piqued at this prosecution, and evoked the cause before his own council. He could not help expressing his displeasure at

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the conduct of the commons, who nevertheless granted two subsidies, though these were not at all adequate to his necessities.

§ III. As the plague made dreadful havock in London, the parliament was adjourned to Oxford; and in the mean time an incident happened, which strongly marked the character of the English people at this period. James, immediately before his death, had promised to lend the French king six ships to serve against the Genoese; but, Lewis XIII. resolved to use them in the siege of Rochelle against his protestant subjects. They accordingly sailed to Dieppe, under the command of Pennington; but, the captains and seamen no sooner understood their destination, than they weighed anchor, and returned to England. The king sent a positive order to Pennington, commanding him to steer his course to Dieppe again, and deliver them into the hands of the French. The order was obeyed; but, all the men deserted rather than serve against the protestants of Rochelle. Yet, even these Huguenots were supported by the king of Spain, and their revolt prevented Lewis from assisting the English monarch in his designs against the house of Austria.

§ IV. When the parliament assembled at Oxford, the house of commons was immediately filled with complaints against the duke of Buckingham and other ministers, who had counselled the king to misapply the subsidies which had been granted to his father. They observed, that no care was taken to protect the trade of the nation from pirates: that there was a powerful party in the kingdom, which openly favoured popery and Arminianism; and they again summoned Montague to the bar of the house, where he was very severely reprimanded. The king perceiving they were more intent upon the grievances of the nation, than upon the exigency of his affairs, sent for both houses to the hall of Christ's college, where he again put them in mind of their promise to support the war; and assured them, that the supply they had voted would not be sufficient to defray the expence of a fleet which he had actually equipped. Then one of the secretaries of state explained the necessity of granting a much larger sum for the king's occasions. The commons, instead of complying with these hints, renewed their complaints against the duke of Buckingham and the favourers of popery; and Charles, in order to render them more propitious to his views, indulged them with a particular answer to every article of their former petition, granting every thing they desired. Even this condescension failed to mollify their hearts, and open their purses. They still dwelt upon the grievances of the nation, and the state of religion; and the king, incensed to see all his measures broken, dissolved the parliament, on pretence of the plague's having extended to Oxford. But, the commons before their dissolution, with a view to justify themselves in the opinion of the people, drew up an artful declaration, importing, That their design was to support his majesty in all his just undertakings, after they should have procured redress for the grievances of the nation.

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§ V. Charles having nothing to hope from parliament, raised money by way of loan, extorted by orders under the privy seal; and, to facilitate this expedient, issued a proclamation, recalling all the children of English parents that were in foreign seminaries, as well as the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, who were in the service of the house of Austria; while, at the same time, the privy council published an order for disarming all popish recusants.

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The fleet destined to act against Spain, consisting of fourscore ships, having on board ten regiments of infantry, set sail in October, under the command of Edward Cecil just created viscount Wimbleton, instructed to cruise in a certain latitude, to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet on its return from the West-Indies. He was disappointed in his expectation; but, might have taken or destroyed a great number of rich galleons and gallies lying in the bay of Cadiz, had the earl of Essex, who commanded the van, attacked them before they could have put themselves under the cannon of Portreal, and sunk some vessels in the channel to block up the passage. A thousand men being landed with Sir John Burgh, the fort of Puntal surrendered at the first summons. The rest of the infantry were next day set on shore, and marched towards the bridge of Suazzo; but, being quartered in a place where there was great plenty of wine, the soldiers drank it to such excess, that universal confusion ensued; and the officers were obliged to desist from their enterprize. The army was immediately re-embarked; and the fleet returned to England about the middle of December, without having struck one stroke of importance.

§ VI. The king's finances being quite exhausted, he published a proclamation, ordering all persons possessed of forty pounds a-year, who had not yet been knighted, to come and receive that dignity: but, reaping very little advantage from this contrivance, he found himself under the necessity of convoking another parliament. In the mean time he was crowned at Westminster by the hands of Laud bishop of Bath and Wells, who approaching him as he sat upon his throne, pronounced an obsolete address in the Latin language, to this effect. "Stand, and hold fast, from henceforth, that place of royal dignity whereof you are the lawful and undoubted heir by succession from your ancestors, and which hath been this day delivered unto you, in the name and by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us the bishops and servants of God, though unworthy; whom as you see approach nearer to God's altars, so vouchsafe the more graciously to continue to them your royal favour and protection; and the Lord Almighty, whose ministers and stewards they are, establish your throne in righteousness, that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the sun before him, and as the faithful witness in heaven." The revival of this invocation, which had been discontinued since the coronation of Richard II. gave great offence to the puritans, and indeed, was a very idle and unseasonable mark of Laud's superstition.

§ VII. The king, that he might berid of the leaders of the opposition, appointed them as sheriffs of counties, so that they could not sit in the house of commons; but, this scheme did not answer expectation. That spirit had diffused itself through the whole kingdom; and this new parliament inherited the complexion and character of the last. The session was opened with a speech An. Ch. 1626, by the lord keeper of the privy seal, who extolled the virtues of the king, and in his majesty's name recommended unanimity. He likewise assured them of the king's affections towards his subjects, and exhorted them to enact wholesome laws for the benefit of his people. The commons having presented an address to the king, thanking him for his gracious answer to the petition delivered by the last parliament, began to take the grievances of the people into consideration. They chose one committee for secret affairs; another to consider of ways and means to redress the grievances; and a third to examine the state

state of religion. This was their main engine, managed by the famous Pym, chairman of the committee. Two books, composed by Montague, were again brought under inspection, and condemned as erroneous, popish, and Arminian. Charles demanded a subsidy, and endeavoured to deserve it, by ordering the judges to put the laws in execution against popish recusants. But still the commons continued to brood upon the grievances: they even obliged the commissioners, appointed by parliament for managing the subsidies granted in the late reign, to give an account of their administration. Charles not only pressed them to grant the subsidy without further delay, which might be prejudicial to his affairs; but, in a letter to the speaker, he gave the members of the lower house to understand, that he would not receive a supply unless it should be proportioned to his occasions, of which that they might not plead ignorance, he signified them in five articles that accompanied the letter. The commons, shocked at this peremptory message, presented an address couched in the most respectful terms, expressing their hope that he would graciously receive such information from his parliament as would discover the cause of his majesty's wants as well as of the national grievances; and they protested they would assist him so effectually that he should find himself secure at home and formidable abroad. Charles, in apprehension of their impeaching Buckingham, against whom they loudly exclaimed as the author of all the grievances, wrote a second letter to the speaker, in which he plainly told them he would not suffer them to proceed against any of his domestics, much less against those who filled the first places about his person. He said he could not comprehend their reasons for attacking the duke of Buckingham, who had been so popular in the first parliament of his reign for the service he had done the nation: he declared that the duke, instead of augmenting, had considerably diminished his fortune; and that he had done nothing but by his master's express command: he therefore desired they would dispatch the affair of the supply, otherwise they themselves would be the first sufferers by their own delay. This letter produced no effect: they still resolved to impeach Buckingham. Doctor Turner, one of the members, proposed the question, whether or not they might proceed against the duke upon public report? and it was decided in the affirmative. The king demanded that Turner should be punished for his presumption; but the message was disregarded: nevertheless they voted three subsidies and three fifteenths; but resolved that the bill should not pass until their grievances were redressed.

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§ VIII. Charles, impatient of their proceedings, convoked both houses at Whitehall, where he thanked the lords for their loyalty and moderation; but told the commons he had sent for them to convince them of their having acted contrary to the constitution of the kingdom. Then the lord privy seal, haranguing them in his majesty's name, observed that as no prince was more attached to the lawful use of parliaments than their sovereign, so no king was more jealous of his prerogative, which he would not suffer to be violated under the pretext of parliamentary freedom. He complained that Mr. Cook and doctor Turner had spoke seditiously in their house, with a view to defame and bring his government into contempt; and that his majesty's messages, demanding that these members should be punished for their insolence, had been disregarded. He exculpated the conduct of the duke of Buckingham, on the testimony

mony of the king himself; and insisted upon their desisting from such irregular informations. He complained that raw members, without age, education, and experience, had presumed to vilify his council of state: that they had spoken of affairs in such a manner as to prejudice his negotiations with foreign powers: that their committees had not only examined the letters of his secretaries as well as his own, but even ordered the clerks of the office to produce memorials and secret notes made for his majesty's service. He declared that the supplies they had voted were altogether insufficient for the purposes to which they were destined; and commanded them to let him know, by Saturday next, what sum they would add to the subsidies already granted; giving them to understand, that should they fail in voting such an aid as would be sufficient to answer his exigencies, he would not promise to keep them longer assembled; whereas, by complying with his desire, they would obtain his consent to sit as long as the season would permit. The lord privy seal having concluded his speech, the king himself reminded them of the two treaties which had been broken off by the express advice of parliament. He observed that Mr. Cook had said, it was better to be devoured by foreigners, than to be ruined by impositions at home; but, for his part, he thought it was more honourable for a sovereign to be ruined by foreign enemies, than to fall under the contempt of his own subjects: and he told them, that as it was his undoubted prerogative to assemble and dissolve parliaments, it would depend on their behaviour, whether they should continue or cease. As soon as the commons returned to their house they ordered the doors to be shut, and the keys to be laid on the table, that no member might retire until they should have deliberated upon the king's declaration.

§ IX. Charles, being informed of their intention, ordered a conference to be held forthwith between the two houses, and sent the duke of Buckingham to explain his meaning in such a manner as might mitigate the severity of his expressions. The duke signified the reasons that induced his majesty to be so importunate for a supply; and assured them he had no intention to interrupt their proceedings upon the grievances of the nation. He took this opportunity to justify his own conduct and magnify his services; and the lord Conway, secretary of state, attempted to demonstrate that the subsidies had been employed according to the intention of parliament. Though the commons were in some measure appeased by this instance of the king's condescension, they presented a remonstrance, vindicating themselves from the charge of irregularity and presumption; representing that it was the undoubted privilege of parliament to deliberate upon national grievances; and humbly intreating that he would not take notice of any thing that might be said in the freedom of their debates, but suspend his judgment until he should see their resolutions. The king, being extremely embarrassed for want of money, and foreseeing that the commons would not deliberate upon that article until they should be satisfied in the other, at length consented to their impeaching the duke of Buckingham.

§ X. Their proceedings on this subject were retarded by an unexpected incident. The earl of Bristol, who had been confined to his own house ever since his return from Spain, presented a petition to the house of lords, representing that he had not been summoned by writ to parliament, and begging they would
intercede

intercede with his majesty, that he might enjoy his privilege as a peer of the realm. The lords addressed the king on this subject, and he complied with their request; but at the same time the keeper of the privy seal wrote to Bristol, in the king's name, desiring he would not obey the writ of summons. This letter the earl presented, with a second petition, to the house of peers, desiring their permission to exhibit articles of accusation against the duke of Buckingham, who (he affirmed) had abused the late king as well as his present majesty, the nation, and the parliament. Charles, incensed at his presumption, sent a message to the lords, declaring he intended to impeach the earl of Bristol of high treason. That nobleman was immediately taken into custody, and brought to the bar of the house, where the solicitor-general read the articles of accusation, in the name of the king, who had corrected them with his own hand. At the same time the house received the earl's impeachment of Buckingham, and lord Conway, secretary of state. The king's accusation of Bristol was divided into three parts, including his conduct before his embassy to Spain, his behaviour during that embassy, and his demeanour since his return to England: but he acquitted himself in such a manner as reflected very little honour on his accusers.

§ XI. In a few days after this trial, the commons prepared articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham; and Sir Dudley Diggs accused him in the house of peers of malversations, misprisions of treason, and divers other crimes and offences, specified in thirteen articles, which amounted to nothing more than the practice of buying and selling places of honour and profit; to his having in one instance extorted money from the East-India company; and administered a plaister and medicines to the late king in his last illness, without the knowledge of the physicians. The charge was supported by Sir John Elliot, who exaggerated every circumstance of the impeachment, and spoke with great virulence and contempt of Buckingham. He and Diggs were next day committed prisoners to the Tower; and the king was so imprudent as to declare, in the house of lords, that he himself would be an evidence to clear the duke of every article in the impeachment. The commons, exasperated at the imprisonment of their members, on pretence of their having spoken disrespectfully of the king, signed a protest, importing, That Sir Dudley Diggs had not spoken the words of which he was accused; and they publicly declared, that neither he nor Elliot had exceeded their commission. The king, who had hoped to intimidate the house, finding himself disappointed, thought proper to release the members; and the house of peers presented an address, desiring that he would also set at liberty the earl of Arundel, who had been taken into custody for the same offence. The king was very unwilling to comply with their request; but, they repeating their demand, and insisting upon the commitment's being a breach of privilege, he consented to the earl's discharge, though not without great reluctance.

§ XII. In the midst of these transactions, the office of chancellor in the university of Cambridge becoming vacant by the death of the earl of Suffolk, the duke of Buckingham was, by the king's interest, chosen his successor; a circumstance that gave great offence to the commons, who justly complained of his being elected at a time when his impeachment was depending, and the plurality of his places formed one article of his accusation. It was certainly a very

very impolitic mark of the king's contempt of his accusers. At length the duke delivered his answer to the impeachment, of which the commons demanded a copy: but Charles, in order to divert their attention from this object, wrote a letter to the speaker, insisting upon their passing the bill for the subsidy, without any condition, before the end of next week; otherwise he should be obliged to take other measures, as his occasions were too importunate to admit of the least delay. The lower house, instead of obeying this command, sent up a petition against popish recusants, containing a list of nine and fifty professed or reputed papists, who enjoyed offices under the government. They afterwards demanded an audience of the king, to whom the speaker delivered a declaration, justifying their conduct, and a petition requesting that the duke of Buckingham might be removed from his majesty's councils and person. Charles, shocked at the nature and freedom of this address, resolved to dismiss the parliament; and the commons, receiving intimation of his design, drew up a remonstrance, of which every member was furnished with a copy. The lords, apprized of the king's resolution, attempted by an address to divert him from his purpose, which however he executed by an immediate dissolution of the parliament. In the remonstrance, which was chiefly levelled against the duke of Buckingham, the commons complained of the dissolution of the former parliaments: Of the king's hinting a design of laying them intirely aside: Of his having levied the tax of tonnage and poundage, which had expired with his father, without being renewed by the commons. They conjured him to give up the duke to the justice of the nation, and remove him intirely from his councils; otherwise all the money they could grant would, by his misapplication, redound to the prejudice of the kingdom. Charles published a declaration to justify the dissolution: he alledged that, by means of some turbulent spirits in the lower house, the commons, instead of enabling him to support the war in which he was engaged by the council of parliament, disregarded all his letters and messages touching the necessity of a present supply, employing their whole attention in prosecuting his innocent servants, and endeavouring to intrench upon his prerogative.

§ XIII. Charles inherited all his father's sublime notions of the kingly power, and entertained a contempt for the commons which James would never venture to avow. His temper was more inflexible, his mind more resolute than that of his father; and he thought his glory, his duty to his successors, was interested in opposing and preventing the encroachments of the parliament. He now issued a proclamation for suppressing the remonstrance; and another forbidding all disputes for or against Arminianism: then he ordered the attorney-general to present an information against Buckingham in the Star-chamber, for having administered medicines to the late king; but this cause was never decided. In order to supply the want of parliamentary subsidies, he established a commission for compounding with popish recusants. He renewed all the leases of the crown tenants; he borrowed a certain sum from every peer; and demanded of the city of London a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, which was refused. He laid a tax upon the sea-ports, for equipping a fleet to protect the trade of the nation; and he continued to exact the tonnage and poundage. He declared the kingdom was threatened with an invasion; ordained a fast to avert the judgments of God; and raised a body of troops, on pretence of defending the nation. On the twenty-seventh day of August, his uncle, the king of

Denmark, whom he had engaged in the alliance against the emperor, was totally defeated by the count de Tilly, who took all his baggage and artillery; and Charles was obliged to find money to repair this disaster. For this purpose he could devise no expedient so feasible as that of a general loan: commissioners were immediately appointed and sent into the different counties, with instructions to demand a certain sum from each individual, according to his estate; to examine upon oath those who should refuse to comply, that it might be known, whether or not any person or persons had tampered with them, to excuse themselves from assisting the king in his necessities; and to transmit to the council the names, quality, and places of habitation of those who should prove refractory. A list of the voluntary subscribers was published, with a view to influence others by their example: all the nobility and persons of fortune were ordered to remain at their country-houses, until the subscription should be finished; and, with a view to intimidate the subjects from a refusal, Sir Randolph Crew, the lord chief justice, was divested of his office, because he had expressed a dislike to this imposition.

Rushworth.

An.Ch. 1627.

Over and above this instance of severity, soldiers were quartered upon the houses of those who were backward in their contributions; and when they were insulted or injured by those troublesome guests, they could not appeal to the ordinary courts of justice, but were obliged to crave redress from a council of war, which the king had instituted for the regulation of the army. Notwithstanding these precautions the money came so slowly into the exchequer, that the council thought proper to use more violent methods. Those tradesmen and burghers, who rejected the loan, were enlisted as soldiers; and persons of a higher rank were, upon their second refusal, sent as exiles into those counties that were at the greatest distance from the places of their habitation: nay, such as refused to submit to this sentence, were imprisoned in London. Vernal clergymen were employed to preach up passive obedience and non-resistance. Sibthorp, declared from the pulpit, that subjects were punishable for refusing to obey the commands of their sovereign, even though these commands should be contrary to the laws of God, of nature, and of the nation. Manwaring affirmed, that the king was not obliged to observe the laws of the kingdom; but that subjects were bound in conscience to obey him, without restriction, on pain of eternal damnation. Abbot archbishop of Canterbury was suspended from all his archiepiscopal functions, and confined to his country house, for having refused to license Sibthorp's sermon. Manwaring, being in the following parliament condemned by the house of lords to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, to make public recantation at the bars of both houses, to be imprisoned, suspended, and declared incapable of any employment civil or ecclesiastical, was nevertheless pardoned by the king, and in the sequel promoted to a bishopric.

Franklyn.
Rushworth.

§ XIV. Such conduct could not fail to raise a ferment in the nation; and the only prospects the king could have of freeing himself from all his troubles, were a speedy peace with Spain, and an hearty reconciliation with the commons. He was extremely averse to both these measures. He had not yet gratified Buckingham's revenge against the count de Olivarez; and he himself deeply repented the insolence of the lower house, which had taken such unprecedented liberties with his prerogative and administration. One would imagine his favourite had been bent upon his ruin. Instead of disengaging him from

the destructive war in which he was already involved, he intailed upon him another enemy still more formidable than the house of Austria. Buckingham, in his embassy to Paris, had aspired in his gallantry even to the person of the queen of France, Anne of Austria wife of Lewis XIII. He is said to have made an impression on the heart of that princess, and incurred the jealousy of cardinal de Richelieu, who took immediate steps for preventing the prosecution of his amour, and laid snares for the life of the English minister. The duke being apprized of his designs, denounced vengeance against the cardinal; and at his return to England instigated his sovereign to declare war against France. Such at least was the supposed cause of this rupture; and Buckingham was of a disposition very apt to be influenced by motives of this nature. The queen's chaplains and domestics were dismissed, in open violation of the marriage-contract. The duke imagined this affront would incite the French king to commit hostilities: but, that monarch contented himself with remonstrating against the contravention of the treaty. At length a pretext was found by the minister. Charles declared in council his resolution to engage in a war with France, because that court had refused to grant a passage to the English troops under the count of Mansfeldt: because it oppressed the Huguenots; and the French fleet had made prize of some English vessels. Monsieur de Soubize, brother to the duke de Rohan, solicited succours for the inhabitants of Rochelle, who were threatened with a siege; and a strong armament being equipped for that service, the duke of Buckingham, as admiral and commander in chief, set sail from Portsmouth in the beginning of July.

§ XV. The Rochellers, who had received no previous hint of this expedition, refused to admit the English succours into their town, on pretence that they could not take such a material resolution without the concurrence of the other protestants with whom they were associated; but, in reality, they were afraid of their allies, suspecting that Soubize and Blancard, who managed their affairs at the court of Charles, had agreed to betray the place into the hands of the English. Buckingham thus disappointed, steered his course to the Isle of Rhé, and landing with seven thousand men, obliged Toiras the French officer, who commanded in that place, to retire into the fort of St. Martin. Had this been immediately attacked, in all probability he would have been forced to surrender: but, the duke being totally ignorant of the art of war, gave him time to provide for his defence; and the siege was undertaken in form. The French court no sooner heard of this invasion, than the count de Schomberg was dispatched with six or seven thousand men to the Isle of Rhé, which he entered without opposition from the English navy; and obliged Buckingham to raise the siege with such precipitation, that two thirds of his army were cut in pieces before he could reembark, though he himself was the last man that quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small subject of consolation for the disgrace and disaster which his country sustained from his misconduct; and for the hatred and curses of his fellow-subjects.

§ XVI. Charles not yet discouraged by this miscarriage, resolved to renew his efforts against France; and the inhabitants of Rochelle finding themselves on the eve of a siege craved succours with the most earnest solicitations. The king proposed to comply with their request; but, his finances were altogether exhausted, and almost all his mariners and soldiers had deserted the service for want of pay. He had exercised such acts of severity upon those who refused the

Clarendon.
Rushworth.

loan, that he had nothing to expect from a parliament but the most vigorous opposition. Sir John Elliot had presented a petition to the king, demanding his enlargement; but, no regard was payed to his remonstrance. Five other gentlemen, imprisoned for the same refusal, made the like demand, not as a favour, but as the privilege of English subjects; no cause having been assigned for their commitment. This affair was brought to a solemn trial before all the judges of the realm, who refused to admit them to bail by virtue of a Habeas corpus, and remanded them to prison. After these acts of arbitrary power, Charles had very little reason to hope for condescension in the parliament. Nevertheless, such was the emergency of his affairs, that by the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, he issued out writs for convoking that assembly. He recalled archbishop Abbot from his country-house, to which he had been confined; released the bishop of Lincoln, and the earl of Bristol; and set at liberty all those who were imprisoned on account of the loan, to the number of seven and twenty. The majority of these were returned as members of the new parliament, which met about the middle of March.

An.Ch. 1628.

§ XVII. The king, in his first speech to both houses, told them that they were convoked on purpose to grant the necessary supplies; and, that should they neglect to contribute what was necessary for the support of the state, he should, in discharge of his conscience, use those means that God had put into his hands, for saving that which the folly of certain persons would otherwise endanger. The lord-keeper, as usual, enlarged upon the king's text. He explained the situation of all the European powers; expatiated upon the ambition of the house of Austria, the perfidy of the French court, and the danger to which the British dominions were exposed from such formidable adversaries. He exaggerated the wants and extolled the merits of his majesty. He repeated the ridiculous plea of the war's having been originally undertaken by advice of parliament. He reminded them of the king's threats, in case of their disobedience; and conjured them to be neither tardy nor sparing in their supplies. The commons began, as in the last parliament, with the grievances of the nation, particularly the practice of billeting soldiers, extorting loans, imprisoning those that refused to lend, and rejecting the privilege of the Habeas corpus, by which the English subject is admitted to bail. Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Thomas Wentworth afterwards earl of Strafford, Sir Robert Philips, and Sir Edward Coke, distinguished themselves on this occasion by the freedom of their reflections. The first of these, among other expressions of the same nature, said, "How can we express our affections while we retain our fears; or speak of giving, till we know whether we have any thing to give?" Wentworth exclaimed, "They have taken from us, what shall I say? indeed, what have they left us? by tearing up the roots of all property, they have taken from us all means of supplying the king; and of ingratiating ourselves by voluntary proofs of duty and attachment." "O improvident ancestors! (cried Philips) O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and at the same time to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison during pleasure, without redress or remedy? If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, and property? what may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?" Sir Edward

ward Coke quoted statutes to prove the king had no power to levy taxes by extorted loans; and he repeated an article of the great charter, importing, That no freeman shall be arrested, imprisoned, or disseised of his freehold, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by an express law of the land. In vain did the partisans of the court endeavour to mollify those demagogues, and persuade them to begin with a supply. In vain did secretary Cook present certain propositions from the king: the house refused to hear them, till they should have discussed the subject of grievances. In opposition to the king's pretensions, and to the determination of the judges, they voted, That no subject should be imprisoned or arrested without cause shewn; and, That the prisoner should enjoy the privilege of the Habeas corpus, even tho' committed by order of the king or council: That every freeman has, by antient and indubitable right, the absolute and intire property of his own estate: and, That no tax, talliage, loan, or benevolence, can be imposed by any other authority than of parliament. Then they allowed the secretary to read the king's propositions, demanding, That they would equip thirty ships for the defence of the coasts: ten for the assistance of Rochelle, and the like number to guard the Elbe, the Sound, and the Baltick: that they would provide for the subsistence of eleven thousand men destined for an expedition abroad; and for six thousand to be sent as auxiliaries to the king of Denmark: that they would furnish the forts and magazines with necessary stores and ammunition: to cause twenty ships to be yearly built as a reinforcement to the navy; repair the fortified places, pay the arrears due to the train of artillery, the Victualling-office, the fleet, and the merchants, whose vessels had been employed in the service: and lastly, form a magazine for the land-forces.

§ XVIII. The commons, without entering into a discussion of particular articles, resolved to grant a powerful supply; and then resumed the consideration of grievances. As the council had confined to their own houses several individuals who refused the loan, and sent others to serve abroad in the army, the house resolved that no free subject could be arrested or exiled to any place whatsoever, by order of the king and council, without the concurring authority of the laws of the land, or act of parliament. The king beginning to be apprehensive of this spirit in the commons, sent secretary Cook with two successive soothing messages, in consequence of which they resolved to grant five subsidies; but, immediately returned to the old subject, and demanded a conference with the upper house. Charles still pressed the affair of the subsidies, in repeated messages mixed with threats; and the court members endeavoured to intimidate the opposition, by hinting the danger of the king's being induced to govern altogether without parliaments. The commons were alarmed, not affrighted. They presented a petition against the new method of quartering soldiers in private houses; but, instead of answering it, he exhorted them to proceed without loss of time upon the supply. Their obstinacy increased in proportion to his impatience. They determined to sell their subsidies for some valuable consideration. They prepared another remonstrance, intituled, The petition of right, in order to ascertain the liberties of the subject; and sent it up to the lords for their perusal and concurrence. The upper house proposed some alterations, which the other absolutely rejected.

§ XIX. The

§ XIX. The king summoned the lords and commons to Whitehall, where the lord-keeper, in his name, told them, That his majesty looked upon the great charter, and the six explanatory statutes, as unalterable constitutions actually in force: That he would maintain his subjects in the liberty of their persons and estates: and, That he would govern according to the laws and statutes of the realm. He assured them they would find as much security in his royal word and promise, as in any statute they could enact; and desired they would unanimously concur in dispatching the principal affair. The commons were not pleased with this declaration, which they considered as a subterfuge to elude their intention. Sir Thomas Wentworth observed, that they must not only be satisfied themselves, but also do something for the satisfaction of posterity; and, that as their laws and liberties had been publicly violated, it was necessary to demand a public reparation. They were again importuned by messengers, and given to understand that the session should not continue a fortnight longer. They still stood firm to their purpose. The speaker, in his address of thanks to the king for his having declared his intention to rule according to law, desired to know if he would give his royal assent to a bill for the security of their rights and privileges. The lord keeper answered, in the king's name, That his majesty's word was better than a bill, which, however, they might prepare, for confirming the great charter and the six statutes; but without explanation, addition, or paraphrase. The petition being drawn up, the commons fixed the time for the payment of the subsidies, that the king might have no cause to complain of their backwardness on that subject; and that same day sent the petition to the upper house, demanding the concurrence of the lords. In a conference between the two houses, the lord keeper produced a letter from the king to the peers, declaring his resolution to forbear for the future from imprisoning any person on account of his refusing to lend money, or for any other cause that did not immediately affect the public weal. He likewise promised that the cause of imprisonment should be always specified; and the party admitted to bail, according to the laws of the kingdom. As the lower house took no notice of this letter, the lords proposed an additional clause to the petition; but the commons rejecting it, they did not insist upon its being admitted. Then the two houses resolved to present the petition, and beseech his majesty to vouchsafe an answer in full parliament, that it might be registered as a fundamental constitution. It contained an enumeration of the statutes which had been lately violated; and an humble prayer, That no man for the future should be compelled to yield any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax, without an act of parliament: That none should be confined, molested, or disquieted for the refusal thereof: That his majesty would be pleased to remove the soldiers and mariners who were quartered upon private persons; and never lay such burdens on his people in time to come: That the commissions for proceeding by martial law might be revoked and annulled; and no such commissions be issued for the future. These they demanded as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of the realm; beseeching his majesty to declare, that the proceedings to the prejudice of his people in any of the premises, should not be drawn into consequence or example; and, that he would, for the further comfort and safety of his people, declare, That all his officers and ministers

ministers should serve him according to the laws and statutes of the realm, as they tendered the honour of his majesty, and the prosperity of the kingdom. This petition being read before the king, his answer was in these words. *Rushworth.* "The king willeth that right be done, according to the laws and customs of the realm: and, that the statutes be put in due execution: that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged, as of his own prerogative." The commons, dissatisfied with this vague and evasive reply, laid aside the bill of subsidies, and brought the subject of grievances again upon the carpet. It was at this juncture that they passed sentence upon doctor Manwaring, as we have observed above. The king having sent a message to the commons, importing, that he would make no alteration in his answer, and finish the session in a few days; they took it for granted that Buckingham had done them ill offices. Sir John Elliot rising up to speak, was silenced by the speaker, who declared he had the king's particular order for that purpose. The house immediately drew up the following declaration: "That since the beginning of this parliament, no member had failed in point of respect to his majesty." Then they decreed, in a committee of the whole house, that no member should retire, on pain of being committed to the Tower. The speaker, however, being permitted to withdraw, went immediately to the king, and informed him of these proceedings. Mean while they deliberated upon a remonstrance to his majesty, in which the duke of Buckingham should be accused as the principal cause of all the misfortunes of the nation. The keeper returned with the king's order to adjourn till next day, when he delivered another message, signifying, That his majesty had no intention to deprive them of their just rights, but only to prevent their blaming his council, his past conduct, and his ministers. He desired they would not proceed upon business which would require more time than he had allotted; and promised that should he and they part in good understanding, he would soon call them together again, when they might consider other affairs at their leisure. Without regarding his promise or request, they proceeded with the remonstrance, and demanded the concurrence of the lords, in beseeching his majesty to give a more clear and satisfactory answer to the petition of right. Charles, thus solicited by both houses, thought proper to comply with their request; and the petition of right being read again in his hearing, he pronounced the usual form of assent, "Let it be right, as is desired." This concession was received with loud acclamations and public rejoicings; and the commons could no longer delay the bill of subsidies, which was passed immediately. Yet their ill humour did not abate.

§ XX. If, on one hand, Charles has been taxed with having formed a design to render himself absolute; it must likewise be owned, that the leaders of this parliament seemed bent upon infringing and reducing his undoubted prerogative. This confirmation of their rights and privileges was so well received in all parts of the kingdom, that the demagogues began to fear the king would become popular. They therefore resolved to finish the remonstrance, and insert in it every shadow or suspicion of a grievance, which might help to inspire the subject with hatred and contempt of his sovereign. They discovered an order of

of the king for the payment of thirty thousand pounds to Sir William Balfour, and Sir John Dolbeir, who had raised a body of German cavalry to be transported into England. They examined a commission granted to certain persons, empowering them to devise ways and means for raising money, either by imposition on the people, or otherwise. They set on foot an inquiry into the conduct of the duke of Buckingham; and they had recourse to the article of religion, as the most inflammatory ingredient that could be mingled in their remonstrance. They resolved, That the duke of Buckingham was the cause of all the national disasters, including the growth of popery: and, That Neale and Laud, bishops of Winchester and Bath, were the protectors of Arminianism. All these circumstances were inserted in the remonstrance, together with a minute recapitulation of all the miscarriages by sea and land; and every instance of arbitrary exaction and misconduct, which they imputed to the evil counsels of the duke of Buckingham. The king received this address with the most sensible chagrin; and afterwards gave the lower house to understand, that he would put an end to the session on the twenty-sixth day of the month. The commons forthwith began to prepare another remonstrance against the king's levying the duties of tonnage and poundage, without consent of parliament. They represented, That this imposition was of the nature of other subsidies granted by the commons; an hereditary right inherent in the subjects, founded upon the antient and original constitution of the kingdom, confirmed by divers statutes. They declared, That the exaction of those duties upon merchandize, or any other tax, without the consent of parliament, was a violation of the fundamental liberties of the kingdom, and incongruous with his majesty's answer to the petition of right. The king being made acquainted with the purport of this second remonstrance, repaired to the house of peers, and sent for the commons. He reminded both houses of their having protested, in their petition of right, that they had no intention to encroach upon his prerogative, which was not indeed in their power. He now declared, That in his answer to the petition, he did not mean to grant any new privilege to his people: nor would he part with the tonnage and poundage, which was one of the chief supports of his crown. Then he gave his assent to the bill of subsidies, and prorogued the parliament to the twentieth day of October.

Rushworth.

§ XXI. After their dismissal, he recalled the copies of Manwaring's sermon, which had given such offence, and ordered some Jesuits to be imprisoned; but, on the other hand, he established a commission for compounding with popish recusants. Weston, a professed papist, was created lord high treasurer, and afterwards earl of Portland; Laud was translated to the bishopric of London, and Montague, author of the Appeal to Cæsar, was promoted to the see of Chester. A considerable armament had been equipped for the relief of Rochelle, which was now closely besieged. The earl of Denbigh had sailed thither; but neglected to attack the French fleet, and returned with dishonour. In order to wipe out this stain, the duke of Buckingham resolved to take the command upon himself, and repaired to Portsmouth, where the fleet and forces were already prepared for the expedition. On the festival of St. Bartholomew, in the morning, the duke had been in earnest conversation with Monsieur de Soubize, and some other French gentlemen, who used such gesticulations in speaking, according

according to the custom of their country, that the by-standers, who did not understand the French language, imagined they spoke with great animosity. Immediately after this discourse, Buckingham, in going to another apartment, turned about in the passage to speak with Sir Thomas Fryar. In this posture he was stabbed by an unseen hand, that left a knife sticking in his breast. He exclaimed "The villain hath killed me!" and drawing the instrument from the wound, dropped dead upon the floor. The house was immediately filled with tumult and consternation. The French gentlemen were immediately seized, upon suspicion of having perpetrated the murder, because they had been heard to expostulate with such vivacity. Near the door was found an hat, with-
in which appeared a paper, inscribed with four or five lines of the remonstrance, declaring the duke of Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and underneath were some short ejaculations. No body doubted that this hat belonged to the assassin, who was seen walking before the gate with great composure; and at once confessed himself the author of the deed. Some of the duke's officers drew their swords, in order to sacrifice him on the spot, and he stood with open arms to receive his fate: but, they were prevented from executing their purpose by the interposition of others, who prudently suggested that he might make very material discoveries. His name was Felton, a gentleman by birth, who had served as lieutenant in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé; and his captain being slain, solicited the command of the company, which the duke bestowed upon another person. Felton considered his disappointment as an affront and injury which could not be redressed. It made a deep impression on his mind, which was of a gloomy cast. He quitted the service, became a fanatic in religion; and when the commons published their remonstrance, he looked upon it as act of duty to destroy the person whom they declared the author of every national calamity. This reflection co-operating with his revenge, produced the most desperate enthusiasm, under the influence of which he repaired to Portsmouth, where he easily found an opportunity of executing his purpose among the croud of people who had daily access to the duke's apartments. He declared that no person was privy to his design, which was formed purely on conscientious motives; and he seemed to think he had done his country signal service; but, afterwards, at his trial he expressed great contrition and abhorrence of his guilt. The king was then at Southwick, in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth; and being at prayers when Sir John Hippestey entered the room, and in a whisper made him acquainted with the deplorable fate of his favourite, he received the tidings without change of countenance; but, the service was no sooner ended than he retired to his chamber, and gave vent to the most violent transports of sorrow. Such were the natural effects of a warm and friendly disposition: but, he had much more cause to rejoice at the death of a man, whose life must have been a perpetual cause of distrust and contention between the sovereign and the people. He was a nobleman possessed of every personal accomplishment, whether natural or acquired. His apprehension was quick, and his understanding tolerably cultivated; he was brave, courteous, and liberal; but, fiery, rash, impetuous, overbearing, and so much a slave to his passions, that he scrupled not to sacrifice the interest of the nation to his own private views of resentment. After Buckingham's death, the earl of Lindsey was appointed admiral and commander of the fleet and army destined for the relief of Rochelle; but before he reached the coast of France,

*This note is on the paper
- view of the alterations of
the London Intell. letters
of 1795, drawn by him to
the Company at the Royal
Intell. letters, together
with a false edition of
Pope's Essay on man with
a variety of alterations
in Pope's hand writing -
May 23 1828 A.H.H.*

Clarendon.

the cardinal de Richelieu had built a surprising mole across the mouth of the harbour, which effectually excluded the English succours; so that the inhabitants were obliged to surrender at discretion, even in sight of their allies.

§ XXII. The parliament re-assembling in January, a committee of commons was appointed to examine the case of several merchants whose effects had been seized by the officers of the customs, because they refused to pay the duty of tonnage and poundage. The king convening both houses at Whitehall, declared that he had never entertained a thought of enjoying that subsidy otherwise than as a voluntary gift of his people; and desired that all mutual jealousy might be laid aside. In a few days he sent a message to the commons, requesting they would pass the bill of tonnage and poundage; but they pretended the affairs of religion were much more pressing. They complained that the laws were not executed against popish recusants; that, on the contrary, papists were favoured with lucrative employments; that something was daily added to the ceremonies of religion; that Cozens, dean of Durham, had introduced into his church, angels, saints, altars, and lighted tapers on Candlemas-day; and that Arminianism was greatly encouraged. Notwithstanding repeated messages from the king, urging them to proceed with the bill of tonnage and poundage, they set on foot an inquiry into the cause of these religious grievances. They, in a formal protestation, expressed their belief in the thirty-nine articles, as explained by the doctors of the English church; and their abhorrence of the opinions and doctrines adopted by Jesuits and Arminians. They solicited the king to proclaim a fast; and presented an address, containing a sort of apology for their preferring the affairs of religion to any other article of business, in their deliberations. Buckingham, the great object of their aversion, being now removed, their resentment glowed with double rancour against Laud bishop of London, who, as the king's spiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of the hierarchy and prerogative. He was branded as a superstitious ecclesiastic, chief of the Arminian sect, by whose influence Montague, Cosens, Sibthorpe, and Manwaring, had been pardoned and even promoted to bishoprics or rich benefices; and they exclaimed against him as an implacable foe not only to the puritans, but also to the liberty of his country.

§ XXIII. While the commons were employed in examining these religious grievances, the warehouse of one Rolls, a merchant, and member of the house, was seized up by the officers of the customs, because he had refused to pay the tonnage and poundage. A process was already instituted in the court of exchequer against those recusants; and now the commons sent a message to the barons of that court, importing, That they had resolved the bill of tonnage and poundage should not be discussed until the goods should be restored to the proprietors. The officer of the customs, being questioned at the bar of the house, declared his majesty had commanded him to make no other reply, but that the goods were seized for duties due to his late majesty. In a committee of the whole house the question was proposed, Whether they should proceed against the officer of the customs? Violent debates ensued; and Sir John Finch, the speaker, being desired to put the question to the vote, said he could not comply without disobeying the king's order. They were immediately adjourned to the twenty-fifth day of February, and afterwards to the second of March, by the king's order.

order. When they met again, the same affair was brought upon the carpet: the speaker again refused to collect the votes: he declared, in the king's name, that the house was adjourned to the tenth day of March, and attempted to withdraw; but was forcibly held in the chair by Holles and Valentine, until the majority had, in a tumultuous manner, passed a protestation, by which all the favourers of popery and Arminianism, all those who advised or assisted the king in levying tonnage and poundage before it was granted by parliament, and all persons submitting to the payment of it, were declared enemies to the state, and traitors to the liberties of England. As the king had nothing to expect from such a session, he was not sorry for this pretence to dissolve the parliament, and published a proclamation, signifying his intention on this subject. Next day nine members of the lower house were summoned to appear before the council; four of these obeyed the citation, and were committed to the Tower, because they refused to give an account of what had passed in their house when the speaker was detained in the chair. The papers of Holles, Elliot, and Selden, were seized; and a proclamation issued for arresting the five that did not appear. On the tenth day of March the king came to the house, and dissolved the parliament, after a short speech, in which he thanked the lords for their dutiful and submissive behaviour, and declared his resentment against some vipers in the lower house, who had blinded the eyes of their fellows with the mist of insolence and sedition.

§ XXIV. That he might not seem to exert a despotic power in punishing those leaders of the people, he proposed certain questions to the judges; and, according to their answers, ordered the attorney-general to raise a process against the imprisoned members for their violent, unlawful, and seditious behaviour in the house of commons. Alderman Chambers was prosecuted in the Star-chamber for having said that the merchants were more oppressed in England than in Turkey; and condemned to an exorbitant fine, the payment of which reduced him to extreme poverty. Long was sentenced to pay two thousand pounds for having violated his oath, in sitting as a member of the lower house, after he had been sworn sheriff of Wiltshire. The imprisoned members in vain demanded the privilege of the Habeas Corpus: they were detained in confinement from March to October; and then the court of King's-bench decreed that they should remain in prison during the king's pleasure. Elliot was moreover cast in a fine of two thousand pounds, Valentine in one of five hundred, and Holles obliged to pay a thousand marks. Such arbitrary and unpopular measures could not fail to inflame the public discontent. The populace murmured openly, and dispersed libels against bishop Laud, and lord Weston the treasurer, as the authors of all those violent counsels. The king published a long declaration in his own defence, justifying the steps he had taken, and in particular the dissolution of the parliament, from the insolent and seditious conduct of the members: but this apology had little weight with the nation; the imprisoned members were looked upon as martyrs to the liberties of the people. The dispute was considered as a contest between the crown and the subject; no wonder therefore that the king's partisans were not the most numerous. Individuals were heard publicly to complain that the king intended to destroy the privileges of parliament; that commerce was ruined, religion in danger, and the kingdom on the brink of slavery, from which nothing could

save it but a new parliament. Charles, informed of these clamours, endeavoured to silence them by a proclamation, forbidding all persons to discourse upon the subject of a new parliament; and a satyrical performance appearing, under the title of Advice to the king to bridle the insolence of parliaments, the Star-chamber declared it a seditious libel.

Ruthworth.
Clarendon.

§ XXV. Charles, finding it impracticable to maintain the war without subsidies, resolved to conclude a peace with France, which was accordingly effected by the mediation of Venice, on condition that the articles of the queen's marriage should be confirmed; and the Huguenots were left to the mercy of their sovereign. Since the beginning of this war France and Spain had acted altogether on the defensive: they knew the disputes between Charles and his parliament would disable him from executing any important scheme to their prejudice; and they would not concert any plan of operation against him, that might unite the kingdom from a sense of common danger: they even dismissed the English prisoners, who had been taken in the inglorious expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé. The peace with France was succeeded by a treaty with Spain, which was next year ratified without any difficulty. The five subsidies, granted by parliament, produced so little, that the king ordered the tonnage and poundage to be levied with great rigour. The custom-house officers were impowered to enter houses, and break open warehouses, chests, and closets, to search for goods which had not payed the duty; and, on this pretence of searching, they committed numberless acts of fraud and oppression. In order to prevent the popular clamours from producing insurrections, the council issued orders for arming and reviewing the militia, that the people might be intimidated by their appearance; while, on the other hand, they were amused with public orders for putting the laws in execution against papists. At the same time the king endeavoured to fill his coffers by granting exclusive privileges for the sale of commodities and provisions: so that the whole kingdom was filled with monopolies, to the unspeakable prejudice of trade and manufacture. Presbyterianism having made great progress in England, the king, by the advice of bishop Laud, sent instructions to the prelates of the kingdom, enjoining them, among other things, to take especial care that no puritan minister should be admitted into the church; and to discover all such as should neglect the rites prescribed in the canons. The presbyterians conceived the most implacable hatred against Laud for this and other instances of his enmity, and he severely felt their resentment in the sequel †.

An.Ch. 1630.

§ XXVI. The power of the house of Austria was now become so formidable in Germany, that all the neighbouring potentates were alarmed; and no prince seemed so well qualified to bridle its ambition as Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden; upon him therefore France and England turned their eyes. He was animated with a desire to support the liberties of the empire; but employed in a war with Poland, which for the present hindered him from gratifying that inclination. The dispute was compromised by the mediation of the two crowns. The French court considered him as a proper instrument to check the growth of a rival power; and Charles of England hoped by his means to

† On the twenty-ninth day of May the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Charles.

effect the restoration of the palatine. He engaged with Gustavus in a private convention for this purpose, and supplied him with a reinforcement of six thousand men, commanded by the marquis of Hamilton, in whose name they were levied, that the king might save appearances with the house of Austria. The Swede, however, did not perform his engagements: for after he had obtained several glorious victories, he refused to restore the king of Bohemia, except upon such harsh conditions as that prince could not accept with any regard to his honour. Charles, perceiving that he had been duped, withdrew his forces, which had done good service, and recalled Vane, who had accompanied the king of Sweden, in quality of English ambassador.

§ XXVII. Among the methods practised by Charles to raise money, was that of appointing commissioners to compound with those, who though summoned at his coronation to come and receive the honour of knighthood, had neglected to appear. In the reign of Edward II. an old custom was enacted into a law, importing, That every man possessed of twenty pounds a-year in land, should be knighted: almost all the succeeding monarchs had put the law in execution. Charles, considering the difference of value in money between that reign and the present time, summoned those only whose yearly rent amounted to forty pounds: yet even this mitigation was deemed a hardship, because the value of twenty pounds, in the days of Edward, was equal to four times the sum in the reign of Charles. A great number had therefore refused to obey the mandate, and these were now fined for their disobedience. A considerable sum was likewise exacted by way of composition from those who declined the order. This was likewise a subject of discontent, though not so inflammatory as the conduct of Laud with respect to religion. That prelate, though irreproachable in his morals, was, either from superstition or hatred to the puritans, inflexibly attached to certain idle ceremonies, which gave infinite offence to all the fanatics in England. These appeared as flagrant innovations, at the consecration of St. Catherine's church. When he approached the west door, a loud voice was heard, exclaiming, "Open, open ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may enter in!" The gates were instantly thrown open: then the bishop entering, fell on his knees; and with his eyes and hands upraised, exclaimed, "This place is holy, the ground is holy; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." In his way to the chancel he several times took up an handful of dust, and threw it in the air: he bowed frequently at the communion-table; he, with his attendants, walked in procession around the church, singing psalms: he repeated a form of prayer, and pronounced these words with a loud voice, "We consecrate this church; and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned by common uses." Standing by the communion-table, he solemnly anathematized all who should pollute that sacred place; and poured forth benedictions upon those who had contributed to build and adorn the edifice. In the close of every curse and blessing he bowed towards the east, and cried, "Let all the people say Amen." After the sermon he proceeded to administer the sacrament: in advancing to the communion-table he made several genuflexions, and bowed seven times very low to the bread and wine. Having lifted up the corner of a cloth that covered the Eucharist, he dropped it suddenly; and, retreating three paces, bowed three times almost to prostration. Then he advanced again, uncovered

Rushworth.

An. Ch. 1631.

uncovered the bread, and made another profound reverence. The same ceremonies were observed in uncovering and taking up the cup that held the wine; and he himself having communicated, administered the sacrament to some of the bye-standers. One would imagine Laud had practised this mummary, which was copied from a Roman pontifical, on purpose to exasperate the people; for he knew that no such ceremonies had been performed in the English church since the reformation; and he could not be so weak as to believe this grimace essential to religion. Whatever were his motives, certain it is he was a very improper person to be at the head of the church at this juncture, and a very pernicious spiritual guide to the king, whose conscience he ruled with the most despotic authority. Possessed of this preheminance he disregarded the clamours of the people, and set his enemies at defiance. Three doctors in theology at Oxford, having preached against Arminianism, were expelled from the university; and others, who undertook to defend them, were by his influence deprived of their places. While the administration of hierarchy was left to his charge, he and his adherents humoured the king in his high notions of the prerogative, of which, however, they resolved to render the ecclesiastical power altogether independent. The sacerdotal character was represented as sacred and indefeasible. Ecclesiastical courts were held by the bishops in their own names, without any reference or regard to the regal authority: and Charles winked at these encroachments in a set of men who seemed, in all other respects, implicitly devoted to his crown and person.

Rushworth.

An.Ch. 1632.

§ XXVIII. He continued to sell patents under the great seal. He erected a company of soap-makers: he derived a considerable advantage from stamping cards; and even granted an exclusive privilege to a monopoly of rag-merchants. He issued a proclamation, commanding all noblemen, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, and others, to retire in forty days to the different places of their residence, that they might not consume their means unprofitably in London, unless they had particular business in that capital; and those who disobeyed his order, the Star-chamber summoned and fined in large sums for the use of his majesty. He, at the same time, appointed commissioners to punish those who had augmented London with new buildings, in contempt of former prohibitions. London itself was condemned in a fine of fifteen hundred marks, for having neglected to take cognizance of the death of one Lamb, a supposed conjurer, who had been maltreated by the populace. While the state-puritans were persecuted by the Star-chamber and other courts of justice, the high commission and bishops courts kept a severe hand over the presbyterians, who seemed to thrive under the rod of correction. Being generally fanatics, they were easily provoked to some inordinate sallies of enthusiasm, that furnished pretence for the severities they underwent both in person and estate. Sherfield recorder of Salisbury was fined in five hundred pounds by the Star-chamber, because he had broke a pane of glass in a window of St. Edmund's church, where the history of the creation was painted, and God the Father represented in the form of an old man. This picture, which was executed in a wretched manner, gave offence to Sherfield; who, with the consent of the vestry, employed a glazier to remove it. In giving directions, he broke one of the panes with his staff, and was immediately prosecuted by the attorney-

attorney-general, for having, contrary to the canons, presumed to make an alteration in a church, without a special licence from the ordinary.

§ XXIX. These instances of rigour could not fail to irritate the people, and even alienate the minds of many from the church that practised such severity; and yet the church of England is of all others the most charitable and averse to cruelty and persecution; but few persons were qualified to make proper distinctions between the principles and tenets of the church, and the characters of individual pastors. Charles, in order to weaken the spirit of democracy, endeavoured to disunite the councils of the demagogues, and actually gained over to his interest Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had been one of the principal leaders of the opposition. He soon became one of the most zealous partisans of the regal power; and, at last, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and resentment of that house, whose deliberations he had so greatly influenced. In the mean time, the king created him president of the council of the North, a court of judicature established at York in the reign of Henry VIII. for the relief of poor suitors in the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westminister, and the bishopric of Durham, who could not afford to bring their causes into the courts of Westminister. This court, being intirely conducted by the king's private instructions, without any other dependance, degenerated into a terrible grievance, insomuch that, in a subsequent parliament, Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, declared to the house of lords, that of fifty-eight articles of instructions, there was not one that did not either contradict or transgress the laws of the realm. The king, having now governed the nation three or four years without a parliament, began to find himself more at ease than he had ever been since his accession to the throne. His revenue now flowed in certain channels. The commons became habituated to those impositions, against which they had exclaimed as the acts of arbitrary power; and though individuals were occasionally handled with rigour, the people in general found themselves rich and easy under his administration. Justice was upon the whole impartially distributed. Charles, in his private character, exhibited a shining example of virtue, piety, and moderation. Malice must own he was chaste, temperate, and devout; an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a warm friend, and a kind master. He payed too much deference to the opinions and solicitations of the queen, who, though an accomplished princess, was bigotted to her religion, and violent in her counsels.

An. Ch. 1633.

§ XXX. In this season of tranquillity he resolved to visit his antient kingdom of Scotland, where he was accordingly crowned with great magnificence; and the parliament, being assembled at Edinburgh, granted a larger subsidy than ever had been given to any other king of that realm. The English money had by this time found its way into Scotland, and the nobles of that country even vied with the English courtiers in the splendour of their equipage and entertainments. Charles inherited his father's design of bringing religion in Scotland to a conformity with the English church: and bishop Laud accompanied him in this journey, to facilitate the execution of the scheme. As a preparatory step he passed two acts in the Scottish parliament, the first intituled, An act concerning the king's prerogative, and the habit of the clergy.

This

Rushworth.

This was no other than the confirmation of a statute enacted in the preceding reign, empowering the king to give such directions as he should think proper, with regard to the dress of the clergy. The other ratified and approved all the statutes which had been made concerning the liberties and franchises of the true church of God, and of the religion at present professed in the kingdom. Both these acts met with opposition from the presbyterians: they looked upon the first as a prelude to the use of the surplice, which was an abomination in their eyes; and the words "at present professed," they considered as an æquivocal expression, calculated to restore episcopal government. Their church was governed by provincial synods and general assemblies; but the bishops still subsisted, though without the least jurisdiction or influence. The bills were passed, but they produced heats and discontent in the nation.

§ XXXI. The Scottish religionists were not mistaken in their conjectures. The king's purpose was really to introduce the rites of the English church, and re-establish episcopacy in its former power and splendour. Bishop Laud preached in the royal chapel at Edinburgh on the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the church. He proposed to the Scottish bishops that the English liturgy should be received into their service. They objected to this proposal, that such a step would alarm the jealousy of the nation, which would be apt to look upon the English liturgy as the forerunner of English laws, and an encroachment upon the independency of the kingdom. They therefore desired that another might be composed for the use of the Scottish church, that should be the same in substance, but different in some immaterial particulars. The king embraced this advice, though contrary to the inclination of Laud. He was himself jealous of the independency of his native kingdom; and appointed a select number of the Scottish bishops to form a new liturgy for their own service. He erected Edinburgh into a bishopric; created the archbishop of St. Andrew's chancellor of the kingdom; he admitted several other prelates to seats in the privy council, and in the college of justice: a very unseasonable mark of his regard for the hierarchy; for the bishops, by this promotion, incurred the hatred and envy of the noblemen, who, though they respected them in their ecclesiastical capacities, could not bear to see them in civil stations, to which they themselves thought they had a better title.

Clarendon.

§ XXXII. Abbot archbishop of Canterbury, dying immediately after the king's return to England, was succeeded in his metropolitan function by Laud, who now thought it incumbent upon him to enforce those ceremonies which he could not fully establish during the life of his predecessor. A strange oath had been imposed upon church-wardens, by which they obliged themselves to inform against all persons who should fail in any part of the duty that the church prescribed, as specified in a set of instructions drawn up for their direction. The presbyterians having expressed an aversion to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other vulgar festivals, partly from a gloomy disposition natural to that sect, and partly from moral considerations, as those scenes were often productive of intemperance and irregularity; the king was persuaded to renew the proclamation of his father touching those wakes and the diversions on Sunday, which had been recommended

commended in the book of sports †. The dean and chapter of St. Paul's removed the communion-table of St. Gregory's church, adjoining to that cathedral, from the middle of the choir to the east end of the church, where it was railed in, under the denomination of the altar, as in cathedrals and the king's chapel. They alledged that while it stood in the middle of the choir it was exposed to scandalous indecencies from people who slept upon it during the sermon. This reason did not prove satisfactory to the parish: they prosecuted the dean and chapter in the spiritual court; and the council ordered the judge of the arches to confirm the alteration. The king afterwards examined this affair in council, and approved the sentence by which the judgment of the court had been anticipated. The like disputes arose in many other parishes, and the high commission court did not fail to punish those ministers who were suspected of puritanical principles.

§ XXXIII. William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and a four info- An. Ch. 1634.
lent puritan, composed a voluminous work, entitled *Histrion Mastix*, on purpose to decry stage-plays, balls, and masquerades; interspersing in his book some virulent reflections which seemed levelled at the king, queen, and hierarchy. Being prosecuted in the Star-chamber, his book was condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman: the author was expelled from the bar, degraded from the degree he had received at Oxford, deprived of his ears in the pillory, sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king, and to undergo perpetual imprisonment. The printer was cast in a fine of five hundred pounds; and Abbot's chaplain, who had licensed it, was obliged to pay fifty. These severe proceedings were intended to mortify the presbyterian party, which, though numerous, was extremely odious to the king and his ministers, the privy council, the Star-chamber, the high commission, the prelates, the generality of the nobles, judges, and justices of the peace through the whole kingdom. Archbishop Laud was the professed enemy not only of the British presbyterians, but likewise of the Dutch, Walloon, and French refugees, who had been formed into different congregations in England, since the reign of Edward VI. with liberty to celebrate divine service in their own forms. All the members of those congregations, who had been born in the kingdom, were now enjoined to conform with the English worship; and those who were foreigners by birth, and therefore allowed to follow their own discipline, received orders to use the English liturgy translated into the French and Flemish languages, that their children might be taught in time to submit to the government. In vain did they plead their privileges granted and confirmed by four successive monarchs. In vain did they implore the archbishop's protection; he gave them to understand, that the king was determined to be obeyed; and that he would prosecute the recusants according to the laws and constitutions of the church.

§ XXXIV. The tax called ship-money had been exacted from the maritime towns, in order to equip a fleet for the protection of trade; and the city of Lon-

† In this year the queen bore a second son England; and one Parr was presented to the called James, afterwards created duke of York. king, in perfect health, at the age of one hundred The elector palatine and his brother arrived in and fifty-two.

Rushworth.

An. Ch. 1636.

don having been taxed at seven vessels, the mayor and common-council presented a petition to his majesty, representing, that by antient privileges, concessions, and acts of parliament, they conceived themselves exempted from all such impositions: but, notwithstanding their pretensions, the king persisted in his resolution. He even extended it through the inland parts of the kingdom, on pretence of the nation's being in danger from a league concluded between France and the United Provinces. As the orders for levying this tax were altogether arbitrary, and in direct opposition to the king's declaration concerning the petition of right, several persons refused to contribute, and some instituted processes against the collectors, for being concerned in an illegal imposition. The king resolved to prosecute his undertaking, after having obtained the sanction of the judges, who being consulted on the subject, decided in favour of the prerogative. He at the same time renewed the commission for confirming the defective titles of those who possessed crown-lands; and such objections were made against all their deeds, that they were fain to compound for sums of money, otherwise their possessions would have been re-annexed to the crown. That a pretence might not be wanting for levying the tax of ship-money all over the kingdom, Charles published a proclamation, forbidding all foreigners to fish on the coasts of Britain, and the adjacent isles, without his special permission. He alluded to the Dutch herring fishery, in defence of which Grotius wrote his famous treatise, intituled, *Mare liberum*; and this was answered by Selden, in a performance known by the name of *Mare clausum*.

§ XXXV. The king, without regarding such discussions, equipped a fleet, and bestowed the command of it upon the earl of Northumberland, who attacked the fishing vessels, some of which were sunk, and the rest retiring into the ports of England, payed thirty thousand florins for the liberty to fish during that season. He likewise raised a considerable sum, by establishing a commission to inquire and discover those who had, contrary to law, converted their arable lands into pasturage. Sir Anthony Roger was for this fault condemned by the Star-chamber in such an excessive fine, as terrified all the other delinquents into immediate composition. Charles finding many persons still refractory with regard to the payment of ship-money, published the decision of the judges, who declared, that in case of national danger, the king was impowered to levy a tax for the defence of the kingdom; and that he alone was the judge of that danger, as well as of the time and manner in which it ought to be averted. Notwithstanding this opinion, John Hambden, being taxed in twenty shillings for an estate which he possessed in Buckinghamshire, resolved to stand suit, rather than comply with an imposition so contrary to the laws of the realm, and the liberties of the subject. The cause was pleaded in the court of Exchequer before all the judges, with great solemnity, and was undoubtedly the most important dispute that ever was handled in any court of justice; for, the business was to ascertain or destroy one of the most valuable privileges of the subject: as such it was considered by every sensible individual in the nation. It became the universal topic of conversation; and people expected the issue with the most anxious impatience. After several hearings, protracted from November till June, the judges decreed that Mr. Hambden should pay the tax; and the whole kingdom was filled with indignation. Burton a divine, and Bastwick a physician, were condemned

condemned by the Star-chamber to the same punishment which Prynne had undergone, for having published seditious and schismatical libels; and Prynne himself for a second offence was sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and lose the remainder of his ears.

§ XXXVI. The king was not so much engrossed by these measures as to neglect the design he had formed of altering the state of religion in Scotland. The bishops of that country employed to compose a liturgy, had begun with a book of canons; and this having been approved by Laud, the king sent it back to Scotland, as the standard of church-discipline. The pretence used for introducing this book, was that the acts of the general assembly were not in print; and could not therefore be known to the people. Nothing could be more absurd than the conduct of Charles in this whole affair. The canons, through a gross oversight of those who compiled them, enjoined conformity with the new liturgy, which was not yet composed; they were recommended as an abridgment of ecclesiastical acts; and supposed the hierarchy and jurisdiction of bishops in full force, though, for fifty years after the reformation, the general assemblies had always condemned and rejected episcopacy; and in all their acts avowed a presbyterian government. The liturgy being prepared, the king sent orders for reading it on Easter-day in all the churches at Edinburgh; but, the earl of Traquair, treasurer for Scotland, representing that dangerous consequences might ensue, should the populace be surpris'd with it before they were prepared for its reception; the ceremony was postponed till the twenty-third day of July, when the chancellor, attended by the council, some bishops, the lords of the session, and the magistrates of the city, repaired to the cathedral to see the king's order put in execution. The dean had no sooner opened the book, and begun to read, than the populace that were in the church interrupted him with loud clamour and execrations, so as that he could not be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh mounting the pulpit, in order to appease them with mild remonstrances, was assailed with the same cries and curses, and a shower of stones and sticks, by which his life was endangered. The chancellor and the judges were treated with the same insolence and disrespect. At length, the magistrates of the city found means to expel the outrageous people; and the doors being locked, the service was performed, though not without continual interruption from the enraged multitude in the street. They still continued to revile the service, and threaten the prelates; they broke the church-windows with stones and other missiles; and when the bishop of Edinburgh came forth, it was with great difficulty that he escaped assassination. The other churches of the city were filled with the like tumults, in which, however, no person of any rank seem'd to have the least concern. A great concourse of people resorting to Edinburgh in the month of October, the council began to fear another riot, and published proclamations, signifying, That the council would be transferred to Dundee; commanding all strangers to quit the city; and prohibiting a book written against the English and popish ceremonies impos'd upon the church of Scotland. Next day, the populace besieged the place where the council was assembled, demanding, with dreadful imprecations, that the bishop of Galloway might be deliver'd into their hands. At the same time, they blocked up the magistrates in the town-house, and in a petition desired that the liturgy might be suppress'd; and that certain popular ministers, who had been silenced for their turbulence and seditious behaviour,

viour, should be restored to their functions. The earl of Traquair was overturned in the street, the multitude exclaiming, "God confound the liturgy and all those who maintain it." At length they dispersed, at the intreaties of some burghers, to whom they payed a particular regard; and were forbid by another proclamation to reassemble in the streets. Far from being intimidated by such mandates, they loudly demanded that their ministers should be restored. A petition was presented to the chancellor, in the name of all the inhabitants of Edinburgh, men, women, children, and servants; and another by the noblemen, gentlemen, and burghers, against the liturgy and the canons. The pulpits resounded with exclamations against them, as the preludes to popery and arbitrary power. The bishops were reviled as the ministers of satan, antichrist, and corruption; and the populace compared to Balaam's ass, whose mouth the Lord had opened. The king, informed of these disturbances, instead of taking proper measures to allay the ferment of the nation, ordered his ministers in Scotland to publish an ambiguous proclamation, declaring his abhorrence of popish superstition, and his intention to introduce nothing but what should tend to the advancement of the religion at present professed in his kingdom of Scotland.

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He afterwards sent another to the council, which had been removed to Stirling, signifying his being willing to pardon the crime which the people had committed, in assembling, composing, signing, and presenting, such petitions to the chancellor, provided they would retire to their own houses, and live for the future as good and faithful subjects. He forbade them to assemble again, on pain of treason; ordained, that no person should presume to approach Stirling without permission; and commanded all noblemen, gentlemen, and others, not belonging to the council or courts of justice, to quit that town in six hours, otherwise they should be declared traitors.

§ XXXVII. Nothing could be better calculated for inflaming and exasperating that spirit of discontent and animosity, which had taken possession of the people. The commonalty were averse to episcopal government from religious principles: but, the noblemen and landholders were influenced by more carnal motives. They knew the king's attachment to the clergy; they had seen his late effort to restore them to their antient power and dignity; they dreaded a resumption of the crown-lands; they could not bear to see prelates introduced into the highest offices of the state; and they were inspired with a national jealousy of all innovations from England. To these, some among them added conscientious considerations; but, religion was the universal pretext. The presbyterian ministers were used as tools on this occasion, to foment the popular fanaticism, by alarming their minds with the fears of popery, calumniating the bishops, and expatiating upon the chains of religious slavery that were forging for the nation. Immediately after the last proclamation was published at Stirling, the earl of Hume and lord Lindsay, accompanied by many other noblemen, and a great concourse of people, repaired to the market-cross, and, without regarding the presence and authority of the council, read publicly a protest, importing, That they would present their grievances to the king: That they could not submit to the bishops as judges, until they should have acquitted themselves of the crimes laid to their charge: That no proclamation or act of council, resolved upon in presence of those prelates, should prejudice the protesters: That none of their associates should be exposed to any danger in their lives and fortunes.

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nor incur any penalty civil or ecclesiastical, for having refused to acquiesce in the said acts, books, canons, rites, jurisdictions, and proclamations, composed and published contrary to the decrees of the general assembly, or against the laws of the realm: That, in case this dispute should produce any disorder, it should not be imputed to them, inasmuch as the council refused to receive a remonstrance and declinatory, which they had lately presented; and, that their petitions tended to nothing but the maintenance of the true religion in Scotland, and to the honour of his majesty. The same proclamation was read at Linlithgow and Edinburgh.

§ XXXVIII. Their next step was to establish a council for the direction of their affairs. They erected four offices or tables, consisting of the noblemen, the gentlemen, the boroughs, and the ministers. From these they elected deputies, to form a general table or council to take resolutions according to the instructions received from their constituents. The whole authority of the kingdom was now lodged in these tables; and all their resolutions were executed with the utmost regularity. Their first important transaction was their forming the solemn league and covenant, which was no other than an association of the people, expressing their detestation and abhorrence of all innovations in religion; binding themselves by a solemn oath to defend the presbyterian doctrines, with their lives and fortunes; and, declaring they would employ their whole power to defend his majesty's person and authority, in maintaining the religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom against all persons whatsoever. This obligation recapitulated the confession of faith, which had been signed by the late king at two different periods of his reign; and was the more dangerous, as it implied a sort of independence of the regal authority, by restricting the loyalty of the associates to certain conditional limits. It was no sooner published than the people ran in crowds to subscribe it; and it was signed by almost all the persons of consequence in the kingdom, except the privy counsellors, the judges, the bishops, and those who enjoyed places under the crown: so that it may be very fairly deemed a national effort in defence of religious liberty. It must be owned at the same time, that such an association was illegal and seditious, and the very intent of it contrary to the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, which had been recognized in the assembly of Glasgow, as well as to successive acts of parliament, by which, during the last forty years, episcopacy had been re-established and confirmed in Scotland. The covenanters pleaded, That the recognition had been obtained by compulsion: and, That those acts of parliament were imposed by arbitrary power, without the consent of the clergy, and in diametrical opposition to the sense of the nation.

§ XXXIX. The king, notwithstanding these disorders, still persisted in his design to introduce the liturgy and the canons, and sent the marquis of Hamilton to represent his person in Scotland, under the title of high commissioner, hoping that nobleman had interest and industry enough to reduce the malcontents to obedience, without giving them any material satisfaction in their pretended grievances. The tables foreseeing a storm, began to prepare for their own defence. They endeavoured to seize a ship-load of arms sent by the king to be deposited in the castle of Edinburgh; but, being disappointed, they set a guard upon that fortress, to prevent their being introduced: at the same time, they imported a provision of the like nature for their own use. The commissioner arriving,

living in Scotland, demanded, that they should renounce the covenant, return to their obedience, and let the king know what they desired for their satisfaction. They insisted upon a general assembly and a free parliament; declared they had never deviated from their obedience; and that they would rather renounce their baptism than the covenant. The marquis published a proclamation, in which the king assured his subjects of Scotland, That he had no design to introduce innovations: That no step should be taken contrary to the laws; and, That he would convoke a general assembly and parliament as soon as his convenience would permit. The covenanters answered, in a public protestation, That a simple proclamation was no security for the redress of their grievances: That the bishops were still left at liberty to practise those innovations of which they complained: and, That the laws to which the king promised to conform, were such as constituted their oppression. The commissioner having informed himself of the state of affairs in Scotland, thought it incumbent upon him to communicate his observations to the king in person. He therefore repaired to London, and, in a little time returned to Edinburgh, vested with power to convoke a parliament and general assembly. But, before he would agree to the convocation of an assembly, he proposed eleven articles of restriction, which, upon their remaining obstinate, were reduced to two conditions, namely, That no layman should vote in the election of the ministers deputed to the assembly; and that the assembly should not determine any thing but by way of remonstrance, according to acts of parliament. These the covenanters resisted with disdain, signifying their design of convoking a general assembly, even without the king's permission. The marquis resolved to make another journey to court, and in the mean time obtained a promise from them, that they would not proceed to the election of members till the twentieth day of September. In this interval, however, they took such precautions as secured an assembly fit for their purposes.

§ XL. When the commissioner returned, he published a proclamation, importing, That the king revoked the liturgy, the book of canons, the high commission, and the five articles of Perth: That for the future, the bishops should be censurable by the general assembly: and, That all the subjects of Scotland should subscribe the confession of faith, with an oath annexed, very different from that of the covenant. Then he convoked a general assembly at Glasgow for the month of November, and a parliament at Edinburgh, to meet in May of the following year. The tables protested against the proclamation, because the new oath, in obliging them to maintain the religion at present possessed, would operate in favour of the innovations which had been confirmed by acts of parliament. An accusation, signed by a great number of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and burghers, was presented to the presbytery of Edinburgh against the bishops, alledging, That they had not adhered to the conditions on which the general assembly at Montrose in the preceding reign, consented to their being admitted to parliament. By those they were obliged to act only as deputies of the church: to propose nothing without the express order of the church: to consent to nothing but what should be for the advantage of the church, on pain of deprivation: and, to be accountable to the general assembly for their conduct in parliament. When the day of meeting arrived, the commissioner plainly perceived that the lay interest predominated in the assembly,

bly, in the number of elders and assessors that were returned; and all that he could do for the service of the king, was to encourage and promote disputes that would furnish him with a pretence to dissolve them. The bishops presented a declinatory, pronouncing the assembly null; and the commissioner entered a great number of protests against their proceedings. At length, finding them determined to sit in judgment upon the bishops, he, on the seventh day of their session, dissolved the assembly as illegal, because they had introduced lay-elders to vote in their deliberations; because the members had been chosen by lay-elders, contrary to custom; because those few members to whom the tables were averse had been rejected without reason; and the bishops were in danger of being tried by those who were their professed enemies. Notwithstanding this sentence of dissolution, the assembly of Glasgow continued itself by virtue of its own authority, and passed acts by which they not only condemned the liturgy, canons, and high commission, excommunicated fourteen bishops, and abjured episcopal government; but, they likewise presumed to reverse divers acts of parliament in favour of episcopacy, and to annul the subscriptions of those who had signed the confession of faith according to the king's order: nay, they even explained that confession as virtually implying an abolition of episcopacy. The commissioner published another explanation, to prove that episcopacy did subsist, and that every person who signed the commission was bound to support it; and this again was answered by the assembly.

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§ XLI. The king was no sooner informed of their presumption, than he resolved to reduce them by force of arms. He summoned the nobility to a rendezvous at York, on the first day of April, ordering each individual to bring thither what number of cavalry he could raise. He, by means of archbishop Laud, obtained a large contribution from the clergy; and the catholics, exhorted and animated by the queen, were very liberal on this occasion. The command of a fleet, consisting of sixteen large ships, was conferred upon the marquis of Hamilton. The king set out for York on the seventh day of April, and found his army amounted to near twenty thousand men, besides five thousand soldiers on board of the fleet, his own guards, and the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle. The covenanters, far from being idle, had been beforehand with his majesty in their preparations. They had received supplies of arms, officers, artillery, and ammunition from Sweden, Germany, and Holland; and they established a correspondence with the puritans of England, without whose advice they took no step of importance. Charles, not without reason, taxed them with rebellion; and they endeavoured to persuade the English nation that they had taken up arms solely in defence of their religious liberties. They represented themselves as their brethren in distress; and exhorted them to seize this opportunity of vindicating their country from oppression. In order to convince the world of their pacific intentions, they scrupulously obeyed the king's proclamation, forbidding them to march within ten miles of the English border; and he believing their submission in this particular was the effect of their fear, sent another proclamation to Edinburgh, commanding them to lay down their arms, on pain of being declared guilty of high treason, yet offering a pardon to those who should return to their duty: but, the magistrates of Edinburgh would not suffer this mandate to be published.

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§ XLII. On

§ XLII. On the same supposition, his majesty detached the earl of Holland with a body of three thousand infantry and two thousand horse, to reconnoitre and intimidate the covenanters, commanded by Lesley, an officer of experience, who had served with reputation in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. The earl, in all probability, expected they would retreat at his approach; but, he found them advantageously posted on an eminence, to the number of five thousand foot-soldiers, and two hundred horsemen; and their appearance made such an impression upon him, that he retired with some precipitation to the king's quarters in the neighbourhood of Berwick. Charles, far from blaming his conduct, expressed uncommon satisfaction at his return. He now perceived, that he had been misinformed with regard to the strength of the covenanters, who had by this time reduced the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton. The Scots about his person and his army are said to have betrayed him by misrepresenting the condition of the rebels, and supplying them with intelligence of every thing that was transacted in the court and in the army. The marquis of Hamilton, who lay with his fleet in the frith of Forth, was now ordered to avoid hostilities; and the king seeing his noblemen and followers generally averse to the prosecution of the war, now wished for an opportunity to terminate it without bloodshed.

§ XLIII. The covenanters, apprised of his inclinations, wrote in a very humble strain to the earls of Arundel, Essex, and Holland, imploring their good offices with his majesty, and protesting, that nothing was farther from their thoughts than any design to invade England. Essex, who both hated and despised the Scots, would not deign to answer their letter, which he sent to the king; but, the other two noblemen were differently affected. They thought the covenanters had reason on their side, and turned their thoughts towards a pacification. When those letters had produced their effect, the lord Dumfermlin arrived from the Scottish camp with a trumpet; and presented to the king an humble supplication, beseeching his majesty to appoint commissioners for a treaty. Charles desired, That the last proclamation he had sent to Edinburgh should be read in the Scottish army. General Lesley complied with his request; and then he appointed six commissioners to treat with the insurgents. The conferences soon produced the following conventions for peace. The Scottish forces shall be disbanded in four and twenty hours after the king's declaration, importing, That all ecclesiastical affairs shall be decided by the general assembly; and all civil matters by the parliament: The royal forts, castles, and munitions of war, shall be restored to the king: His majesty shall then recal his fleet from the coast of Scotland, and dismiss the persons, ships, and effects which it had seized: No assembly shall be held, but such as is approved by acts of parliament. The cause of this war was never mentioned in the articles of pacification, which being signed, the Scots disbanded their army, and the king appointed the earl of Traquair his high commissioner at the ensuing assembly. This nobleman, a faithful adherent to the king, and devoted to the archbishop of Canterbury, was furnished with a set of instructions, by which it appears that Charles intended to temporize; and, in all likelihood, there was as little sincerity on the side of the covenanters, who disbanded their troops in such a manner, that they could be reassembled with the utmost facility and dispatch.

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§ XLIV. The king did not think himself strong enough to reduce them by force of arms, and began to doubt the fidelity of his English subjects; and the Scots made this feigned submission, partly out of deference to their correspondents in England, and partly with a view to fix the odium of any subsequent rupture upon the king and his council. At the meeting of the general assembly in Edinburgh, the bishops, by the advice of his majesty, presented a declinatory to the commissioner, who sent it to the king, without having communicated the contents to the members. The assembly passed an act, imputing the troubles of the kingdom to the liturgy, the canons, consecration, ordination, the high commission, the five articles of Perth, the change of the church-government into episcopacy, the introduction of ecclesiastics into civil offices; and the suppression or interruption of general assemblies: all which innovations they abolished; and the commissioner confirmed their resolutions. By other acts they petitioned the commissioner and council, to ordain that all the subjects of Scotland should subscribe the covenant; and they commanded all the members of the church to sign it, with an express clause, importing, That they received it as explained by the general assembly, that is, containing an abolition of the articles of Perth, the episcopal government; and the elevation of ecclesiastics to civil offices. Then they resolved to petition the king, that their acts might be ratified in parliament; and without consulting the commissioner, appointed another assembly to meet at Aberdeen in the month of July in the following year. The parliament assembling immediately after their separation, presented a number of acts so prejudicial to the king's prerogative, that Charles, by a letter to Traquair, ordered him to prorogue the parliament till the second day of June in the succeeding year; and should he meet with any opposition, to declare those members who should continue sitting, guilty of high treason.

§ XLV. This order being notified to the parliament, it immediately separated; but, not before the members had drawn up a declaration, importing, That the earl of Traquair had no power to prorogue the parliament without their own consent: That the order had been obtained through false information: That the earl of Traquair and the council had violated the privileges of parliament: That though they had a right to sit notwithstanding the prorogation, they were willing to separate, in order to give the king a proof of their obedience. Nevertheless, they left a committee to present an humble petition to his majesty, which was accordingly transmitted to London by the earl of Dumfermlin, and the lord Loudon, appointed their deputies for this purpose; but the king would not favour them with an audience, because they had undertaken their journey without the leave of the high commissioner. After their return to their own country, Traquair being called to court, reported to the council the transactions which had passed in Scotland since the pacification; and it was unanimously resolved, that the Scots should be reduced to their duty by force of arms. Nevertheless, the king permitted the committee of Edinburgh to send up deputies; and the two noblemen already mentioned, with two colleagues, repaired to London. They presented a petition in the name of the last general assembly, desiring, that their acts or constitutions might be ratified in parliament: and another demanding, That they might be heard in presence of some counsellors of both kingdoms. They refused to speak before a committee of the English council, alledging, that they were sent to justify the conduct of the

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Scottish parliament to the king, and not to the council of England, which had no jurisdiction over them. Then the king favoured them with an audience, attended by the committee; and Loudon, in a long speech, endeavoured to justify the transactions in Scotland: but, the king was not satisfied with his arguments; and the council declared, that the Scottish deputies had no powers to treat of an accommodation.

§ XLVI. Charles complained of the insolence and illegal conduct of their parliament; he taxed the covenanters with having, since the last pacification, levied troops; received arms, artillery, and ammunition from foreign countries; imposed taxes on the subjects; diffused defamatory libels against his government, through the kingdom of England; prohibited the king's governor of Edinburgh-castle from repairing the walls of that fortress; and prevented the garrison from supplying themselves with provisions; fortified other places for their own rebellious purposes; and solicited the assistance of foreign powers against their own sovereign. This last allegation was supported by an intercepted letter, directed to the king of France, in the same stile that subjects use towards their sovereign. The subject of it was to implore assistance, and recommend the bearer Colvil as their agent; and it was subscribed Rothes, Montrose, Montgomery, Loudon, Lesley, Forrester, Marr. Lord Loudon being examined touching this letter, which was without date, declared it had been written before the last pacification; but, he was committed prisoner to the Tower; and, the king made an advantage of this occurrence, pretending, that the Scots designed to introduce an army of foreigners into their country; so that there was an absolute necessity to make preparations for the defence of England. Charles certainly acted in the most arbitrary and impolitic manner, by exerting his supremacy in the church of Scotland, contrary to the genius and consciences of the people, inflamed to the most dangerous pitch of fanaticism; and, without all doubt, the Scots were guilty of rebellion in taking arms against their sovereign, and demanding the abolition of the episcopal government, which was founded on acts of parliament: but, if ever resistance is excusable, it must certainly be so in such a case, where a people is threatened with temporal and religious slavery.

§ XLVII. The king having resolved upon the war, practised every method he could devise to assemble a powerful army. He ordered every county to raise a certain number of troops, and exacted the payment of ship-money with great rigour. He was furnished with a very reasonable pretence for levying this imposition. The Dutch fleet under admiral Tromp, attacked a Spanish squadron commanded by Don Antonio de Ocquendo, while he lay at anchor in the Downs, under the protection of Pennington, admiral of England. Forty Spanish vessels were destroyed or taken; and Charles deeply resented this insult upon the honour of his flag: but, the situation of his affairs would not allow him to break with the Dutch; and in the beginning of the following year they sent a splendid embassy with excuses, and a proposal of marriage between the prince of Orange and his eldest daughter. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general of the army destined to act against Scotland; and his lieutenant was Wentworth governor of Ireland, lately created earl of Strafford. This nobleman, together with the marquis of Hamilton, and the archbishop of Canterbury, were consulted in all important affairs; and advised him to convoke a parliament.

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parliament. Mean while, the king borrowed money of his counsellors to defray the expence of his warlike preparations; and they contributed largely towards the relief of his necessities. Their example was followed by some other noblemen; so that he found himself in a condition to proceed with his armament, without waiting for a subsidy.

§ XLVIII. The parliament meeting on the twenty-third of April, Sir John Finch lately appointed lord-keeper, made a speech in the king's name and presence to both houses, enlarging upon the insolence of the Scottish rebels; and demanding an immediate supply that should enable him to reduce them to obedience. Then the king himself confirmed what he had advanced; and ordered the letter from the Scottish lords to the French king to be read in their hearing. The commons having chosen their speaker, and appointed their committees, instead of taking fire at the insolence of the Scots, and granting an immediate supply, appeared, like their predecessors, attached to the subject of grievances, and received divers petitions, complaining of ship-money, monopolies, the Star-chamber, and the high commission. Mr. Pym, in a long discourse, undertook to demonstrate, that the rights of the nation had been violated by encroachments on the liberties of parliament, innovations in religion, and invasions of property. The house ordered the registers containing the process against Mr. Hambden about the ship-money to be produced. The speaker of the last parliament, being examined touching his refusing to collect the votes, declared, that he was restricted by his majesty's express order; and they immediately voted, that this order was a violation of privileges. Both houses being summoned to Whitehall, the lord-keeper gave them to understand that the army was on its march; and, that unless they should be regularly payed, his majesty's designs would prove abortive. He told them, that the king had no intention to reduce the ship-money into an annual revenue; he explained the necessity of equipping a powerful navy; expatiated upon the readiness with which the Irish parliament had granted a supply: he desired they would regulate the tax of tonnage and poundage; declared his majesty's firm intention to redress all their grievances; and exhorted them to lay aside all jealousies and suspicion. At the same time, he set lord Loudon at liberty, through the mediation of the marquis of Hamilton, who is said to have favoured the covenanters in his heart.

§ XLIX. His assurances made no impression upon the commons, who continued to deliberate upon the grievances. The king sent a message, desiring their positive answer touching the supply; but they expressed no inclination to gratify his request. Then Sir Henry Vane, secretary of state, proposed in his majesty's name, That if they would vote twelve subsidies payable in three years, and pass it into an act immediately, with a clause, that it should not determine the session, he would not only abstain for the present from levying ship-money, but even consent to its being utterly abolished in any manner that they should judge convenient. This proposal produced violent debates. Notwithstanding the clamours of the opposition, the majority seemed disposed to give the king satisfaction; but, during that day, the house could not take any resolution. Mean while, some malicious person insinuated to the king, that next day the commons intended to pass a vote against the war with Scotland; and Charles unhappily believing the report, which was intirely groundless, repaired on the morrow to the house of peers, where he dissolved the parliament. Immediately after the

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dissolution, which the king justified by a long declaration, an order of council was issued for searching the lord Brook's papers, on suspicion of his maintaining a correspondence with the Scottish rebels: Sir Henry Bellasis, and Sir John Hotham, were imprisoned for refusing to answer questions that were put to them at the council-board; and Mr. Crew was sent to the Tower, because he would not deliver to the council the petitions that were presented to the committee for the affairs of religion, of which he had been president. Tho' the parliament was dissolved, the convocation continued sitting, under the name of a synod, and enacted certain canons. Among these there was one, that obliged all ecclesiastics, and such as had received degrees in the universities, to take an oath, importing, that they approved of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; and that they never would consent to any alteration of the church-government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. After having settled their canons and this oath, which they had no legal power to impose, they granted a large subsidy for the maintenance of the Scottish war, and then separated.

§ L. The dissolution of the parliament raised a new ferment among the people; and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by the favour publicly shewn to the Roman catholics, who were protected and even caressed at court, through the influence of the queen, who had persuaded her husband to receive count Rozetti, the pope's agent, in a public capacity. In order to raise money for the purposes of the war, the king ordered every county to advance the necessary sums for cloathing their respective forces, and conducting them to the general rendezvous. He bought upon credit all the pepper that was in the warehouses of the East-India company, and sold it again for ready money: he borrowed forty thousand pounds worth of bullion, which private persons had sent to the Mint, and punctually repaid it in the sequel. He demanded a loan of three hundred thousand pounds of the city of London; but met with a refusal, at which he was so much incensed that he resolved to gratify his revenge. The city had formerly received a patent for settling a colony at Londonderry in Ireland: it was now accused before the Star-chamber of having usurped a greater quantity of lands than was granted in the patent, condemned to lose the grant, and pay a large fine; but it afterwards retrieved the patent: though it was likewise prosecuted before the Star-chamber, because the mayor and sheriffs had neglected to seize the goods and effects of those who refused to pay the ship-money. Such rigour, exercised upon the metropolis, alienated the hearts of the inhabitants from the king, and they in their turn enjoyed their revenge. The Scots continued to foment the animosity of the people by their artful professions and insidious declarations, which were spread all over the kingdom by their travelling-pedlars and other disguised agents.

§ LI. The earl of Northumberland being seized with a dangerous illness, and the earl of Strafford, his lieutenant detained at London as a necessary member of the cabinet council, the lord Conway advanced to Newcastle with three thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse; and there he received intelligence that the Scottish army was on its march towards England. Lesley, at the head of two and twenty thousand covenanters, passed the Tweed at Coldstream, on the twentieth day of August; and in

a few days encamped at Newburn, on the banks of the river Tyne, about four miles from Newcastle. He found the lord Conway intrenched on the other side to guard the ford, and resolved to pass in the face of the English. He raised some batteries, by which Conway's horse were put in confusion; and passing the river, after a slight skirmish, routed him at the first onset. Conway retired with precipitation to Durham; and, thinking himself unsafe in that place, marched back to Northallerton, where he joined the king's army. Mean while the Scots, surprised at their own success, took possession of Newcastle, where they found plenty of ammunition and artillery provided for his majesty's service. The inconsiderable action at Newburn was attended with very important consequences. The earl of Strafford, a nobleman of a severe and haughty disposition, rendered himself unpopular in the army by reviling Conway's officers and soldiers for their pusillanimous behaviour at the passage of the Tyne. These, on the other hand, in excuse of their own conduct, magnified the number, valour, and discipline of the enemy: and such exaggerations made an impression upon the whole army, already averse to the war.

§ LII. The malecontents now spoke loudly against the government, knowing this was no time to call them to account for their presumption: the Scots behaved with great moderation, declaring they entertained no hostile designs against the English, whom they considered as their friends and brethren in oppression; but that their sole aim was to procure access to his majesty, that they might make him acquainted with their grievances. They protested their intentions were wholly pacific; they circulated two manifestos, explaining the justice of their cause, the artifices of their enemies, among whom they ranked as chief the earl of Strafford and the archbishop of Canterbury; the necessity that compelled them to take arms in their own defence; the rectitude of their intention, which they called God to witness; and the interest of England to engage in the same cause, for the support of their liberties and religion. Finally, they sent a petition to the king, beseeching him, in the most humble terms, to lend an ear to their complaints, and redress their grievances by the advice of an English parliament. Charles had convoked an assembly of his nobles at York, that he might use their advice in the present situation of affairs. He desired to know the particular demands of the Scots, who transmitted the following propositions: That he would cause the acts of the last general assembly to be ratified in parliament: That the castle of Edinburgh, and other places of strength in Scotland, should be employed for no other purpose but the defence of the kingdom: That the Scots in England and Ireland should not incur any penalty for having subscribed the covenant, nor be subjected to oaths or subscriptions contrary to the laws of the realm: That the authors of these troubles should be punished as incendiaries, according to their demerits: That the ships taken from the Scots should be restored, with all their merchandize, and the damage be repaired: That they should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained since the beginning of the troubles: That the proclamations, declaring them traitors, should be revoked: And that his majesty would, with the advice of his English parliament, withdraw the garrisons from the frontiers, that a free communication and commerce between the two nations might be restored.

§ LIII.

§ LIII. The king was now reduced to great perplexity. The city of London, which befriended the Scots, had presented a petition, complaining of illegal impositions, monopolies, the growth of popery, and proposing a parliament as the only expedient for redressing these national grievances. Another remonstrance, to the same purpose, was signed by the earls of Bedford, Essex, Hartford, Warwick, Bristol, and Mulgrave, the lords Say and Seal, Edward Howard, Bolingbroke, Mandeville, Brook, and Paget; and the gentlemen of Yorkshire delivered an address, in which they besought his majesty to make peace with Scotland, and assemble a parliament. The king, in a speech to the noblemen of York, declared his resolution to convoke a parliament for the third day of November; and demanded their advice touching the subsistence of his troops, and the answers he should return to the proposals of the Scots. The result of their deliberations was, that commissioners should be appointed to treat with the enemy. Sixteen peers were nominated for that purpose, together with the earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerk, and some others as their assistants; at the same time a resolution was taken to borrow two hundred thousand pounds of the city of London, on the credit of the peers, who should give security for the repayment of that sum. The Scots having appointed commissioners to treat on their side, the negotiation was begun at Rippon on the first day of October. But, in the first place, they represented that their army was maintained by contributions raised upon Cumberland, Newcastle, and the bishopric of Durham; and insisted upon the king's making some provision for their subsistence during the treaty. They likewise refused to confer with the earl of Traquair, whom they branded as an incendiary, against whom they demanded justice. After some disputes the commissioners agreed upon the preliminary articles, providing for the maintenance of the Scottish army, at the rate of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day; and restoring the freedom of commerce between the two nations. But the Scots artfully protracted the ratification of the articles until the sixteenth day of October; and then they had not settled the conditions of the truce, much less discussed the articles of the treaty. They foresaw that the noblemen would be obliged to give their attendance in parliament; and in that case the conferences would be removed to London, which was propitious to their designs. They were not mistaken in their conjectures: the negotiation was transferred to London, at the desire of the English commissioners.

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Clarendon.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

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§ I.

§ I. **T**HE parliament, at meeting, was unusually numerous. Every member looked upon this conjuncture as a national crisis. The king, in his speech, represented the necessity of a supply to maintain his troops, and of means to expel the Scottish rebels, that the nation in general might be freed from its fears, and the northern counties disburthened of such troublesome guests, whom they were obliged to maintain. The commons having, at the king's recommendation, filled their chair with William Lenthall, a lawyer of some reputation, established a committee of elections. Then they resolved, that on certain days of every week there should be a committee of the whole house, to deliberate upon the state of religion, the grievances, the courts of justice, commerce, and the affairs of Ireland. Fanaticism, with all its levelling principles, had now overspread the land. Even those leaders of the commons, who had assumed a puritanical severity in their words and actions, to work the more effectually on the minds of the populace, were gradually infected with that enthusiasm which at first they had only feigned. Many became real religionists; while others imbibed a large portion of puritanism, without laying aside their hypocrisy. The members were generally bent upon an alteration in the government. A few moderate men sought only to ascertain the liberties of the nation: others resolved to humble and diminish the royal prerogative; and there was a more violent party that extended their views to an utter extirpation of the hierarchy and monarchical government: but these at first carefully concealed their designs under the profession of rigid presbyterians, and were afterwards known by the name of independents. Religion was become a universal fashion. The most eloquent speakers in the house introduced a kind of holy cant and jargon into their speeches, and all their allusions being scriptural, stamped them with an air of prophecy or inspiration.

§ II. In the beginning of the sessions a great number of petitions were presented by individuals, as well as by multitudes of people, and numerous troops of horsemen from different counties, craving redress of grievances both in church and state. Mr. Pym, member for Tavistock in Cornwall, signalized himself in a set speech, recapitulating every grievance and shadow of misconduct of which the king's administration had been accused. He divided them into three heads, such as infringed the liberty of parliament, prejudiced religion, and encroached upon the liberty of the subject. He compared the innovations in religion to the parable of the dry bones in the prophecies of Ezekiel. They first joined themselves together: then came the sinews and flesh; these were afterwards covered with skin; and at last the whole was inspired with the breath of life. He complained that members of parliament had been restrained from speaking their sentiments; that some of them had been imprisoned, prosecuted in inferior courts, and detained in custody for having spoken their opinions in the house: that the speaker had been forbidden to put the question, and several parliaments abruptly dissolved; that the laws against papists were suspended; and persons of that communion favoured with places of trust and honour in the commonwealth: that they freely resorted to court, in order to communicate their councils and designs; and that a nuncio publicly exercised the pope's authority in England. He inveighed against the maintenance of popish tenets in books, sermons, and disputes; the new ceremonies
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in religion, such as altars, images, crucifixes, and bowings; the prosecution of protestant dissenters for things in themselves indifferent; the incroachments of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, fining and imprisoning illegally, and challenging that power as vested in their order *jure divino*; and contriving and publishing canons and orders for visitation. Under the head of public grievances he recapitulated the exaction of tonnage and poundage, composition for knight-hood, imposition of ship-money, arbitrary enlargement of forests, sale of nunsances by compounding for them, commission for building and depopulation, unlawful military charges levied by the king's warrant, letters of council, and orders of lieutenants of counties; extrajudicial declarations of judges, monopolies, the court of Star-chamber, the king's edicts and proclamations for maintaining monopolies; the ambition and corruption of the clergy who preached up divine authority and absolute power in kings; and lastly, the intermission of parliaments. Inflammatory harangues of the same nature were made by the lord Digby, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and several other members. Rushworth.
Whitlock.

§ III. The commons desired the lords to join in an address to his majesty for a fast, which was accordingly appointed. A committee was named to examine into the number of papists in and about London. The lord Digby proposed a remonstrance on the grievances of the nation, which was postponed till another opportunity. The house voted, that all those members, who were concerned in monopolies, should be reputed unworthy of seats in parliament. Among the petitions presented to the house, were those of Prynne, Bastwic, and Burton, who had undergone such rigorous punishment for libelling the government. By an arbitrary order of council they had been severally exiled to Scilly, Jersey, and Guernsey; excluded from all communication, and debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper. The house of commons now reversed the sentence, as illegal; and the judges were ordered to make reparation to the injured. When they landed in England, the people in crouds received them with loud acclamations. They were treated on the road with great magnificence, and entered London in triumph, amidst the warmest demonstrations of popular affection. Lilburn, Leighton, Jennings, and Smart, who had been imprisoned for the same offence, were likewise released, and obtained damages of the judges and ministers. The house eagerly listened to all petitions of people who had been aggrieved by the king's ministers, or complained of the innovations of the clergy. But their chief resentment was levelled against archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford, whom they considered as the most dangerous enemies of puritanism in church and state. On the eleventh day of November, Pym, after having desired that the doors of the house might be locked, and the keys laid on the table, declared he had divers articles of complaint, which might amount to an impeachment for high treason against the earl of Strafford. A committee, having considered the charge in another apartment, reported that there was sufficient ground for an accusation: then Pym was ordered to go up to the house of peers, and impeach the earl of high treason, in the name of the commons. He had foreseen this storm, and proposed to the king that he should retire to his government of Ireland; but Charles trusted so much to his capacity and attachment, that he insisted upon his attendance, and promised to defend him from the fury of the commons. He was no sooner impeached than the lords committed him to the custody of the

usher of the black rod; and, in a few days, he was sent to the Tower. Divers petitions having been delivered to the lower house against Sir Francis Widdelbank, secretary of state, complaining that he had favoured the Roman catholics, and released several convicted priests, he was summoned to appear and answer to the charge; but he thought proper to consult his safety, by retiring to the continent.

§ IV. The commons, taking into consideration the new canons, the oath, and the tax upon the clergy, which had been enacted and imposed by the convocation, unanimously voted that such an assembly had no power to frame constitutions, canons, or any other acts, without consent of parliament: that the late canons contained matters contrary to the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the rights of parliament, the liberty and property of the subjects; that therefore they tended to sedition, and were of the most dangerous consequences. Then they appointed a committee of nine and thirty members to inquire who were the principal promoters of those canons; and to prepare an impeachment against the archbishop of Canterbury, for having endeavoured to overturn the laws and religion of his country. The Scottish commissioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, at the same time presented to the lords an accusation against this prelate, taxing him with being the author of all the troubles in Scotland, by imposing the book of canons and the liturgy upon the natives of that kingdom, and exciting a war between his majesty and his subjects. The archbishop, being likewise impeached by the commons, was taken into custody, and afterwards committed to the Tower. Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, being suspected of a design to quit the kingdom, was obliged to give a security for ten thousand pounds. The lord keeper Finch, being threatened with a prosecution, fled into Holland, and was declared a traitor by a vote of the commons; and the king committed the seals to Sir Edward Lyttleton. Brampston Davenport, and Crawley, three of the judges were obliged to give bail. Such was the method taken to over-awe the king's ministers: but what still more contributed to intimidate his adherents, was the practice of passing votes against any part of their conduct, as contrary to law.

§ V. Petitions being presented against those who had been concerned in monopolies, innovations, or in any shape instrumental in promoting what was styled a grievance, the house of commons examined and declared them delinquents, as having committed offences for which they deserved to be punished according to law: consequently they lay under the terror of a prosecution. A much greater number lived in daily apprehension of falling under cognizance; so that all the favourers of Charles were terrified into submission, and he was almost abandoned by his defendants. He found the torrent too strong to be opposed, and therefore acquiesced in their measures with a good grace; and indeed, from the beginning of this parliament, he seems to have been sincerely disposed to a reconciliation with the commons. The lord Falkland, having spoken with great energy against the imposition of ship-money, the house voted that this tax was levied contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the privileges of the subject, and the petition of right: that the opinions of the judges, who favoured that imposition, were contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the rights and property of the subject, the resolutions of parliament, and the petition of right:

right: and that the king's orders, on that subject, were illegal in the same degree. A committee was appointed to examine the judges, and learn by whom and in what manner they were solicited and threatened to give such an extrajudicial opinion. The committee for examining the right of the subject was ordered to draw up impeachments against lord keeper Finch and the rest of the judges who had subscribed those opinions; to receive informations touching the refusal of admitting persons to the benefit of the Habeas Corpus, the prohibitions, the extrajudicial opinions of the judges concerning the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, and the court of admiralty, as well as their own illegal proceedings. The lords ordered the record of the judgment awarded against Mr. Hambden, in the affair of ship-money, and the opinions of the judges on that affair, to be cancelled in their presence; and this order paved the way for an act to abolish ship-money, to which the king gave his assent in the sequel.

§ VI. The demagogues in the house of commons had resolved upon the abolition of the hierarchy. The presbyterians hated the bishops, as their religious enemies and persecutors. The republicans considered them as a dead weight in the house of lords, that would always cause the royal scale to preponderate; for, they were to a man, devoted to the king and his prerogative. In order to pave the way for their exclusion from the upper house, a great number of petitions were procured against the prelates. One was presented against archbishop Laud, in the name of Wilson, a minister whom he had suspended. Smart complained of having been deprived of his benefice, and imprisoned by the high commission, at the instigation of doctor Cozens dean of Durham, because he would not conform to the innovations which that ecclesiastic had introduced. Smart was released, and Cozens declared a delinquent. The town of Banbury petitioned against innovations. Two inhabitants of Chester complained to the house of their having been cruelly treated by the high commission-court of York, because they had visited Prynne in the castle of Caernarvon. A petition was presented to the house, subscribed by a great number of persons in London, and several counties, containing eight and twenty grievances, arising from episcopal government: Addresses of the same kind were offered by the city of Gloucester; and several ministers of the English church. They were eagerly received by the commons, who nominated a committee to examine the jurisdiction and proceedings of the two courts of high commission, in the provinces of Canterbury and York; and another was established, to take cognizance of the last convocation.

§ VII. The king, alarmed at these transactions, repaired to the house of peers, An.Ch.1641: where, in a speech to the lords and commons, he recommended dispatch in providing for the maintenance of the fleet and army: he told them, that he made a wide distinction between reforming and altering the government; that therefore, he could not consent to the exclusion of bishops from the upper house; nor to a bill for triennial parliaments, which he understood the commons had under consideration. On that same day, a petition was presented to them against Matthew Wren, who, while bishop of Norwich, had by oppression and innovation, compelled above fifty families of that city to retire to New-England. Then the house deliberated upon the remonstrance of the ministers in London, against the bishops; and the right of prelates to sit in parliament.

Warm debates arose upon this last subject. The friends of episcopacy affirmed, that prelates sat in parliament since the beginning of the constitution, as the representatives of the clergy: and the other party alledged, that they first obtained seats in parliament, as possessors of temporal baronies, for which they did homage to the sovereign. Much learning and elocution was displayed on both sides of the dispute. On the thirteenth day of February, the house ordered a bill to be brought in for abolishing superstition. On the first day of March, a committee was established to prepare reasons for depriving ecclesiastics of all secular employments; and on the ninth, another bill was ordered against pluralities. Upon the report of the committee appointed to examine the remonstrance against the bishops, the house voted, That the legislative and judiciary power of the bishops in the house of peers, was a great obstacle to the discharge of their spiritual functions, as well as prejudicial to the state; therefore it was necessary to suppress that power: and that a bill should be prepared for the purpose. The same vote was passed with respect to the judiciary power of bishops, and other ecclesiastics in the commission of the peace, in the Star-Chamber, or in any other court of jurisdiction. At length, a bill for excluding ecclesiastics from all secular employments passed the house of commons; and was sent up to the lords, among whom it met with great opposition. The commons immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy: then the lords gave them to understand, they were ready to concur with the first bill, excepting the clause that deprived bishops of their seats in parliament. In a subsequent conference between the two houses, the lords declared, That they did not conceive this right of the bishops could be disputed, either by the common or statute-law of the kingdom: nor did they see any inconvenience resulting from such right; though they were ready to concur with the commons in excluding them from seats in the Star-Chamber and in the council, and from the exercise of all secular employments. Next day the lower house presented to the lords nine reasons for excluding bishops from parliament: and on the seventh day of June, the peers voted, That the bishops should be maintained in their right to sit in parliament. On the fifteenth, the lower house passed a vote, importing, That all deans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and their officers, should be totally suppressed; and their revenues employed for the encouragement of study, science, and other pious uses: That the king should be indemnified for his rents, first-fruits, and other rights: and, That a convenient subsistence should be assigned to those who should be thus deprived of their livings, provided they were not delinquents.

§ VIII. During these transactions, the catholics did not escape unpunished. The committee appointed to consider the king's proclamation against recusants, having reported that it did not answer the expectations of the house, the commons desired the general of the army to dismiss all the officers that were papists, and petitioned the king to deprive all catholic governors of their places. A remonstrance was prepared against the pope's nuncio Rosetti, who resided in England, on pretence of being necessary to the queen in matters of conscience; and the justices of the peace were ordered to prosecute recusants with all the rigour of the law. Several conferences were held between the two houses on the subject of one Goodman, a jesuit, who had been condemned to death and respited by the king. They presented a joint-remonstrance to his majesty, desir-

ing he would not interrupt the execution of justice upon this jesuit and apostate. Charles replied, That the death of Goodman might prejudice the protestants abroad. The man himself petitioned that he might be put to death rather than occasion any difference between the king and parliament; and the two houses, mollified perhaps by this generous request, no longer insisted upon his execution. The commons having received information of some secret design hatched by the papists, ordered the mayor of London to prevent the resort of people to the chapels of the queen, and of foreign ambassadors: a bill was brought into the house for disarming all the papists of the kingdom. The members examined into the affair of the contribution which the catholics had raised for the support of the war in Scotland. But the queen appeased them with a message, owning she had exerted herself for the relief of the king in his necessities, protesting she did not know that the methods she used were contrary to law; and assuring them she would for the future act with more circumspection. She likewise promised of her own accord, that Rosetti should be sent back to his own country; but, delaying the performance of this promise until their patience was exhausted, they ordered him to be brought to the bar, that he might be interrogated; and he retired to the continent with great precipitation. Father Philippe, the queen's confessor, was examined by the commons, who sent to the lords an impeachment against him, and another against the superior of her majesty's capuchins; but on neither did they proceed.

Nelson.
Rushworth.
Clarendon.

§ IX. This vigour of the commons was in a great measure owing to the Scottish army that still remained at Newcastle. The earl of Rothes and lord Loudon, who were their chief deputies in negotiating the treaty, maintained an intimate correspondence with the leading men in the lower house, and greatly influenced their measures. Those commissioners were magnificently lodged in the city of London, close by St. Antholin's church, which was assigned to them as a place of devotion, where their chaplains publicly practised the presbyterian form of worship; and by their preaching acquired great popularity among the English puritans. Their prayers and sermons were no other than rhapsodies of unintelligible jargon, which was wonderfully adapted to the ignorant fanaticism that then prevailed in all parts of the nation. The house of commons appointed a committee to renew the treaty of Rippon with the Scottish commissioners; and an order was entered, that upon all occasions they should receive the appellation of Our Brethren of Scotland. It was resolved, That the Scottish as well as the English army, should be payed by the parliament: two subsidies were granted for this purpose; and in the mean time, money was borrowed in the city of London, on the credit of particular members. A poll-tax, and other supplies, were afterwards levied; but not sufficient to defray the whole expence. They foresaw, that the parliament's being in debt, would be a good reason for continuing the session. They looked upon the Scots as their confederates, whose presence kept the king in subjection; and they determined to retain those invaders, until they should have wholly subdued the royal prerogative.

§ X. This was actually the case: in the course of this session Charles gave his assent to an act establishing triennial parliaments; another to abolish the Star-chamber and high-commission; a third for reducing forests to their ancient bounds in the reign of Edward I. a fourth repealing the statutes concerning knighthood, which had passed in the reign of the second Edward; and

and a fifth for abolishing the tax of ship-money. The commons, in granting the tonnage and poundage, voted these duties for two months only; and afterwards renewed their grant from time to time, that they might convince the king of his having no independent right to assume them, without the consent of parliament. The marshal's-court, the stannary-court, together with the councils of the North, and of Wales, were abolished, as illegal and oppressive. The nation expressed great joy at these concessions of the king, who now found himself abandoned by his adherents, and had the mortification to see the Scots caressed by the Parliament, which, instead of enabling him to drive them as rebels out of England, now presented them with three hundred thousand pounds, as a recompence for having invaded the kingdom. In a word, he was obliged to grant all their demands, in a treaty which was ratified by the parliaments of both nations. Charles, with a view to render the popular leaders propitious to his government, and more placable with regard to the earl of Strafford, admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol, and Warwick; the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton. Juxon bishop of London, the friend of Laud, resigned the treasurer's staff: Oliver St. John was appointed solicitor-general. The king intended that Hollis should fill the place of secretary, vacated by the flight of Windebank: that Pym should be made chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Cottington, who had resigned; lord Say master of the wards; the earl of Essex governor, and Mr. Hambden tutor to the prince: but this total change in the ministry was prevented by the king's understanding that those persons would not alter their measures, in consequence of their promotion.

Rushworth.
Clarendon.

§ XI. The sacrifices he had already made, did not one moment retard the prosecution of Strafford. That nobleman was considered as the chief support of the prerogative: the commons looked upon him as an apostate; and the Scots hated him, as the implacable and avowed enemy of their country. A committee of thirteen was chosen by the lower house, to prepare the charge against him; and these were joined to a committee of the lords, authorized to examine witnesses and papers touching any part of the earl's conduct. They likewise took an oath of secrecy, that the earl might find the greater difficulty in eluding their enquiries, and in preparing for his defence. The king too rashly consented to their examining privy-counsellors upon opinions delivered at the board. Sir George Ratcliffe, the earl's friend and confidant, was accused of high treason, brought from Ireland and committed to prison, that Strafford might be deprived of his intimate friend, who was best able to justify his conduct. The Irish house of commons sent over a committee to assist in the prosecution of this unfortunate nobleman, who had been their governor; and, in a word, the three kingdoms seemed bent upon his destruction. The articles of his impeachment, amounting to eight and twenty, charged him with having exercised illegal arbitrary power and oppression in many instances, both as president of the North, and as lord lieutenant of Ireland: with having been the cause of the war with the Scots, against whom he had unjustly irritated his majesty: with having levied an army of Irish papists to enslave the kingdom: and with having advised the king to establish an absolute government on the ruins of the constitution. Westminster-hall was formed into a large court of judicature, for this important trial. The earl of Arundel presided as lord high

high steward, the peers sat in their robes as judges, and the commons as accusers; but the bishops withdrew, according to custom, because forbidden by the canons to assist at any trial for life. At the upper end was a chair and cloth of state for the king, and on each side a close gallery, in which his majesty and the queen sat in private. Whitelock was appointed chairman of the committee appointed to conduct the impeachment. The trial began on the twenty-second day of March. The articles of accusation were enforced with all the virulence of malice, and all the energy of eloquence. The earl behaved with great dignity, courage, and composure. His defence was noble, spirited, and effectual. He acquitted himself of every imputation, except a few acrimonious expressions, and some instances of indiscretion, which ought to have been forgiven, as the infirmities of human nature. Nothing had appeared against him to justify the charge of treason, when, on the twelfth day of April, Pym produced, in the house of commons, a paper of some notes taken by secretary Vane, of opinions delivered at the council-table. Young Vane pretended that he had found them by accident in his father's cabinet; and, as they were thought to bear testimony against the earl, his accusers next day read them openly at his trial. They were intitled, No danger of a war with Scotland, if offensive, not defensive. The earl had advised the king to borrow a sum of money of the city of London, and to levy ship-money. He said his majesty was absolved from all rule of government, as having tried all legal ways, and been repulsed; and that he had an army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience. The earl, in his defence observed, that it was hard measure to be prosecuted under the notion of treason for opinions given in council: that his using the expression "this kingdom," was not proved, as the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Northumberland, the lord treasurer, and the lord Cottington, who were present at the board, declared, upon their honours, that they never heard him speak such words; but granting he had used the expression, the word This, could not rationally imply England, which had not been guilty of disobedience, but Scotland, which was the immediate subject of their deliberation, and in a state of actual rebellion. After having made this answer, he recapitulated the several parts of his former defence; and, in conclusion, said, "My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me."—Here he made a pause, pointing to his children, and shedding some tears, then proceeded in these words: "What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity woundeth me to the very soul—" "You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass:—and now my lords, for myself, I have been taught, by the blessing of Almighty God, that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory, which shall be revealed hereafter: and so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be of life or death, *Te Deum Laudamus*." The very chairman of the committee who managed the impeachment, says this great and good person spoke with such pathetic grace and eloquence as moved the hearts of all his auditors (a few excepted) to pity and remorse.

§ XII. He and his counsel produced such weighty arguments in his defence, that the commons saw no prospect of his destruction but by bill of attainder, which passed the house on the twenty-first day of April, after a sharp debate, and was immediately sent up to the lords. On the first day of May, the king assembling both houses, passionately requested that they would not proceed severely against the earl of Strafford, whom, in his own conscience, he could not condemn of high treason; but that for his misdemeanours he should never serve him, nor the commonwealth, in any place of trust, no not so much as a constable. Next day the nuptials of the prince of Orange and the princess Mary were solemnized; and the popular ministers preached up the necessity of justice upon some great delinquents. On the third, a vast multitude of the populace from the city appeared at Westminster, armed with swords and cudgels, crying aloud for justice against the earl of Strafford. They pretended decay of trade, and want of subsistence; and pasted up at Westminster the names of all those members of parliament who had voted for the earl. A national protestation to maintain the protestant religion against popery; to defend the king's person, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject, was taken by the lords and commons, and imposed upon all the people of England. A bill was brought in for continuing this parliament, which should not be prorogued, adjourned, or dissolved, without the consent of both houses, until the grievances should be redressed, but have credit to take up money. A majority of the peers voted the earl of Strafford guilty of high treason. The king being addressed upon the act of attainder, and the other bill, was involved in the utmost anxiety. His counsellors advised him to give up the earl, in order to appease the enraged people. Strafford himself, in a letter, gallantly exhorted his majesty to sacrifice him to a reconciliation with his subjects. The queen, who was no friend to the earl, and terrified with the thoughts of a rebellion, used all her influence in persuading him to comply with the demands of his parliament. Thus perplexed, and bated with importunities, he commissioned three lords to pass the bills, which deprived Strafford of life, and himself of authority. When secretary Carleton informed the earl of this transaction, he started up from his chair, with marks of extreme astonishment, and laying his hand upon his breast, exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation." Charles was immediately seized with remorse for what he had done, and sent a letter by the prince to the house of lords, intreating them to confer with the commons, that the life of Strafford might be spared; but they paid no regard to his request.

§ XIII. The parliament was now more than ever exasperated by the discovery of two designs which were said to be countenanced by his majesty. One was to forward the escape of Strafford, by means of captain Billingsley, who came with two hundred men, and a warrant from the king, to be admitted into the Tower; but Sir William Balfour the lieutenant, suspecting his intention, would not receive the reinforcement. Balfour himself was tampered with, and might have been gratified with a considerable sum of money, for conniving at the earl's elopement; but he was so strongly attached to his countrymen the covenanters, that he rejected the offer, and communicated the transaction to the popular men among the commons. The other design was an association
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of the officers in the army to defend the king's person and government against those who seemed bent upon overturning the constitution in church and state. The persons chiefly concerned in this affair, were the lord Piercy, Jermyn, O Neale, Goring, Wilmot, Pollard, and Ashburnham, who enjoyed commissions in the army. They were piqued at some marks of partiality which the commons had exhibited in favour of the Scots; and no doubt they were fired with indignation to see their monarch so rigorously treated by this parliament. They drew up the form of a petition to the king and parliament, to be subscribed by the army, which therein promised to come up and guard his majesty and the two houses, from the danger of tumults excited by malecontents, and vindicate the nation from innovations. This draught was countersigned by the initial letters of the king's name, in token of his approbation. Goring, who was governor of Portsmouth, betrayed the secret to the leading men in the lower house. Pym communicated the intelligence in an inflammatory speech. Piercy and Jermyn fled immediately to the continent. Goring was examined at the bar of the house, and confessed the associators had bound themselves by an oath of secrecy; and, though this circumstance was still denied by Pollard, Wilmot, and Ashburnham, Piercy confirmed it, in a letter to his brother the earl of Northumberland. It was considered as a very dangerous conspiracy; and on this occasion the protestation had been signed by all the members of both houses, except Southampton and Roberts. To keep up the ferment of the people, fresh alarms were every day sounded. A great concourse of papists was said to be assembled in Lancashire: the malecontents of that communion were reported to meet in Surry, and conspire in subterranean caverns. Some ridiculous plots were feigned for the purpose of irritating the populace; and rumours of invasions and insurrections carefully circulated. The people thus inflamed, blazed out in violence and riot; they crowded about the palace of Whitehall, and demanded justice with the most outrageous menaces and clamour.

§ XIV. In such a state of anarchy and insurrection, no wonder that little regard was paid to the king's interposition in favour of Strafford. On the twelfth day of May, that unhappy nobleman was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill; and, as he passed by the apartments of the archbishop, he spoke to him at the window, intreating the assistance of his prayers. Laud, summoning all his fortitude, encouraged the noble sufferer with spiritual comfort, administered with a chearful voice and confident expression. Thus animated, the earl appeared in his last scene with that serenity which is the effect of true courage and internal peace. He expressed his fears that a reformation, begun with the shedding of innocent blood, would not have a happy issue. He declared his attachment to the protestant religion, as professed in the church of England; his loyalty to the king, and affection to the peace and welfare of the kingdom. Having bid farewell to his brother and friends; "And now (said he) one stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends."---In preparing himself for the block, "I thank God (added he) that I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as chearfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose." So saying, he submitted his neck

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neck to the executioner, who at one stroke severed his head from his body. Such was the fate of Sir Thomas Wentworth earl of Strafford, a nobleman of rare talents, invincible courage, and unshaken fidelity: but proud, contemptuous, arbitrary, and overbearing. He had, without doubt, advised the king to maintain his authority by force of arms; but he was altogether innocent and unconcerned in those measures by which Charles had involved himself in such a labyrinth of trouble and perplexity. Those had been devised and practised before he had any share in the administration; and the bill of attainder by which he fell, is a standing reproach upon both houses of parliament.

§ XV. The king was extremely shocked at the death of Strafford, and thought he had every thing to fear from the violence of those men who had already treated him with such cruelty and contempt. Inspired with this apprehension, he resolved to appease them with all sorts of condescension. It was at this period that the tax of ship-money and the Star-chamber were abolished. Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard, were expelled the house and imprisoned, for having been concerned in the conspiracy to seduce the army. All the taxes which the king had imposed, the extension of the forests, and the practice of imprisoning those who refused to comply with such impositions, were voted contrary to law; and the greater part of monopolies was suppressed. It was likewise at this juncture that they passed the bill against pluralities, condemned the canons, and oath framed by the last convocation; carried up an accusation to the lords against thirteen bishops, who had assisted at that assembly; abolished the high commission. Dr. Wren bishop of Norwich, for having introduced innovations, and superstitious ceremonies in the church, was voted unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office or dignity in church or commonwealth; and the lords, at the desire of the lower house, committed him to the Tower: voted the suppression of deans and chapters, and ordered all the subjects to subscribe the protestation. Lord Digby, son to the earl of Bristol, who had been formerly in the opposition, but lately distinguished himself in the defence of Strafford, was now called up to the house of peers, and became the king's chief minister and confident. When the commons demanded that the Irish army should be disbanded, the king gave them to understand, that he had promised to send four thousand men into the Spanish service. The lower house petitioned his majesty that he would retract his promise; and he insisting upon the performance of it, as an affair in which his honour was engaged, they published a declaration, importing, That every person concerned in transporting the Irish troops to foreign parts, should be regarded as an enemy to the state. This step effectually frustrated the king's intention; for no ship-master would expose himself to inevitable ruin, by embarking in such service.

Nelson.

§ XVI. The treaty with the Scots being brought to a conclusion, Charles allowed the parliament of Scotland to assemble, and declared his intention of assisting at it in person. The commons suspecting that he designed to put himself at the head of his army in the north, on pretence of visiting his kingdom of Scotland, demanded a conference with the lords, and proposed that both armies should be dismissed before his departure; which the king, at their request, postponed till the tenth day of August. Both were accordingly disbanded at the same time, and the Scots returned to their own country, very well satisfied with their expedition. Then he set out upon his journey; but their distrust

distrust still subsisting, they proposed that a committee from both houses should attend the king in Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scottish parliament, though in reality to be spies upon his majesty's conduct. The earl of Bedford being nominated as one of the peers, declined the office; so that lord Howard of Esrick was the only member of that house who undertook the journey; and of the commons, the committee consisted of Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir William Armyne, Sir Philip Stapleton, and John Hambden. The commons still continued sitting, and took several grievances into consideration. Then they resolved to adjourn from the ninth day of September till the twentieth of October. This resolution was no sooner taken, than a great number of members from both houses retired to the country; and some rigid presbyterians took this opportunity to propose an alteration in the book of Common Prayer; which was so vigorously defended by Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, that no step was taken on the subject. The lords, during this dispute, voted that the book of Common Prayer should be used without any alteration. This vote produced a conference between the houses. The commons desired the lords would concur with them in publishing a declaration for suppressing all the late innovations in the church, and all diversions on the Lord's Day. The lords, on the other hand, demanded the concurrence of the commons, in publishing an order of their house, prohibiting all change in divine worship as established by law. The lower house absolutely rejected this proposal, and ordered their declaration to be printed and published through the whole kingdom. They at the same time appointed a committee of three and forty members to manage affairs of importance during their adjournment: the lords established another for their house; and then the parliament adjourned to the twentieth day of October.

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Whitelock.

§ XVII. The king, attended by the duke of Lennox, lately honoured with the additional title of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and the lord Willoughby, travelled post to Edinburgh, where he found it convenient to acquiesce in every thing which the parliament of Scotland proposed. James Graham earl of Montrose was at that time a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, through the influence of Argyle, who was his rival in popularity and ambition. During the treaty of Rippon, Montrose, though at first a covenantant, had conveyed a letter to the king, containing assurances of inviolable fidelity: and this being discovered, he was ever after suspected, and odious to the presbyterian party. He afterwards engaged the earls of Maréchal, Wigton, Athol, Mar, and many other noblemen, in an association to maintain the royal authority. This transpiring, he and his confederates were summoned before a committee of the states, when they declared they had no design to undertake any thing to the detriment of the public. The earl was again summoned by the parliament, which ordered him to be confined in the castle of Edinburgh, where he now remained. The king, in order to conciliate the affection of the Scottish nation, promoted Argyle to the dignity of a marquis, Loudon to an earldom; general Lesley was created earl of Leven; Henderson, Gillespy, and other popular preachers, were gratified with pensions. In parliament, the lords of the articles were set aside. A law was enacted to prevent foreigners from being created peers of Scotland, without proper qualification,

tion, such as possessing estates in the kingdom. A bill for triennial parliaments was passed; and it was decreed that no member of the privy-council, judge, or officer of state, should be appointed without the approbation of parliament. The lord Henry Ker, son to the earl of Roxburgh, sent a challenge to the marquis of Hamilton by the earl of Crawford, defying him to single combat, as a traitor to God, to his king, and his country: the marquis complained of his insolence to the king and the parliament, before whom he was obliged to ask pardon on his knees. Immediately after this disturbance was appeased, Hamilton and Argyle withdrew themselves abruptly from parliament, on pretence that a plot was formed against their lives, by the earl of Crawford, and some other gentlemen, who were immediately confined; but, upon inquiry, it was found a false alarm, probably concerted between the English commissioners then at Edinburgh, and the two marquisses, to keep up the disquiets of both nations.

Guthry.

Nelson.

§ XVIII. Intelligence of this pretended conspiracy being conveyed to Pym, chairman of the committee appointed to sit during the recess of parliament, the houses no sooner met, than he made a report of this affair. The commons immediately demanded a conference with the lords, to whom they represented their fears of a dangerous conspiracy by papists in Scotland; then proposed that the cities of London and Westminster should be strictly guarded, and the kingdom be put in a posture of defence. The peers assented to the proposal; and both houses demanded a guard of the earl of Essex, whom the king had lately appointed general of the forces to the south of the river Trent. Next day warm debates arose in the house of commons, touching the declaration which they had published before the adjournment, and which many persons refused to obey, alledging that such an order could not have the force of a law. The next subjects that engrossed their attention, was the prosecution of the bishops who had assisted at the last convocation; and the bill for excluding all prelates from sitting in parliament. In a conference with the lords, Pym made a speech against the bishops; and afterwards St. John explained the reasons for an act to abolish their votes in parliament. He said they had no inherent right as temporal lords, who are peers of the kingdom, because they were not the representatives of any class, not even of the clergy, who were otherwise represented in the convocation; because they could not act as temporal lords in causes of life and death; and several acts had passed in former reigns, without their consent, such as that of Elizabeth, touching the book of Common Prayer. In the reign of Henry VIII. and in the case of Dr. Standish, the judges declared, that the king had a power to convoke a parliament, without sending writs to the bishops. In the time of Edward I. the clergy had been excluded from a parliament held at Carlisle. It does not appear from antient records that prelates voted in affairs which concerned the clergy; for they either import that the king having consulted with the earls, barons, and other nobles, gave his assent to such an act; or that "The act was passed with the consent of the earls, barons, and other laymen," without any mention of the bishops. This scheme of exclusion met with such opposition in the house of lords, where the bishops themselves voted, that it was postponed to another opportunity.

Rushworth.

§ XIX.

§ XIX. Had the leading men in the opposition entertained no other design but that of redressing the grievances of the nation, and ascertaining the liberties of the people, their aim was now accomplished, and they would have rested content with the triumphs they had obtained over the prerogative. But their views seem to have extended with their success: they resolved to humble the king in such a manner, that he should never have it in his power to punish them for the mortifications to which they had subjected him. They determined to abolish the hierarchy, not only as the constant support of monarchical government, but also as the bulwark and mound that opposed the tide of puritanism, which now bade so fair for overflowing the three kingdoms. The chiefs, who managed the machines of opposition in both houses, were the earl of Essex, the lords Say and Kimbolton, for the peers; Pym, Hambden, St. John, Fiennes, Vane, and Hollis, for the commons. Essex was a popular nobleman, of solid sense and great authority in parliament: vanity and ambition were his predominant foibles; and his conduct was in a good measure influenced by private animosity against the court, where he had been but indifferently treated. Lord viscount Say was close, ambitious, a bigotted puritan, and an indefatigable stickler against the arbitrary measures of the ministry. The lord Kimbolton had acquired great popularity by his good nature, generosity, and insinuating address. He disapproved of the court maxims from principle, and attached himself to the opposite party, with which he was in high estimation. Pym had more experience in parliament than any other member: he was a man of business, reflection, and sagacity, tinged with republican principles, though not inspired with the fury of fanaticism. John Hambden possessed a great share of courage, cunning, and discernment; spoke with great art and energy in the house of commons, and concealed the most enterprising genius under the cloak of diffidence, humility, and moderation. St. John was a natural son of the house of Bolingbroke, and a lawyer by profession. He had parts and industry; but was dark, cloudy, and reserved, proud, and revengeful; an enemy to the church from principle, and a foe to the court from resentment; for he had been imprisoned on suspicion of seditious practices. Nathaniel Fiennes, second son of the lord Say, inherited his father's principles both in politics and religion. He had acquired a good share of learning in the university of Oxford; spent some time in Geneva, Switzerland, and Scotland, where he was confirmed in his aversion to the church of England, and at length became a popular speaker in the house of commons. Sir Henry Vane, son to the secretary, possessed great natural talents, and the most profound dissimulation. His conception was quick and penetrating, and he spoke with great weight and facility. He had studied in Magdalen-college at Oxford, and afterwards travelled to Geneva, where he contracted the most rancorous hatred to the discipline and liturgy of the English church. He made a voyage to New-England, that he might enjoy liberty of conscience; and, upon his return to England, was appointed joint-treasurer of the navy: but he was incensed against the earl of Strafford, by that nobleman's procuring for himself the title of baron Raby, an house belonging to the Vane family, and prosecuted him with all the bitterness of revenge. In this pursuit he cultivated the friendship of Pym and his associates, and soon acquired the confidence of the whole party. But no one of the demagogues was more valued and esteemed than Denzil Hollis, brother to the earl of Clare, a person of rare accomplishments and unblemished character. He had formerly opposed the court and the duke of Buckingham,
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Clarendon.

and suffered a long imprisonment and severe prosecution, the memory of which he retained with the keenest acrimony. To these leaders, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Strode, Haslerigg, Hotham, Cholmley, and Stapleton, were subordinate, obeying their dictates with the most implicit regard. The commons, not satisfied with the concessions they had already extorted from their sovereign, and planning still further alterations in the constitution, seemed now apprehensive of the king's reconciling himself intirely with his people. In order to blow up the embers of their animosity, they resolved to draw up and publish a remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, in which they might recapitulate with exaggerations every instance of misconduct, and each arbitrary measure chargeable upon the king since his accession to the throne, and alarm the nation with imaginary dangers. This they imagined would provoke the king to take some step that would produce a new quarrel, and furnish them with a pretence for postponing the settlement of his revenues, which the king expected in return for all his condescension.

§ XX. While the committee was employed in composing this famous remonstrance, their work was interrupted by an unexpected incident of such importance, as claimed their whole attention: this was the rebellion in Ireland. The old Roman catholic Irish had, by the increase of puritanism in that kingdom, been of late treated with great rigour in point of religion; so that their inveteracy against the protestant planters was inflamed with fresh rancour. When they reflected on the state of England, where the constitution was unhinged, and the power of the sovereign almost annihilated by the factious commons; when they considered, that the three armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, were disbanded, except an handful of troops scattered up and down their own country in single companies; they thought the present conjuncture was the fairest opportunity they should ever enjoy for retrieving their antient possessions, and re-establishing the exercise of their religion. They were quickened by the apprehension of further persecution from the puritanical spirit of the times; for the Scottish covenanters, and their brethren of England, had publicly threatened to exterminate the papists of Ireland. They were animated by seeing the success of the Scots, who had reduced the king to a compliance with all their demands. They were exhorted by their priests to rise in defence of their religion and liberty; they were encouraged with hope of succour by cardinal Richelieu; and their countrymen, who served in foreign armies, promised to discipline and conduct them in such a laudable enterprize. The protestants in Ireland were but a handful in comparison with the number of the natives, among whom they lived in the most supine security. There was a magazine of arms, ammunition, and artillery at Dublin, almost quite unguarded; and Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlace, the lords justices, were altogether unequal to the task of government which they had undertaken. All these considerations occurred to Roger More, a man of valour and capacity, who inculcated them upon the lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'neal, two of the most powerful Irish chieftains. In a word, all the native Irish were engaged in a conspiracy to expel the English. They resolved to rise throughout all the provinces in one day, and attack the English settlements; and lord Maguire, with Roger More, undertook to surprise the castle of Dublin. All the preparations were made for this insurrection; Maguire and More had already

ready repaired to Dublin with a good number of their confederates, and intended to attack the castle in the morning. One Oconnolly, a protestant, discovered the secret to the justices, who forthwith retired into the castle with a reinforcement, and alarmed the city: Maguire was taken, but Roger More escaped. This discovery did not prevent the general insurrection which began in Ulster. The unhappy English were first plundered, and then massacred without distinction of age or sex. Such scenes of cruelty were acted by Sir Phelim Oneal and his followers, that the bare description of them fills the mind with horror. Death and desolation appeared likewise in the other provinces, and even in more miserable shapes, though the rebels did not so deeply imbrue their hands in blood. They stripped the wretched English of their very cloaths, and drove men, women, and children naked into the fields, to perish by famine and the inclemencies of a tempestuous winter. The roads were crowded with such spectacles of distress and misery, as one would think must have softened the heart of the most savage barbarian. The shivering, the dying, and the dead; the old and infirm, fainting with cold and hunger; the children clamorous for food and shelter; the mother weeping over her expiring infant; the wife shrieking with terror and dismay; the husband groaning with unutterable woe; formed a most dismal variety of human sufferings and despair: nature, the most barbarous and uncultivated, would have been unable to perpetrate such barbarity, had it not been exasperated beyond all feeling, by religious phrenzy. The ruffian bigots not only exulted in the calamity which they had produced, but even triumphed in the hope that those wretched sufferers would be damned to all eternity. In this forlorn condition some thousands reached the city of Dublin, where they were received with compassion and treated with humanity. Many died of strange distempers, occasioned by the complicated fatigues of mind and body which they had undergone. A good number sunk under the weight of grief and affliction; others refused all sustenance, unable to survive their families and friends. Above forty thousand helpless victims fell by this brutal barbarity, of which there is scarce a parallel in the records of any age or nation. The justices assembled all the troops that were not already surrounded by the rebels; and these, together with such as enlisted in the service, amounted to six thousand: but six hundred, being detached to the relief of Tredagh, besieged by the natives, were routed and put to the sword. The earl of Ormond, lieutenant-general, proposed to attack the insurgents before they should be armed and disciplined; but the justices, who were puritans, induced either by fear or worse motives, resolved to act upon the defensive only. The English of the Pale (such was the appellation given to the descendants of the first English settlers who still professed the religion of their forefathers) expressed their detestation of this rebellion, and were supplied with arms to be employed in defence of the government. But they soon joined the native Irish under the lord Gormanstone; so that the principal army of the rebels amounted to twenty thousand men, and threatened to besiege Dublin. In order to allure the people to their standard, they called themselves the queen's army, affirmed that their intent was to assert the royal prerogative against the insolence of a puritanical parliament; and Sir Phelim Oneal, having found a royal patent in the house of lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered, affixed the seal of it

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Carte.

to a forged commission, which he pretended to have received from his majesty.

§ XXI. The king was no sooner informed of this revolt, by a letter from the north of Ireland, than he dispatched a messenger with intelligence to the parliament of England; and demanded immediate succours from the parliament of Scotland. But, notwithstanding all their professions of duty to the king, and attachment to the protestant religion, they excused themselves from taking any such measures, alledging, that as Ireland depended upon England, the English parliament would undoubtedly provide for its security; whereas, should they intermeddle in the affair, of their own accord, they might incur the jealousy of their brethren. The commons of England being informed of this disaster, resolved, with the concurrence of the upper house, to borrow fifty thousand pounds of the city of London for the relief of Ireland: That the consent of the lords should be solicited for depriving the lord Weston of the government of the Isle of Wight, because he was a reputed papist: That the principal Roman catholics in England should be secured, and the queen's monastery of capuchins dissolved. Other precautions were taken with regard to foreigners, who were not protestants. They afterwards voted, That two hundred thousand pounds should be provided for the war of Ireland: That eight thousand men should be raised and transported to that country: That a magazine of arms and ammunition should be established at Chester for the use of Dublin; and, the ammunition at Carlisle be sent to Carrickfergus: That the committee appointed for the affairs of Ireland should deliberate upon the means of recompensing those who should enlist as volunteers for this service; of granting a pardon to those of the rebels who should submit; and of setting a price on the heads of their leaders: That it should inquire in what shape they could use the assistance of the Scots to the best advantage; and bring in a bill for impressing soldiers for the war in Ireland.

§ XXII. Notwithstanding all this appearance of ardour, and the repeated importunities of the justices, the supplies they sent were so inconsiderable, that they seemed calculated to keep alive the war, rather than subdue the rebels. They had found their account in the Scottish invasion; and now they determined to make advantage of the Irish rebellion, to foment the fears of the people, and keep the king in a sort of dependence. Charles, with a view to disprove the calumny which the Irish had fixed upon his character, pressed the parliament, with redoubled instances, to take measures for suppressing the insurgents; and this eagerness supplied the commons with a pretence for suspecting his integrity. They affected to apprehend a design of enslaving the parliament when the kingdom should be unfurnished of troops; and really dreaded his influence with the army that should be raised. He had imprudently committed to their care and wisdom the conduct and prosecution of the war, that they might proceed with the more vigour in an affair of such national importance. They interpreted this expression in the most unlimited sense, even to the annihilation of the king's authority. They raised money for the Irish war, but reserved the greatest part of it for other purposes: they removed arms from the king's magazines, and employed them afterwards against his own person: they enlisted men, and appointed officers, by which means they acquired great influence in the army; and though a considerable time elapsed before any troops were sent

sent over, the fault was never imputed to them, but to the malecontents about the king's person. With a view to mortify and provoke the king, they sent fresh instructions to their committee in Scotland, importing, that they had reason to believe the Irish rebellion was the effect of evil counsels, given by those who continued in places of trust and honour about the king. They desired his majesty to remove these evil counsellors, otherwise they should take more effectual measures to prevent the danger with which the kingdom was threatened. This address was a prelude to the remonstrance which they brought into the house on the twenty-second day of November. It was an appeal to the people, replete with the most virulent malignity against the king, whose administration was charged anew with every shadow of a grievance which the nation had endured since the commencement of his reign; and even with every misfortune which had happened from the accidents of war, aggravated with all the force of rhetoric and hyperbole. There was still a moderate party in the house, that opposed this remonstrance with great vigour; and very warm debates arising, the commons sat till three o'clock in the morning, when it was carried by a majority of nine only. After many of the moderate members had retired, quite exhausted with fatigue, it was immediately printed, in consequence of another vote, which likewise met with strong opposition; nor did they even deign to communicate it to the upper house.

§ XXIII. On the twenty-fifth day of November, the king returning from Scotland, was received in the city of London with extraordinary demonstrations of joy and respect; and when he arrived at Whitehall, he dismissed the guard which the earl of Essex had granted for the protection of parliament. Both houses petitioned, that the guard might be continued: but, Charles observed, there was no necessity for maintaining such a guard, which served no other purpose but that of fomenting the fears and suspicions of the people. He promised, however, in case of necessity, to furnish them with a guard, under the command of the earl of Dorset: but this they rejected. The king retiring in a few days to Hampton-Court, the commons sent thither a deputation, with the remonstrance tacked to a petition, representing, That the malignant party, whose conduct evidently tended to the advantage and growth of popery, was guided by jesuits, and other emissaries of Rome, which had even corrupted several bishops; and found means to insinuate themselves into the privy-council, and offices of trust about his majesty. They, for these reasons, besought him to concur with his people in a parliamentary way, in providing for the safety of the kingdom against the malicious designs of the papists: That he would consent to their purpose of expelling the bishops from parliament; of restraining the power they had usurped over the clergy; abolishing the innovations and vexations they had introduced; and of executing the good laws which had been enacted for securing the liberty of his subjects: That he would remove from his council those who favoured the oppression with which the people had been afflicted; and employ in the administration such persons only as should be agreeable to the parliament, notwithstanding the solicitation of any person whatever. Tho' the king could not but be shocked at this petition and remonstrance, which were in effect manifestos against him, printed and published contrary to his express desire; he made a very moderate, though general answer to the first; and in the sequel published a declaration in answer to the

remonstrance: but, his credit was by this time reduced so low with the nation, that it produced very little effect in his favour. In the beginning of December, the king going to the house of lords to pass the act of tonnage and poundage for a few months only, gave both houses to understand, That far from repenting his having passed the bills which had been presented during this session, he would repeat the same conduct on the same occasion; and grant every thing that could be reasonably demanded for the maintenance of the liberties and religion of his subjects. He recommended dispatch in the relief of Ireland; and desired they would appoint commissioners to treat with the two Scottish noblemen deputed by the parliament of that kingdom, to receive their proposals touching the succours to be sent from thence to Ireland. A committee was immediately appointed for this purpose. The Irish rebels, having in a memorial to the justices, demanded liberty of conscience, the commons of England desired a conference with the lords; and both houses solemnly declared, that they would never consent to a toleration of the Roman religion in Ireland.

§ XXIV. The king and the puritan party seemed equally suspicious, and afraid of each other. The commons intended to employ ten thousand Scots in the reduction of Ireland, that England might not be left unprovided. The king desired to send over an equal number of English and Scots, and the lords espoused his opinion. The commons declared, That unless the bill for pressing should pass, it would be impossible to levy troops in England for the service. They had already imprisoned lord Dillon, and lord Taaffe, sent to the king by the lord justices of Ireland, with propositions from the rebels; and they seized their papers, among which they hoped to find something to the prejudice of their sovereign. They petitioned the king to declare the Irish, rebels and traitors; and he published a proclamation for this purpose: but, by the secretary's order, the printer was forbid to cast off a greater number than fifty copies. The king having received notice of an intended tumult at Westminster, ordered the sheriff to place a guard upon the parliament, which was immediately dismissed by the house of commons. The king being informed of their having brought in a bill for pressing soldiers, in which there was a clause contrary to his prerogative of levying troops; and that this bill had been already sent to the lords, he resolved to prevent its being enacted into a law without some qualification. He convened both houses, and told them, he was content to pass the bill, provided they would insert this clause, "Saving the rights of king and people." A committee for both houses was immediately appointed, to take this proposal into consideration; and, upon their report, the lords and commons voted, That the king had violated the privileges of parliament, in proposing a limitation to a bill before it was presented; in taking cognizance of a bill while it was in agitation; and, in expressing resentment against him or them, who had made any motion about the bill while it was in debate.

§ XXV. They published a declaration, and presented an address upon the same subject; to which he answered in writing, that nothing was farther from his intention than any thought of violating their privileges. He gave them further cause of offence, in taking the lieutenancy of the Tower from Sir William Balfour, who was their creature; and bestowing it upon colonel Lunsford, a man of an enterprising spirit, and a very indifferent character. The Londoners immediately

immediately presented a petition against this officer, as a man of bad morals, representing the importance of such a trust, and intreating the commons to take the affair into their consideration. The lower house desired the concurrence of the lords, in petitioning his majesty to appoint Sir John Conyers lieutenant of the Tower; but the peers refused to concur with a demand which was so manifestly contrary to the royal prerogative. The commons, incensed at this repulse, voted, that Lunsford was not a proper person for this office: they published a declaration, specifying the causes of their fear and distrust; expatiating upon the continual obstacles they encountered in the upper house, which was filled with bishops and popish lords; and protesting against all the mischiefs that would happen, should the command of the Tower remain in the hands of Lunsford: at the same time, they desired the earl of Newport to reside in the place of which he was constable. The apprentices assembling in great numbers, presented a petition to the king against papists, innovators, and bishops; and the whole city was filled with tumult. Then Charles deprived Lunsford of his office; but, at the same time, dismissed the earl of Newport from his government, because he had been told, that during his absence in Scotland, the earl, at an assembly in Kensington, where mention was made of a conspiracy in that kingdom, said, "If there is really such a conspiracy, we have his wife and children in our power." The earl, however, denied that he had ever used such an expression.

§ XXVI. The leaders of the opposition, as a previous step to the exclusion of the bishops, thought proper to excite popular clamours against them, and employed their emissaries to raise tumults. A great multitude of the populace assembling at Westminster, exclaimed, "No bishops, no bishops," and insulted some prelates going to parliament. Captain Hyde, with some other disbanded officers being present, drew his sword, and proposed to chastise those round-heads: but, being unsupported, he was apprehended and carried before the commons, who committed him to prison. Hence arose the appellation of Round-heads, suggested by the cropped hair worn by the apprentices; who, in their turn, reproached their antagonists with the name of Cavaliers. In a few hours after this adventure, Lunsford and some other officers fell upon the multitude with their swords, and wounded above twenty apprentices. An infinite number of the populace immediately crowded to Westminster, armed with swords and staves; and the two cities were filled with uproar and confusion. The mayor of London ordered the gates to be shut: the king sent for the trained bands to Whitehall. The lords, by their usher, commanded the people to retire; and the mob refusing to obey the order, demanded the concurrence of the commons, in publishing a declaration against tumults, and desiring a guard of his majesty. The lower house pretended it was too late to deliberate upon such a proposal: in the mean time, they impowered a committee to set at liberty such of the rioters as were imprisoned. The tumults continuing next day, they took no step to disperse the people; and Mr. Pym being exhorted to use his influence for this purpose, is said to have replied, "God forbid that the people should be hindered from obtaining their just desires."

§ XXVII. Twelve prelates meeting at the house of the archbishop of York, subscribed a protest, which was presented to the king and lords, im-

porting, That as they had an incontestible right to vote in parliament, they were ready to do their duty, if not prevented by force and violence: That they abhorred all opinions tending to the advancement of popery: That, as they had been insulted, and their lives endangered by the fury of the populace, they could no longer repair to the house of peers, unless measures should be taken for their personal safety: and, therefore they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, that should be made in their absence. The lords no sooner received this protest, which was, in effect, an effort to dissolve or suspend the parliament; than they demanded a conference with the commons, who having taken it into consideration, resolved to accuse the bishops of high treason, for having attempted to subvert the fundamental laws, and the very essence of parliaments. This resolution was immediately executed; and the twelve bishops were committed to prison. Next day the commons sent a deputation to the king, desiring he would appoint a guard for their security, under the command of Essex, in whom they could confide; and the king demanding a message to this effect in writing, they, in the mean time, provided themselves with a number of halberds in their own defence. They were apprehensive of Lunsford and his confederates, as well as of the students of the inns of court, who had appeared in a body at Whitehall, and offered their service to his majesty, from whom they met with a very gracious reception. He dreaded the consequence of such tumultuous assemblies of the populace; he sent orders to the common-council to take measures for preventing those disorderly meetings; and in answer to the message of the commons, he said, he saw no foundation for their fears; that he would protect them with the same care he should exert in defence of his own wife and children; or should this assurance prove insufficient, he would appoint a guard, for which he himself would be responsible.

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§ XXVIII. The mutual suspicion and distrust subsisting between the king and parliament, had now proceeded so far, that both sides foresaw a rupture; and each endeavoured to find a pretext from the other's conduct. At this critical conjuncture, the king took the most imprudent step that ever was devised by a weak and rash minister. The lord Digby persuaded him to impeach the most popular men in parliament, of high treason. On the third day of January, the attorney-general going to the house of peers, gave them to understand the king had commanded him to accuse the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, Arthur Haslerig, John Pym, John Hambden, and William Strode, of high treason: at the same time, he delivered the general articles of the charge, which he had received from his majesty's own hand. They were taxed with having endeavoured to subvert the government, strip the king of his prerogative, and vest the subjects with an arbitrary power over the lives, effects, and liberties of the people: with having calumniated the king, in order to render him odious to his people: with having attempted to persuade the late army to disobey the king's orders, and to assist them in executing their treasonable designs: with having traiterously incited and invited a foreign power to invade England: with having essayed to subvert the foundation and essence of parliaments: and, with having employed force and terror, and encouraged tumults against the king and parliament. The attorney added, it was the king's desire, that a committee should be appointed to examine witnesses, under an oath of secrecy; and, that the lords would secure the

the persons of the accused. The peers immediately nominated a committee to examine the regularity of these proceedings, and to search the registers, that they might know, whether or not a peer of the realm had, ever before this period, been impeached at the bar of the lords by the king's attorney-general: at the same time, they transmitted the accusation of the five members of the lower house, to the commons, who having received notice that the king's officers had sealed up the cabinets of those accused members, sent their serjeant to take off the seals, and imprison those who had applied them. An order was likewise made, that in case the same violence should be offered to any other member, he might require the assistance of the constable, to apprehend and detain the officer so acting.

§ XXIX. In a conference with the upper house, they expatiated upon this insult; and as the king had a strong guard at Whitehall, proposed, that the parliament should take the same precaution, or adjourn to some place of safety. During their deliberations on this subject, a serjeant at arms repaired to the lower house; and in the king's name, demanded, that the accused members should be delivered into his hands. The commons sent a deputation to the king, representing, that they would take his message into consideration; and, that in the mean time, the five accused members should be ready to answer any charge, according to law. They were accordingly ordered to attend every day in the house. The king deferred his answer till next morning, but declared that the serjeant had acted in obedience to his command. The commons being assembled next day, were informed that the king approached with his band of pensioners, and a great number of armed attendants. The five members immediately withdrew; and they had scarce quitted the house, when the king entering, walked up to the speaker's chair, saying, "By your leave, Mr. speaker, I must make use of your chair for a moment." Having seated himself, and looked around, he told the house he was sorry for the occasion that forced him thither: that he was come in person to seize the members whom he had accused of high treason, seeing they would not deliver them to his serjeant at arms. Addressing himself to the speaker, he desired to know, whether any of them were in the house. The speaker falling on his knees, replied, That he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he begged his majesty's pardon, that he could give no other answer. The king carefully surveying the house, said the birds were flown; but he expected they would secure, and deliver them into his hands. He declared his intention was, to try them in a fair and legal manner; and maintain whatever had been done in favour of the subject. When he retired, a great number of members cried aloud, "Privilege, privilege!" so that he heard the exclamation. Then the house was adjourned till next day, when they voted, That the king had violated their privileges: and, That they could not assemble again in the same place, until they should have obtained satisfaction, and a guard for their security. They appointed a committee of four and twenty members, to sit in Guildhall, and deliberate upon the steps that should be taken for securing the kingdom, and maintaining the privileges of parliament. Then they informed the lords of the transaction of the preceding day; and adjourned from the fifth to the eleventh day of January.

Rushworth.
Nelson.
Whitelock.

§ XXX. The

§ XXX. The king having ordered the mayor of London to assemble the common-council in Guildhall, went thither, and in passing through the streets had the mortification to hear the people exclaim, "Privilege, privilege." Nay, a paper was thrown into his coach, inscribed with these words, "To your tents, O Israel." He told the common-council, that he was come to demand the persons accused of high treason, who, he understood, were concealed in the city. He demanded their assistance in apprehending the delinquents, that they might be tried according to law; and he declared, upon his royal word, that his intention was to defend the protestant religion to the last day of his life, against all its enemies. This declaration had very little weight with the citizens, who were generally of the puritan faction; and had severely smarted under his administration. Instead of complying with his desire, the common-council presented a petition, representing the decay of trade, and the terrors of the citizens, occasioned by the progress of the rebellion in Ireland, fomented by the papists of England: they complained of the delay of succours destined for Ireland; of a plot against the protestant religion; the change of lieutenant of the Tower; the extraordinary armaments at Whitehall; endeavours to gain over the students of the law; the misunderstanding between king and parliament; and, his majesty's entering the house of commons to seize some of the members, contrary to the privileges of parliament. Charles, in his answer, made a particular reply to all these articles; and concluded with a profession of particular esteem for the city of London. He next day published a proclamation, commanding all magistrates and officers of justice, to apprehend the accused members, and convey them to the Tower; but no regard was paid to his professions or commands. The committee of four and twenty came to the following resolutions: That the publication of the articles charged against the accused members, was a manifest violation of the privileges of parliament, and a seditious act, tending to the interruption of the public peace: That the said privileges could not be properly maintained, unless his majesty should please to name those who had advised him to seal the closets and cabinets of the accused members; to send a serjeant at arms, with orders to arrest them in the house of commons; to go thither himself; and to publish the charge in the form of a proclamation; to the end that those pernicious counsellors might be brought to condign punishment.

§ XXXI. The king, afraid of exposing himself to some insult from such a tumultuous populace, retired to Windsor; and the house of commons meeting on the eleventh day of January at Westminster, the committee went thither by water, attended by a great number of watermen, who undertook to guard them from violence. Charles, in order to atone for the wrong step he had taken, sent a message to the two houses, giving them to understand, that he desisted from his prosecution of the lord Kimbolton, and the five members: that his intention was to proceed against them in a more unexceptionable manner: and, that he would take as much care of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life. He afterwards repeated the same assurances in a second message; and intreated them to deliberate upon the situation of Ireland, as an interesting subject that required vigour and dispatch. Far from being satisfied with these instances of condescension, they confirmed the resolution of their committee, in the form of a declaration. They impeached the attorney-general for

for having violated their privileges, in presenting articles against their members to the upper house, although he acted by his majesty's express command; and the two houses petitioned the king to communicate the proofs he could produce against the six members. The king left it to their choice, whether he should proceed against them before the parliament, or according to common law. They rejected the alternative, and insisted upon their former demand. Then Charles, in a third message, desisted intirely from the pursuit; and as a proof of his affection for his subjects, offered to grant a general pardon in such manner as should be agreeable to the parliament. Even this concession produced no effect in his favour. They, in another petition, demanded that he would be pleased to deliver up to justice those evil counsellors by whom he had been misled; and the lords passed sentence against Sir Edward Herbert, the attorney-general, declaring him incapable of exercising any other employment than that which he at present enjoyed; and committing him to custody during the pleasure of the house. Rushworth.

§ XXXII. The mutual distrust of the king and parliament daily increased. Nelson.
Sir John Biron, lieutenant of the Tower, was summoned to appear at the bar of the house of commons, to explain the reasons that induced him to send arms and ammunition to Whitehall, at the time when the king entered the lower house; but he excused himself from obeying their citation, as he had his majesty's express command to keep within his garrison. The commons rejected the king's offer of furnishing them with a guard commanded by the earl of Lindsey, and ordered major-general Skippon to attend them every day with two companies of the London militia. Hearing that lord Digby had assembled about two hundred officers on horseback at Kingston upon Thames, he sent orders to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties to raise their posses, and attack those who should attempt to invade the peace of the kingdom: and they cautioned colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, against delivering up the place to any person, or admitting any troops, but in consequence of the king's order, notified by both houses of parliament. They circulated a report that the king had formed the design of surprising Portsmouth; and even examined some evidences on the subject. The lords sent an express order to lord Digby, to return and resume his seat in parliament; but knowing himself obnoxious to both houses, as the king's chief counsellor and confident, he prudently withdrew himself from the kingdom.

§ XXXIII. The lords and commons concurred in appointing Sir John Hotham governor of Hull, where there was a magazine of arms, which the king had purchased for the Scottish war. Hotham received an order from the parliament, of which he was a member, forbidding him to deliver the place to any person whatsoever, but such as should be commissioned by the king and both houses of parliament. They brought in a bill for adjourning themselves to some other place of safety, as though they believed themselves in danger at Westminster. They forbade the earl of Newport, master of the ordnance, and the lieutenant of the Tower, to part with any cannon or warlike stores: they ordered the sheriffs of London and Westminster to keep a constant guard for blocking up the Tower. They seized some saddles designed for Kingston; and in consequence of false information given by Bagshaw, one of their own members, they directed Skippon, whom they had raised to the dignity of a major-general, to detach a party of horsemen to Windsor for intelligence. The earls of Essex and Holland,

Holland, being ordered to give attendance on the king, as lord chamberlain and groom of the stole, the lords forbade them to absent themselves from parliament, where their presence was necessary for the service of the public. Such acts of usurpation were manifest proofs of their having already annihilated the king's authority.

§ XXXIV. During these transactions, the protestant interest in Ireland remained in a most forlorn situation. Charles offered to levy ten thousand men for that service; but the parliament insisted upon an act for pressing soldiers, that they might have it in their power to extend their influence, by granting commissions to their own adherents. A bill for this purpose had been sent up to the lords, but had not yet passed the upper house. Mean while, the Scottish commissioners offered their mediation to compromise the differences between the king and parliament; but as they had not previously communicated their intention to his majesty, he rejected their offer as an insult; while the two houses thanked them for this mark of their affection. Nevertheless, he assented to a proposal of the Irish committee, that two thousand five hundred Scottish troops already levied, should be forthwith transported to the north of Ireland, and be put in possession of Carrickfergus for their head-quarters.

§ XXXV. The commons still continued to court popularity, and alarm the nation with imaginary terrors. The accused members had been brought to the house in triumph, attended by a cavalcade of the citizens. Petitions were delivered by the apprentices, porters, and even by a multitude of women, headed by a brewer's wife, who compared herself to the woman of Tekoah; and claimed a right equal to that of men, in communicating their sense of the public danger, because Christ had died for them as well as for the other sex. Addresses of the same nature were presented by the inhabitants of Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and Essex, complaining of the decay of trade, the growth of popery, and the malignant party by which the king was misled; petitioning, that the evil counsellors might be removed from his majesty: that the kingdom should be put in a posture of defence by order of the two houses: that the bishops should be deprived of their votes and seats in parliament: and protesting they would hazard their lives and fortunes in forwarding the good work. All these petitioners were thanked and caressed by Pym and his associates, while those who addressed them, in favour of the church and monarchy, were discouraged, imprisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents. The committee for the affairs of Ireland, having demanded of the city of London, one hundred thousand pounds by way of loan, for the relief of that kingdom, the mayor and aldermen presented a petition to the commons, declaring their incapacity to levy any sum by way of imposition, without the consent of the lenders, which could not be obtained, because the money formerly borrowed of them was not yet repayed, nor applied to the relief of Ireland, for which it had been demanded. They said the citizens were discouraged by the king's refusing to employ thirteen thousand Scots for that service; by the delay in passing the bill for pressing soldiers; in disarming the papists; in putting the kingdom in a posture of defence; in appointing a lieutenant of the Tower, in whom the nation could confide. They complained that the king's ships were employed in transporting delinquents out of the kingdom: that many thousands of people unknown, concealed themselves about Covent-Garden for some sinister purpose: that, by the misunderstanding

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Clarendon.

standing between the king and parliament, the violation of privileges, the neglect of suppressing protections, punishing delinquents, and executing condemned priests and jesuits; trade was decayed, money become scarce, and workmen desperate: that all these evils arose from a malignant party employed in posts of honour and confidence about his majesty's person; and that they were supported by the interest of bishops and popish lords, that sat in the house of peers.

§ XXXVI. In a conference between the two houses, these petitions were communicated to the lords by Mr. Pym, who took this occasion to pronounce an acrimonious speech, expatiating upon the groans, the agony, the terror, the perplexity of the nation, the variety of dangers to which the kingdom was exposed, the calamities from which these dangers proceeded; and the multiplicity of influences that constituted the source of these calamities. He pretended that the kingdom was in danger from the designs of foreign princes, already armed to take advantage of its intestine divisions; from the multitude of papists at home; from the insurrection of the common people; and from the rebellion in Ireland. He imputed these dangers to obstructions in the reformation of the church; to the power of the bishops, and the corruption of the clergy; to the interruption of commerce, which could not be charged upon the commons; and to the delay of succouring the protestants in Ireland, in whose behalf they had exerted their utmost endeavours. He said, that some of those who were now at the head of the rebellion, had obtained passports from his majesty: that the commons had been intimidated in the prosecution of delinquents; and the king's vessels employed in conveying to another country, those who fled from the justice of parliament: that the kingdom was exposed to invasion and insurrection, by the decayed condition of the fleet and fortifications, as well as by the want of a proper power to regulate the militia: that the deliberations of parliament had been interrupted by violent conspiracies, violation of privileges, and repeated efforts to sow the seeds of division between the two houses: that all these mischiefs originally sprung from the pernicious counsellors that misled his majesty: It was this malign influence that engendered the war with Scotland, the rebellion in Ireland, the corruption of religion, the loss of national liberty, and the horrible attempts which had been made to destroy the very essence of parliaments. He harangued upon the innocence and virtue of the commons, which had been so basely calumniated by the malignant party; and he conjured the lords to concur vigorously with the commons in their endeavours to save the nation. The sensible reader will perceive, that the fears of invasion were chimerical; and that the kingdom was threatened with no danger, but from that national distraction which they themselves fomented. Pym was solemnly thanked by the speaker, in the name of the commons, for his excellent speech, which was ordered to be printed and published. The king finding himself accused of having granted passports to the rebels, sent a message to the house, demanding reparation for such malicious calumny. The house vindicated Pym, and named several persons who had obtained passports for Ireland: the king affirmed that they had been granted while he was in Scotland, and before he knew of their order for shutting up the ports of the kingdom. The house replied by a declaration, in which they

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maintained the truth of Pym's assertion, and absolutely refused to grant that satisfaction which the king demanded.

§ XXXVII. Charles, who had every thing to apprehend from the malevolence of such a faction, sent a message to both houses, proposing that they should speedily and seriously consider the necessary means for maintaining the royal authority, settling the king's revenues, securing the privileges of parliament, the liberty and property of the subject, the safety of the protestant religion as professed in England; and for regulating the ceremonies of divine worship in such a manner that they should not for the future give any just cause of offence. All these particulars being digested and reduced into one body, he and the parliament would be better able to judge of them. He said, that, by his concessions, it would appear how far he had always been from forming any of those designs which the fears and jealousies of some persons had suggested; and how ready he would be to exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent princes, in their acts of grace and favour towards their subjects. The commons thanked him for his goodness, promising to labour seriously in that which he had proposed; and they told him they had desired the concurrence of the lords, in beseeching his majesty to put the militia, the Tower of London, and all the other strengths of the kingdom, in the hands of those who should be recommended to him by the two houses. To this address the king replied, that if Sir John Byron should be found unworthy of retaining the lieutenancy of the Tower, he would deprive him of that office; otherwise he could not allow his servants to be exposed to such undeserved affronts: that he would never confer that post upon any person whom the parliament should have room to distrust; but that he would reserve to himself the nomination, as a jewel inseparable from his crown, and a right with which he was invested by the fundamental laws of the kingdom: with respect to the militia, which ought to depend upon his authority alone, he thought it necessary that it should be regulated for the safety of the kingdom; and, as soon as the two houses should have digested a scheme for that purpose, he would signify his sentiments in such a manner as should be agreeable to his own honour and the security of his people. At the same time he exhibited an undeniable proof of his desire to oblige them, by depriving Sir John Byron of the lieutenancy, and conferring it upon Sir John Conyers, whom the commons had recommended for that office.

§ XXXVIII. Nevertheless, the two houses presented an address, beseeching him to commit the Tower of London, the other strong places, and the militia of the kingdom, to such persons as they should propose: and he desired them to make out a list of those whom they approved as commanders of strong holds and the militia, assuring them that he would employ such as they should recommend, provided he should have no just cause of exception. The parliament immediately prepared an ordinance for the regulation of the militia, to which they fixed a list of the names they recommended for the lieutenants of the counties, and delivered them with a petition, demanding his majesty's assent. Charles, finding their demands increased in proportion to his condescension, foresaw that the contest would end in a civil war; and thought it high time to provide for his own safety and that of his family. He sent the
queen

queen to Holland, on pretence of her accompanying the princess Mary to the prince of Orange her husband; and, being destitute of money, he furnished her with some of the crown-jewels, to be sold in case of emergency. He had, by means of the earl of Newcastle, endeavoured to secure the magazine of Hull before Hotham was sent to command that place, and he now secretly tampered with Goring, governor of Portsmouth. Nor will any unprejudiced person blame him for taking these precautions against the designs of a powerful faction that seemed bent upon his ruin, by which alone the chiefs of it thought they could be secured from the vengeance of injured royalty. He saw himself fallen from the highest pinnacle of envied monarchy to a state of the most abject dependence; deprived of his prerogative and every enjoyment for which a king could wish to inherit the throne of his ancestors; robbed of his honour and reputation, and defrauded of his people's love by the vilest arts of calumny and malice; exposed to every species of insult and mortification; bereft of his friends, deserted by his counsellors; obliged to sacrifice his best ministers to cruel, unrelenting party-rage; and to part (perhaps) for ever with those who were most dear to his affection. He saw the regal power already trampled under foot, the civil constitution altered and impaired; and the hierarchy, to which he was conscientiously attached, in the most imminent danger of being overturned by fanaticism and religious phrenzy.

§ XXXIX. When the ordinance was presented, he told them, that being upon the road to Dover with the queen and princess, he could not give an answer to an affair of such importance till after his return. The two houses importuned him in another petition; and he sent his answer, importing, that he was willing to appoint commanders for the militia according to their recommendation, except in the city of London, and other corporations, which by their charters were vested with the power of commanding their own militia: but that he could not strip himself for an indefinite time of that power vested in him by the laws of God and man for the defence of his people; he desired therefore that this affair should be settled by act of parliament, for the satisfaction of all his subjects. The houses voted that this answer was not satisfactory; and drew up a third petition, which was delivered to him at Theobalds, whither he had retired. They repeated the old strain of jealousies, fears, dangers, and pernicious counsellors. They declared, that in case he should persist in his refusal, they would pass the ordinance by the authority of the two houses. They intreated him to reside in some place near London; to give order that his royal highness should fix his habitation in St. James's palace; and they begged leave to inform him, that the power of regulating the militia could not be granted to any community or corporation without the authority of the parliament. "You speak of jealousies and fears: (said the king in his answer) lay your hands to your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies?" He said, his answer, touching the militia, was so agreeable to justice and reason, that he should not alter it in any point: that he wished it might be safe and honourable for him to reside near the parliament: that he would take care of his son in such a manner, as should justify him to God as a father, and to his dominions as a king: he assured them, upon his honour, that he had no thoughts but of peace and

justice to his people; and that he relied on the goodness and providence of God for his preservation.

§ XL. The commons, in consequence of this answer, immediately voted it a refusal to grant the demands of the two houses touching the militia: they resolved, That the denial was suggested by the enemies of the state, and would hazard the peace and safety of the kingdom: That his majesty's removal to any remote part would endanger the kingdom and prejudice the proceedings of parliament: That an examination should be set on foot to find out and bring to condign punishment the authors of such pernicious advice: That the lords should be moved to concur with the commons in these votes, and to appoint a select committee that should join another of the commons to deliberate upon the measures to be taken in such an emergency. Then the two houses published their ordinance for establishing the militia under the command of persons nominated for that purpose in counties and corporations. On the ninth day of March, the king, being at Newmarket, was presented with a declaration from both houses, explaining the causes of their fears and suspicions, which they ascribed to a pretended plot against the religion and peace of the kingdom, formed by evil counsellors by whom his majesty had been misled. They imputed the rebellion in Ireland to the machinations of English papists countenanced by the government. They particularised all the instances of violation of privileges, which they had undergone; and among these enumerated, the king's saying he wished it might be safe and honourable for him to reside near the parliament. They besought him to remove from his presence those evil counsellors who were the authors of all the dangers and troubles to which the nation was exposed; and to reside with the prince in the neighbourhood of London. The king, being thus harassed out of all patience, told the committee, that he would take time to answer this strange and unexpected declaration. He said, God in his good time will discover the bottoms of all plots and treasons, and then he should stand right in the eyes of his people. "I still confess my fears (added he) and call God to witness, that they are greater for the true protestant profession, my people, and laws, than for my own rights and safety; though I must tell you I conceive that none of these are free from danger. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of this land." Charles could not hear the declaration read without manifest marks of emotion. He interrupted it several times, exclaiming, "That's false; that's a lie." Next day, when he delivered his answer in writing to the committee, the earl of Pembroke asked, Whether the militia might not be granted according to the parliament's desire for a time? The king replied with great warmth, "No, by God, not for an hour."

§ XLI. No wonder that his patience was by this time exhausted, after having yielded so much for their satisfaction. He had already passed the two bills which they had so eagerly prosecuted; one for excluding the bishops from their seats in parliament; and the other for pressing soldiers into the service. He had, on that occasion, sent a message to the two houses, importing, That he had passed those bills for the satisfaction of his people, and to shew his passionate desire of finding some means to appease the troubles of the nation: That he would

would issue a proclamation, ordering the laws against recusants to be vigorously executed: That, with the parliament's consent, he would banish all Roman priests from the kingdom, within the term of twenty days: That he would leave to the houses the care of reforming the government and liturgy of the church: That if the parliament should think his presence necessary for the reduction of the rebels in Ireland, he would cheerfully venture his person in that service: and, That as he had received a petition from the inhabitants of Suffolk, representing the decay of their cloth manufactures, he earnestly recommended the consideration of that affair to both houses, and would readily concur in any resolution they should take for the encouragement of commerce. The houses thanked him for having passed the two bills; but took no further notice of his message. Before the queen embarked for Holland they sent a deputation to her to vindicate themselves from a report that was circulated, implying that they intended to accuse her of high treason. They intercepted and opened some letters from lord Digby at Middleburg in Zealand, to the queen and Sir Lewis Dives; and desired her majesty would not maintain any correspondence with that nobleman, whom they resolved to impeach as a traitor to his country.

§ XLII. In the midst of the contest about the militia, Charles informed the parliament of his resolution to go and put himself at the head of the English troops in Ireland; as a previous step to which expedition he intended to raise a guard of two thousand infantry and two hundred horse in Cheshire and the neighbouring counties; and he desired the two houses would settle a fund for their subsistence. Whether they believed the king was in earnest, or sought only to fix upon them the odium of a refusal, they presented an address, specifying their reasons for not complying with his demand; declaring that should he levy those troops, without their consent, they would interpret his conduct into a design of inspiring the people with terror; and employ their utmost efforts in suppressing the forces that should be thus assembled. They likewise protested, that in case the king should absent himself from the realm, they would not obey the commissioners or regents whom he should appoint to rule in his absence; but that they themselves would govern the kingdom according to law and the oath of allegiance they had taken. The king, in an answer to this address, refuted all their arguments; and they published a replication: but this affair had no other consequence; nor does it appear that the king really intended to leave England. The animosity between him and the majority in both houses had risen to such a flame, that each side thought a civil war inevitable, and endeavoured to shift the blame from itself by appeals to the public.

§ XLIII. If Charles had yielded the point of the militia for a limited time, in all probability his adversaries would have been greatly embarrassed with respect to their subsequent conduct: but they took care to inflame his resentment, by inserting harsh expressions in their addresses, and he was not yet so destitute as to be under a necessity of leaving himself entirely at the mercy of his enemies. On the fifteenth day of March he sent a message to both houses, signifying his design to go and reside for some time at York, recommended the affairs of Ireland to their serious attention: with respect to the militia he observed, that as he had been always careful of their privileges, he hoped they would not violate his rights, of which the most fundamental article imported, that his subjects should not be obliged to obey any ordinance to which he had not given his assent. Next day the commons, with Clarendon, the

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the approbation of the upper house, resolved, That they should adhere to their preceding votes concerning the militia: That the king's absence was a total hindrance to the affairs of Ireland: That when the parliament, which is the supreme court of the kingdom, declares what is law, no person ought to question or contradict its orders; and that a prohibition to obey them is a great violation of privileges: That a committee of both houses should examine who was author of the last message from his majesty: That those who advised the king to absent himself from parliament, were enemies to the peace of the kingdom, and might be justly suspected of favouring the rebellion in Ireland. The lords voted that the ordinance for the security of the kingdom was not contrary to the oath of allegiance: That commissions under the great seal to lieutenants of counties were null and illegal; and, That every person exercising the power over the militia by virtue of these commissions, should be deemed a perturbator of the public peace. The two houses concurred in voting, That the kingdom being in manifest danger from foreign enemies, as well as from a popish malignant party at home, there was an indispensable necessity for putting it in a posture of defence: That the two houses had addressed his majesty, that he might settle the militia of the kingdom in such a manner as they had judged convenient; but, he had refused his assent: That, in case of extreme danger, and the king's refusal, the ordinance published by the two houses concerning the militia, was binding upon the people by the fundamental laws of the realm: That those appointed lieutenants of counties by the two houses should receive their orders for the exercise of their employments. This was another instance of the most flagrant usurpation in the two houses, which, neither by law, custom, nor constitution, had the least shadow of right to assume such authority, or even to arrogate the name of Parliament, without the concurrence of the king, who constitutes the head of that body. Nothing could at any time excuse such acts of power in the two houses, except the most imminent danger impending over the commonwealth; and here was no danger but of their own creating.

§ XLIV. Some time after these resolutions, they received the king's declaration, in answer to that which had been presented to him at Newmarket. Before this was delivered to the houses, they had finished an address, by way of reply to the answer, which he had returned to the committee at Newmarket; and he wrote another reply to their last remonstrance. Their addresses were filled with the most invidious insinuations against the misconduct of the ministry in the former part of the king's reign; with a rancorous recapitulation of every particular which could be construed into a breach of privilege; the hackneyed repetition of fears and jealousies, popish plots and invasions, and the most obstinate perseverance in demanding the king's assent to every proposition they could make against his person and government. A spirit of candour, sincerity, injured innocence, and good sense, breathes through all the king's answers. He frankly acknowledged the errors of his former conduct; reminded them of the atonement he had made by his subsequent concessions; refuted the cruel calumnies which had been forged to his prejudice; explained his motives for refusing to comply with their demand; and expressed the most earnest desire of promoting the happiness of his people. "If you think (said he, in his last answer) you have a right to demand what you please, and in whatever stile you judge proper; and, if we cannot refuse it, nor give the
" rea-

“ reasons of our refusal, without being accused of having violated your privileges, or of having been advised by the enemies of the kingdom, and “ fautors of the rebellion in Ireland, as we are in the votes upon our message, “ dated at Huntington ; you will reduce our rights to a very small compass. “ In plain English, this is taking from us the liberty of speech ; a deprivation “ which would be unjust, even if we were a subject : but, being your king, “ we leave it to others to find a suitable name for such conduct.” The two ^{Rushworth.} houses, with a view to make a merit of their condescension, passed a bill for establishing the militia, as the king had recommended that method to parliament ; but, when it was presented to his majesty, he refused his assent, because he himself was excluded from all share in the regulation. He signified his reasons for withholding his assent. They replied, in a declaration, and he answered their reply. They then ordered their ordinance to be put in execution : the king published a proclamation, forbidding all persons to execute their ordinance, on pain of being declared perturbators of the public peace : and, on the other hand, the parliament issued a fresh declaration, prohibiting all the subjects from yielding obedience to the king’s proclamation, as being contrary to the laws of the realm.

§ XLV. When the king retired to the North, the two houses suspected that he had formed a design for making himself master of Hull ; and therefore they petitioned that he would order the magazine to be transported from that place to the Tower of London. He gave them to understand, that he could not consent to their request, until he should know for what purpose it was intended ; and that, should they attempt to transport his magazine, without his order, he should look upon such an attempt as an express violation of his rights. Notwithstanding this declaration, and a petition presented to the king by the gentlemen of Yorkshire, desiring that the magazine might not be removed, the parliament caused the greater part of it to be deposited in the Tower. Charles certainly intended to take possession of Hull, and secure the arms he had purchased with his own money. Such steps were, at this juncture, not only excusable, but even necessary, for his own preservation. On the twenty-third day of April, he presented himself before the gates of Hull, with a retinue of three hundred horse, and demanded entrance, which was refused by Sir John Hotham the governor, who appeared upon the rampart, and told him, that he could not receive his majesty, and such a numerous train, without betraying the trust reposed in him by the parliament ; but that he might enter with twelve attendants. The king consented to exclude all his retinue, except thirty followers : but Hotham refusing to open the gates on these terms, the king ordered two heralds to proclaim him a traitor, and retired to Beverley, where he passed the night. Next day Hotham was again summoned to open the gates, with promise of pardon for his former disobedience ; but he remained inflexible, and Charles returned to York, extremely chagrined at his disappointment. He demanded reparation of the parliament for the insult he had sustained. He quoted laws to prove it was the king’s office to defend the realm, and take charge of garrisons and magazines ; and he claimed that of Hull in particular, as having been purchased at his own private expence. The parliament maintained that Hotham had done his duty, pretending that the laws had committed the strengths and magazines of the kingdom to the sovereign, as a deposit to be employed for the preservation, not the ruin of the people.

people. This contest produced a number of messages, declarations, answers, and replies; and, in the mean time, the king's friends endeavoured to obtain possession of Hull, by maintaining a correspondence with an officer of the garrison, who discovered the design to the governor, and he sent intelligence of this affair to the two houses. The attempt had been made by means of a gentleman named Beckwyth, who, on the miscarriage of his scheme, retired to York; and thither the houses dispatched a messenger to take him into custody, but the king would not allow him to execute the order.

§ XLVI. Charles, now laying aside all hope of accommodation, began to prepare for war in earnest. He had already gained over Goring, governor of Portsmouth; and the queen was employed in Holland in purchasing artillery, arms, and ammunition. The earl of Northumberland lord high admiral, being old and infirm, the king conferred the command of the fleet upon Sir John Pennington, who was devoted to his interest: but the houses remonstrated against his choice; and, in a paper transmitted to the lord keeper Littleton, who had by this time repaired to the king at York, insisted upon his majesty's appointing the earl of Warwick commander of the navy. Charles, incensed at this demand, as well as at the disrespectful manner in which it was communicated, refused to comply with their desire: nevertheless, Warwick found means to usurp the command, by the intrigues of the parliament, and the influence of Northumberland, who favoured his interest. The two houses began to put in execution their ordinance touching the militia, and the trained-bands of London were mustered in their presence. They sent deputies to York, on pretence of delivering a message to the king, concerning Hull and the militia; and, when he would have dismissed them with an answer, they told him they had orders to remain at York, where they acted as spies upon his conduct. In order to discredit the proceedings of his adversaries, he sent private directions to all his friends in both houses, to absent themselves from the parliament, and attend his person; and this command a considerable number obeyed the more willingly, as their lives were in continual danger from the insolence of the populace, and the violence of those members by whom the multitude was actuated.

§ XLVII. The king having assembled the freeholders of Yorkshire, protested, in a public speech, that he had retired to the North with a view to preserve the peace of that part of his dominions, and not to make it the seat of war; a design of which he had been falsely accused. He said the two houses had sent their deputies to brave him, even as far as York: that as they had deprived him of his magazine at Hull; begun to execute their ordinance concerning the militia, and approved the treason of Sir John Hotham, he could no longer doubt that his person was in the most imminent danger. He therefore resolved to appoint a guard, and demanded their approbation and assistance. Though the gentlemen of that country were generally well affected to his majesty, they were mingled with a good number of malecontents; and these being practised upon by the committee of the two houses, presented petitions, disapproving of the king's proposal; which, however, was relished by the majority. A troop of horse-guards was immediately formed of those gentlemen who voluntarily enlisted themselves for that service, under the command of the prince of Wales; and one regiment of trained-bands was ordered to do duty without intermission.

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C H A P. IV.

§ I. Description of the opposite parties. § II. New contest between the king and the two houses. § III. The houses present the king with nineteen propositions. § IV. They impeach the absent lords. The navy revolts from the king. § V. His attempt upon Hull. § VI. He sets up the royal standard at Nottingham. § VII. Messages between the king and the two houses. § VIII. Prince Rupert defeats a detachment of the parliamentarians at Worcester. § IX. Battle of Keinton, or Edgehill. § X. Vigour and resolution of the two houses. § XI. They send deputies to the king at Colebrook. § XII. He surprises Brentford. § XIII. He retreats to Oxford. § XIV. He refutes the declaration of the two houses. § XV. Their arbitrary methods of raising supplies. § XVI. Battle of Hopton-beath. § XVII. Progress of Sir Ralph Hopton in Cornwall. § XVIII. Treaty at Oxford ineffectual. § XIX. Reading taken by the earl of Essex. § XX. Prince Rupert beats up the enemy's quarters at Thame. Death of John Hambden. § XXI. The earl of Stamford routed by the royalists at Stratton. § XXII. Battle of Lansdown-hill. § XXIII. Waller is defeated on Roundway-down. § XXIV. The royalists take Bristol by assault. § XXV. The two houses send deputies to Scotland. § XXVI. The king undertakes the siege of Gloucester. § XXVII. Conspiracy of Edmund Waller against the two houses. § XXVIII. Several noblemen retire from parliament to the king's quarters. § XXIX. The earl of Essex sent to the relief of Gloucester. § XXX. Battle of Newbury. Death of lord Falkland. § XXXI. The earls of Bedford, Clare, and Holland, abandon the king. § XXXII. The two houses subscribe the solemn league and covenant. § XXXIII. The Scots assemble an army. § XXXIV. The king and queen-mother of France send over an ambassador, to offer their mediation for a peace between the king and parliament. § XXXV. The king summons the lords and commons to Oxford. § XXXVI. He concludes a truce with the rebels in Ireland. § XXXVII. Declaration of the lords and commons at Oxford, against the Scots, who enter England. § XXXVIII. The troops from Ireland are routed at Nantwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax. § XXXIX. Prince Rupert totally defeats the parliamentarians at Newark. § XL. Battle of Marston-Moor. § XLI. Lord Hopton worsted at Arlesford. § XLII. The king retires to Worcester. § XLIII. Action at Cropredy-bridge. § XLIV. Essex's infantry disarmed in the West. § XLV. Second battle of Newbury. § XLVI. Archbishop Laud is convicted and executed. § XLVII. Treaty of Uxbridge. § XLVIII. Difference between the presbyterians and independents. § XIX. The houses new-model the army, and pass the self-denying ordinance. § L. Victories obtained by the earl of Montrose in Scotland.

§ I. **T**HE nation was now divided between the king and the two houses. The greater part of the old nobility and antient families in the kingdom, who valued themselves upon the loyalty and virtue of their ancestors, adhered to the cause of their sovereign, which was also sustained by all those who wished well to the antient constitution and the hierarchy. All in general whom nature had endowed with generosity and benevolence of disposition, whose man-

ners were polished by social and elegant intercourse, and whose minds were enlarged by a liberal education, glowed with ardour in the cause of injured royalty, upon which nothing reflected more lustre than the approbation and attachment of the learned, loyal, and venerable university of Oxford *. The opposite faction was composed of those whom the court had personally disobliterated; of such as wanted to fish in troubled waters; of republicans and protestant dissenters; comprehending a great number of corporations, manufacturers, and the lower class of people, inflamed with the spirit of fanaticism. The traders were generally averse to the king, partly from the discouragements to which commerce had been subjected during this reign; partly from a spirit of independence become licentious and insolent; and partly from hatred and emulation of the antient families which adhered to the interest of their sovereign: but the greatest advantage the two houses enjoyed over the monarch, was the countenance and support of the city of London, the great reservoir of the national wealth and credit.

§ II. The king issued a proclamation for transferring the courts of justice to York; but the houses at Westminster prevented the execution of this order. He likewise commanded major-general Skippon to attend his person; but he received a contrary order from the parliament, which he chose to obey. On the nineteenth of May, the two houses published a remonstrance or declaration, as a reply to the answers which the king had made to some former addresses; and he refuted them by another declaration. They recapitulated as usual all the errors of his conduct; they arrogated to themselves the power of a parliament, as if a parliament could exist without the concurrence of the sovereign: they magnified their own measures for the preservation of Ireland; they expatiated upon the imminent danger to which the nation was exposed; and they ascribed all those dangers to the malignant party by which the king was misled. Charles, on the other hand, vindicated himself from their aspersions; detected the absurdity and presumption of their assuming the appellation of a parliament; recriminated upon their conduct, their insolent expressions, their acts of arbitrary power and their supporting individuals who had been guilty of high treason. He demonstrated the fallacy of their imputing to him the delay in sending succours to Ireland; and the falsity of those dangers, plots, and conspiracies, which they themselves had feigned, for the purposes of blackening the character of their sovereign, and keeping up the ferment of the nation. Charles never shone so much as in his adversity, which called forth the exertion of those faculties which are not so much employed in the ordinary occurrences of life. He stood collected within himself with admirable fortitude, depended upon his own lights, disclosed a surprising extent of understanding,

* The king was attended at York by lord Saville, Dunsmore, Mowbray, and Martravers; Littleton, keeper of the seals; the marquis of Howard of Charleton, Lovelace, Mohun, Seymour, Hertford, governor to the prince of Wales; lord Sir P. Wych comptroller, Secretary Nicholas, Falkland, secretary of state; the duke of Rich- Sir J. Colepepper chancellor of the ex- mond, the earls of Southampton, Devonshire, chequer, lord chief justice Banks. Many other Clare, Monmouth, Carnarvon, Cumberland, noblemen were employed in the king's behalf in Salisbury, Cambridge, Westmoreland, Rivers, different parts of the kingdom; and, among the Newport, Lindsey, Bath, Dorset, Northampton, members of the lower house who retired to York, Bristol, Berkshire, Dover, lords Newark, Rich, was Mr. Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, Coventry, Capel, Gray of Ruthven, Pawlet,

and

and reasoned with great strength of argument and precision. His messages, answers, and declarations, are close, clear, and nervous; though the most masterly of those performances were penned by the lord Falkland, a nobleman equally remarkable for the elegance of his mind, and the moderation of his temper.

§ III. On the twentieth day of May, the commons passed several votes, importing, That the king had formed a design to make war upon the parliament: That such a design was contrary to his coronation-oath, and tended to the dissolution of government: and, That all assisting him in this war should be reputed and punished as traitors. Then they sent a petition to the king, desiring he would dismiss the troops he had levied; otherwise they should be obliged to secure the peace of the kingdom by more effectual means. In his answer he reproached them with having appointed a guard to themselves; and with having commanded the sheriffs of counties to oppose all such persons as should assemble by order of his majesty. On the second day of June, they presented him with nineteen propositions for re-establishing a good understanding between the king and parliament; with which, if he had complied, he must have shamefully given up, to an inveterate faction, the whole regal power, prerogative, and dignity: he must have contributed to the total overthrow of the constitution in church and state, betrayed the interest of his successors, reduced himself to the most disgraceful dependence upon his personal enemies, and rendered his name a reproach among the princes of the earth. To these proposals he wrote such an answer as must have satisfied every person whose judgment was not biased by rancour and prepossession; but he had to do with a set of men who had planned a total revolution of government, and who had proceeded too far in this design to recede with safety. For this reason, all their votes, resolutions, remonstrances, and declarations, were evidently calculated to irritate and alarm the minds of the people, inflame animosities, and widen the breach between the sovereign and the two houses of parliament; whereas Charles, from the beginning of this parliament, bent his whole endeavours towards the re-establishment of a good understanding between him and them, by repeated concessions, redressing grievances, and parting with the most undoubted prerogatives of his crown. This was the great aim of his whole conduct, except when he was provoked by insults, or seduced by rash counsel into some indiscretions, from which the most upright and cautious minds are not wholly exempt.

§ IV. The two houses having received intelligence that the queen had sold or impawned some of the crown-jewels at Amsterdam, published an order, declaring all those concerned in selling or pawning those jewels, or in raising money for the king, enemies of the state. The commons likewise ordered the sheriffs of counties to summon the members who had withdrawn themselves from parliament, to resume their seats before the sixteenth day of June, on pain of a certain fine, and such other punishment as the house should think proper to inflict. At the same time the upper house ordered nine of their members, who had retired to York, to appear at their bar on the eighth day of June, as delinquents. As they excused themselves by letters from obeying Rushworth. this order, the commons presented an impeachment against them: the lords published a sentence, excluding them from sitting in their house during

the continuance of this parliament, and condemning them to imprisonment in the Tower, for such a period of time as the house should think proper to prescribe. On the tenth day of June, the two houses having received intimation that the king had granted commissions to levy troops, published proposals for borrowing either money or plate for the defence of the kingdom. Charles, informed of this measure, wrote a letter to the mayor of London, forbidding the citizens to lend money to the two houses. They forthwith issued a declaration, representing the absolute necessity of putting themselves in a posture of defence, against the violent designs of the king; and he published a long answer, reproaching them with their outrageous proceedings, contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm: at length, by a printed order, they prohibited all persons from publishing any declaration of the king, or other writing, contrary to the ordinances of parliament. The king, supposing that the captains of his navy were generally well affected to his person, deprived the earl of Northumberland of the post of high admiral; ordered the earl of Warwick to resign his command, which was given to Sir John Pennington; and wrote to every individual captain, commanding him to weigh anchor from the Downs, and sail directly to Burlington-bay. The captains were very well disposed towards his majesty; but the scheme was executed in such a dilatory and indiscreet manner, that Warwick found an opportunity to tamper with the individuals, and confirm them in their attachment to his command, which was renounced by two only; and these being arrested, were sent prisoners to London.

§ V. Mean while, the earl of Newcastle took possession of Newcastle upon Tyne, and Tynmouth, for the service of his majesty, who had by this time received a small supply of arms and ammunition from Holland, by means of the queen, and his son-in-law the prince of Orange. He appointed the earl of Hertford his lieutenant-general in the western counties: the earl of Lindsey was vested with the command of the army under the command of the king himself: Sir Jacob Ashley was constituted general of the infantry; and the command of the cavalry was reserved for the king's nephew prince Rupert, brother to the elector palatine. The lord Digby, in his passage from Holland, had been taken prisoner in disguise, and conveyed to Hull, where finding it impossible to remain long concealed from the knowledge of many persons well acquainted with his features, he discovered himself to Hotham, in confidence of his honour and generosity. The governor dismissed him with the warmest professions of duty and attachment to the king; and assured him, that if his majesty would appear before the place with the least shew of an army or artillery, he would capitulate immediately after the first discharge. Charles, influenced by this promise, assembled a number of militia, with about seven hundred horse, and formed the blockade of Hull, after having published a proclamation, specifying his reasons for undertaking the siege; and summoned the town to surrender. But by this time Hotham was so narrowly watched by his own son, and the other officers of the garrison who were devoted to the two houses, that he excused himself from the performance of his promise; and the king, being destitute of means to carry on the siege in form, was obliged to desist from the enterprize. In the mean time he had received an address from the two houses, beseeching him to discontinue his warlike preparations, remove his

his forces from Hull, disband his troops, and withdraw his garrisons from Newcastle, Tinnmouth, and other places in the county of Lincoln; on which conditions they promised to lay aside the preparations they had begun to make in their own defence. Their terms the king rejected, and in his turn presented them with proposals, to which they made no satisfactory answer. About the beginning of August, Goring governor of Portsmouth declared for the king, and was immediately blocked up by sea and land; the earl of Warwick commanding the fleet, and the militia of the adjacent parts being assembled by a committee of the two houses, appointed for that service. The governor having neglected to furnish the place with salt and corn, was in a few days obliged to capitulate, and retired to Holland. During this short blockade, the king published a declaration, recapitulating all the causes of his complaint against the two houses; declaring them guilty of high treason, and forbidding his subjects to obey their orders.

§ VI. At the same time he issued a proclamation, commanding all persons who were able to bear arms, to repair, on the twenty-fifth day of August, to Nottingham, where he intended to set up the royal standard, in conformity with the antient practice of the English kings, when, upon extraordinary occasions, they needed the assistance of their people. Mean while, he detached the earl of Hertford, and some other noblemen, to manage his interest in the western counties. He himself repaired to Lincoln, where he borrowed the arms of the trained-bands for the use of his new-levied troops; and from thence he marched to Nottingham, where he reviewed his cavalry, to the number of seven hundred horsemen, well mounted and accoutred. Hearing that the earl of Essex was on his march with two regiments of infantry, to take possession of Coventry, he advanced to that city with his horse, in order to anticipate the enemy; but he was refused admittance by the mayor, and returned to Nottingham very much chagrined, leaving the command of the cavalry to Wilmot the commissary-general, who next day retreated shamefully, before twelve hundred men of the enemy's infantry, escorted by one troop of horse. The king's proclamation had produced so little effect, that when the royal standard was set up at Nottingham, not a soul appeared but a few trained-bands assembled for that purpose. Every countenance was overspread with melancholy and dejection; and the standard being blown down by a storm, this accident was interpreted into an unlucky omen. Indeed nothing could be more melancholy than the prospect of this unhappy monarch, destitute of troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, except a very inconsiderable supply, altogether inadequate to his necessities, surrounded by timorous friends, distracted by jarring councils, wanting even the necessaries of life, and threatened by a powerful faction, which had not only despoiled him of his revenue and authority, but also interested the majority and richer part of the nation in its rebellious designs: nay, he was exposed to the most immediate hazard from a body of his adversaries, consisting of five thousand foot soldiers, and fifteen hundred cavalry, who had by this time taken possession of Coventry.

Clarendon.

§ VII. In this emergency, the king, by the advice of his council, sent the earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Colepepper, and Sir William Udall, with a message to the two houses, proposing a treaty for an accommodation, declaring his firm resolution to maintain the true religion, and the privileges of his

his people; protesting that he earnestly desired peace; and that, should his proposal be rejected, God would not impute to him the blood that might be shed in the course of their dispute. The deputies were treated with great insolence and contempt by both houses; and their answer imported, that without derogating from the privileges of parliament, they could not treat with the king, until he should have revoked those proclamations by which they were declared guilty of high treason. In a subsequent message, he promised to revoke those proclamations, and take down his standard, as soon as they should fix a day for recalling their declarations, by which all his friends and adherents were treated as traitors to their country. They insisted on their former answer, assuring him, that if he would return to his parliament, after the revocation which they had proposed, he should receive sensible marks of their fidelity and obedience; but that the parliament, as representative of the kingdom, would never suffer itself to be put in competition with his majesty's pernicious counsellors. Then they published a declaration, protesting that they would never lay down their arms, until the king should have abandoned the delinquents to the justice of parliament. Charles sent a third message, in which he said the public should judge whether he or they had manifested the warmer sollicitude for peace; that should they in the sequel desire to treat, he would always remember, that the blood to be shed was that of his subjects; and that he would return to his parliament as soon as the causes of his absence should cease. To this they returned a very acrimonious answer, charging his soldiers with having committed the most violent outrages, and himself with having not only caressed the agents of the Irish rebels, but also with having seized the ammunition, cloathing, and horses, provided for the reduction of those rebels, in order to be employed against his own parliament. Charles, in a subsequent declaration, absolutely denied the truth of those imputations; observing, by way of recrimination, that the two houses had made no scruple of using against their sovereign one hundred thousand pounds, raised for the relief of Ireland; that though the house of commons was composed of above five hundred members, two hundred had been obliged to relinquish their seats, by the violence and threats of the majority; and that, of one hundred peers, not above sixteen continued to sit in the upper house of parliament.

§ VIII. During this contest, the earl of Essex assembled at Northampton an army of sixteen thousand men, well armed, with an excellent train of artillery. The king, diffident of his safety at Nottingham, began his march towards Wales, with a small number of troops, ill provided, in hope of securing Chester and Shrewsbury. At Wellington, in the neighbourhood of Derby, he harangued his little army, protesting, in the presence of Almighty God, that he would maintain the true protestant religion, as established in the church of England; that he would defend the rights and privileges of his subjects; and particularly observe those laws to which he had given his assent in the present parliament. He found himself obliged to use some horses designed for the service of Ireland, and to borrow arms from the militia of the places through which he passed. The inhabitants of Shrewsbury received him with the warmest demonstrations of joy and affection. There he established his head-quarters; and the number of his troops increased so considerably, that in a few days he found himself at the head of ten thousand infantry, and four

four thousand horse. He was supplied with money by some friends in London; the loyal university of Oxford dedicated the plate of all their colleges to his service; and their example was followed by the university of Cambridge. Sir John Byron had been sent to Oxford for this supply, with a small detachment of cavalry; and prince Rupert, who had assumed the command of the horse, was detached with another body to Worcester, in order to meet and secure Byron in his return. Mean while, the earl of Essex resolving to fix his headquarters in this city, ordered Nathaniel Fiennes to advance, and take possession of the place; but, this officer finding Byron had entered it with his convoy, retired with precipitation. Immediately after his departure, prince Rupert arrived with his brother Maurice, and had scarce alighted, when he perceived five hundred horse of Essex's army, commanded by colonel Sandys, advancing through a defile just at hand. He and his company immediately mounted; and, with admirable courage and presence of mind, attacked the enemy as they came out of the lane: they were totally routed, after having left their commander and about thirty men killed on the spot; and several officers were taken. The success of this first skirmish wonderfully inspirited the royalists, and impressed the enemy with a terror of prince Rupert, who had given such an early proof of extraordinary conduct and bravery. He forthwith conducted his convoy to Shrewsbury, where the plate was coined for the king's use; and next day the earl of Essex took possession of Worcester, where he resided for some time, during which he secured the cities of Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol.

Rushworth.
Clarendon.

§ IX. The king had no sooner assembled an army, with which he thought he could act upon the offensive, than he began his march from Shrewsbury towards London; and in two days after his departure, the earl of Essex put himself in motion to attend his rear. On the twenty-second day of October, the armies were within six miles of each other. The king having received intelligence that Essex had advanced to Keinton, a village on the borders of Warwickshire, drew up his army on Edgehill, about two miles from the enemy; and on Sunday the twenty-third day of the month, gave them battle. The army of Essex was superior in number to the royalists, who did not exceed ten thousand horse and foot. He posted Ramsey, a Scottish officer, at the head of a thousand horse, on the left wing. He himself commanded the line of infantry, with about two regiments of cavalry, extending from Keinton towards Edgehill; and Sir William Balfour acting under the earl of Bedford, was intrusted with a strong body of horse as a reserve. The king's right wing of horse was commanded by Prince Rupert, the left by commissary Wilmot, and Sir Arthur Ashton. The earl of Lindsey, though general, fought on foot at the head of his own regiment, Sir Edmund Verney knight-marshal carried the king's standard; and Sir John Byron formed the reserve with his own regiment only. About three o'clock in the afternoon, prince Rupert advancing to charge the left wing of the enemy, Sir Faithfull Fortescue, with his whole troop, deserted from Ramsey, and joined the prince, who charged their adversaries with such fury, that they were immediately routed, and pursued for two miles. Wilmot and Sir Arthur Ashton met with the same success against the right wing of Essex; and the reserve under Byron joined in the pursuit, leaving the infantry on both sides to dispute the fortune of the day. During this contest, Sir William Balfour advancing with his reserve, fell upon the flank of the royalists, and did great

great execution. The earl of Lindsey was mortally wounded, and his son the lord Willoughby, taken prisoner, while he endeavoured to rescue his father; Sir Edmund Verney being slain, the standard fell into the hands of the enemy, but was recovered by the valour of captain John Smith. The king's whole infantry was thrown into confusion, and himself with his two sons in great danger of being taken. When prince Rupert and Wilmot returned from the pursuit, their troops were so fatigued and scattered, that they could not be brought into order so as to renew the charge; and night approaching, left the fate of the day undecided. Each side kept its ground, and next morning both armies fronted one another. About five thousand combatants lay dead on the field of battle, the greater number of these having been killed by the king's cavalry. Besides the earl of Lindsey, and Sir Edmund Verney, the king lost the lord Aubigny, brother to the duke of Richmond and Lenox. Among those who fell on the other side, were the lord St. John of Bletnezo, eldest son to the earl of Bolingbroke, and Charles Essex, an officer of reputation. Lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir Edward Stradling, and several persons of distinction in the king's army, were taken. His soldiers suffered greatly from the cold, which was very severe in the night; and indeed, both sides seemed to think themselves vanquished. Essex retired to Warwick castle; and the king having appointed Ruthven general of his army, in the room of the earl of Lindsey, marched to Banbury, and summoned the castle to surrender. Though the garrison consisted of eight hundred infantry, and a troop of horse, they immediately capitulated; and one half of the soldiers enlisted in the king's army. Here he left a garrison, under the command of the earl of Northampton, and next day entered Oxford, where he was received with joy and acclamation.

§ X. The two houses, though they arrogated to themselves the victory, were nevertheless overwhelmed with consternation, when they learned the particulars of the battle; while the king's friends at London seized this opportunity of exaggerating the exploits of the royalists, and expatiating upon the necessity of a peace. On the day that preceded the battle, the two houses had published a declaration, taxing the king with having given commissions to papists, with having sent persons to levy troops at Hamburgh, and in Denmark, encouraged Irish rebels, and entertained several persons declared guilty of high treason, namely lord Digby, Oneal, Williams, Pollard, and Ashburnham. They likewise affirmed, that the jesuits had collected money for his use in foreign countries; and for these reasons, they resolved to engage in a solemn covenant, hoping they should be joined by the Scots, according to the treaty of peace subsisting between the two kingdoms. Charles published two answers, in which he positively denied the truth of their imputations; and affirmed there was a great number of papists in their army. In their reply to this answer, they insisted upon his having granted commissions to catholics, whom they named: at the same time, they published a petition, presented to the king by the catholics of Lancashire, begging permission to provide themselves with arms for his service; and his majesty's answer, in which he complied with their request. At such a juncture, when the constitution was unhinged, and the legislature divided within itself; when the king was stripped of his prerogative, and a powerful faction had actually taken arms against his person, it was natural, it was just in him, to embrace the offers of his subjects, for his own preservation; and it was prudent to wave distinctions,

distinctions, which he could not maintain with any regard to his personal safety. As he claimed the victory at Edgehill, he, in order to fortify his pretensions, and intimidate his adversaries, sent an offer of pardon to the city of London, and several other towns which had declared for the two houses. His secret friends took all occasions to magnify the advantage, and inspire the people with an aversion to the war. On the other hand, the parliament resolved to demand peace, to exert their utmost endeavours for putting themselves in a condition to maintain the war, and to desire the assistance of the Scots, in case it should be found necessary.

§ XI. The army of Essex was immediately recruited by a great number of apprentices, who enlisted in consequence of an ordinance, importing that all the time of their service in the field should be reckoned as part of their apprenticeship; and they sent a declaration to Scotland, desiring their brethren of that kingdom to prepare forces to cover their frontiers from the attempts of the popish army, which the earl of Newcastle had raised in the north of England. The king, by the advice of his friends in London, resolved to approach that city, before the agitation produced by the battle should subside, hoping that some commotion would be raised in his favour. With this view he advanced to Reading, which was abandoned with precipitation by Harry Martin, who commanded the garrison composed of the parliament's troops. This motion alarmed the two houses to such a degree, that they dispatched a messenger to the king, to desire he would grant a safe-conduct for a committee of lords and commons, to attend him with an humble petition. He complied with their request, excepting against Sir John Evelyn, who had been proclaimed a traitor. The houses would not admit of this exception, especially as they received information that the earl of Essex was on his march to London; but, the king proceeding as far as Colebrook, their appetite for peace recurred. The apprehension of the people grew clamorous and importunate; and the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three members of the lower house, waited upon his majesty with a petition, that he would choose his residence at some place in the neighbourhood of London, where he might conveniently treat with a committee of parliament, about preventing further bloodshed, and re-establishing the peace of the nation.

§ XII. The deputies received a very favourable answer from the king, who pitched upon the castle of Windsor, which was in their possession; and they returned with a seemingly sincere desire of peace, to make their report to their constituents, when this fair prospect of an accommodation was ruined by the impetuosity of prince Rupert. He was a youth of a very obstinate temper, and ungracious address. Far from craving the advice of more experienced officers, Rushworth. he had payed no deference to the king's orders, since he first engaged in the service; and acted entirely from the suggestions of his own headstrong ambition. He now advanced with all the cavalry as far as Hounslow, and understanding that Essex had taken possession of Kingston, Acton, and Brentford, so that he was in danger of being intercepted, he sent a messenger to the king, desiring he might be sustained by the rest of the army. The infantry immediately began Clarend. n. their march, and the avenues of Brentford being barricaded by the enemy, the place was taken by assault, after a warm action, in which the king's troops took above five hundred prisoners, eleven pair of colours, fifteen pieces of cannon,

and a large quantity of ammunition. The houses loudly exclaimed against this attack, as a proof of the king's insincerity, and perfidious dealing, though they had no reason to complain, as they had not demanded a cessation; and their general had taken possession of Kingston and Acton, after their committee had waited upon his majesty. Nevertheless, he sent a message to the parliament, importing, that what he had done was in consequence of the motions of Essex; that he was still cordially disposed to peace, and would expect their deputies at Brentford. His messenger was maltreated and imprisoned; the two houses affirmed, that the king's design was to surprize and plunder the city of London; and they ordered the mayor to send the trained-bands to reinforce the earl of Essex. By this conjunction he was rendered much stronger than Charles. Both armies faced one another a whole day, on the heath, near Brentford; and, in the evening, the king wheeled off to Kingston, which the enemy had quitted. He lay at Hampton-Court, from whence he retired to Oat-lands, where first hearing how his character was aspersed, touching the attack at Brentford, he, in a message to the houses, repeated his reasons for the step he had taken, complained of those false imputations, and told them he would move to a greater distance from London, that they might prepare their proposals, without any apprehension; or, that if they were averse to a treaty, he was content to put an end to the miseries of his people by one decisive battle. Mean while, he directed his forces to retire to Reading, and dismissed the prisoners he had taken, after they had promised upon oath that they would never bear arms against their sovereign.

§ XIII. The parliament having received offers of men and money from the citizens of London, influenced by Pennington the mayor, passed an ordinance, that all such as should furnish men, money, horses, or arms for the service, should be repayed with interest; and for such payment, they engaged the public faith of the kingdom. They reinforced the army, caressed the earl of Essex, and constituted him sole general. Then they petitioned the king to return to his parliament, with his royal, not his martial attendance. To this address he returned a suitable reply, still expressing his desire to treat of an accommodation. They declared he had no mind to peace; and ordered their general to march with his army to Windsor, after their chaplains Downing and Marshal had absolved the soldiers of the oath they had taken at Brentford, to abstain from carrying arms against the king. All hope of peace being now vanished, Charles left a strong garrison in Reading, under the command of Sir Arthur Ashton, while he himself marched with the rest of his army to Oxford. Wallingford in the neighbourhood of that city, the Brill on the edge of Buckinghamshire, and Banbury were secured with garrisons; and the head-quarters for the horse were established at Abingdon: so that he commanded Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and influenced the counties of Buckingham and Northampton. Marlborough in Wiltshire being held for the parliament by Ramsay, a Scottish officer in their service, the king sent thither Wilmot, now appointed lieutenant-general of the horse, with a strong detachment, which entered the town by assault; they took the governor, officers, and a thousand prisoners, and returned safe to Oxford with four pieces of cannon, and great store of arms and ammunition: but, this advantage was in some measure ballanced by the misfortune that befel the lord Grandison, who, with three or four regiments of horse and dragoons, was taken by the enemy at Winchester; from whence, however, he made his escape to Oxford.

§ XIV. The

§ XIV. The king's next step was to refute the declaration which the two houses had sent into Scotland. Commissioners from that kingdom actually resided in London; and, before the armies took the field, had exhorted the parliament to a reconciliation with his majesty. He now sent a message to the privy-council of Scotland, complaining of the calumnies which had been circulated by the two houses and their emissaries, to the prejudice of his character; recapitulating the injuries he had suffered, and exhorting his subjects of Scotland to persevere in their duty and allegiance. As the king's revenues were intercepted, he was enabled by the loyalty and generosity of Oxford, the affection of his adherents, and particularly by sums drawn from his friends in London, to defray the necessary expence of his army and household, and even to make preparations for the ensuing campaign. When, according to custom, he appointed sheriffs in all the counties, the commons ordered that every person so nominated, should be prosecuted as a delinquent. Hearing that the king had ordered some of the prisoners taken at Edge-hill to be indicted for high treason, they declared all such indictments illegal; inhibited the judges to proceed; and declared, that if any of their soldiers should be executed, they would make retaliation upon those they had taken prisoners. The king published a proclamation, forbidding all men to pay or receive the duty of tonnage and poundage; and the houses declared that no person should be molested on that account. They maintained agents in Holland, Brussels, and France. The prince of Orange had heartily engaged in the cause of his father-in-law; but the states-general were united with the parliament by a conformity of civil and religious principles. They prevailed upon Francisco de Melos, governor of Flanders, to discountenance the king's friends in that country. The king of Spain had been incensed against Charles for having concluded a league of amity with the crown of Portugal. He had encouraged and assisted the rebels in Ireland, and now his ambassador at London carried on an intimate correspondence with the two houses. Richelieu, the French minister, had been concerned in exciting the first commotions in Scotland. La Ferté, the envoy from that crown, acted as a spy for the parliament; and the huguenots were attached to it by the ties of religion.

§ XV. In order to raise money for their occasions, the two houses ordered that committees should be named for borrowing money and plate to supply the wants of the army; and that they should take into custody all provisions of money, plate, and horses, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. They ordained, that Isaac Pennington, mayor of London, and a certain number of aldermen and-citizens, should be vested with authority to empower six persons of every ward in London to assess all persons who refused to contribute in sums not exceeding the twentieth part of their substance; to distrain goods for this purpose, to receive rents, to compound debts, and even to imprison whole families. The king published a declaration, explaining the pernicious consequences of such an arbitrary tyrannical imposition, which destroyed the most essential privileges of the people: he required that his loving subjects would not submit to such an extravagant ordinance, or give any assistance to the army of the rebels, on pain of incurring severe punishment and perpetual infamy. A great number of citizens, well affected to his majesty, prepared a petition to the parliament, recommending a treaty for peace; but the two

houses refused to receive it, on pretence that it had been framed by delinquents. Another, of the same tenor, was drawn up by the inhabitants of Westminster, who were treated in the same ignominious manner. The mayor and aldermen, at the instigation of the parliament, sent deputies to the king, with a petition, desiring him to disband his army, and return to his parliament. To this he returned an answer by a gentleman, who was permitted to read it before the common-council of the city, assembled for that purpose; and in presence of a committee of lords and commons, who had taken proper precautions to prevent its having any effect to his advantage. The parliament seemed to have nothing so much at heart as the extirpation of episcopacy, for which the commons prepared a bill; and, by their intrigues, it passed the upper house, where otherwise it would have met with opposition. They observed, that this was the sole condition upon which the Scots would take arms in their behalf; and they insinuated to those whom they knew extremely averse to this measure, that, in case of a treaty with the king, this bill would alarm him with such apprehensions for the church, that he would be glad to redeem the hierarchy with some signal concession. This great point being gained, they began to prepare propositions of peace to be presented to his majesty.

Clarendon.

XVI. Mean while the civil war continued to rage in different parts of the kingdom. The earl of Newcastle, having levied forces for the king's service in the North, was opposed in his passing the river Tees, that separates the bishopric of Durham from Yorkshire, by young Hotham, at the head of a strong detachment from the army of lord Fairfax, who commanded for the parliament in that country: but the earl forced his passage, and took possession of York with eight thousand men. He afterwards attacked the intrenchments of Fairfax at Tadcaster; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to retire, after a very obstinate action. At Gisborough Sir Hugh Cholmley defeated six hundred men in the king's service, commanded by colonel Slingby, who was taken, with a good number of his followers: and the town of Leeds, garrisoned by fifteen hundred men, under Sir William Saville, was assaulted and taken by young Fairfax, son to the general. In the southern parts of the kingdom, Sir William Saville, for the parliament, reduced Farnham, Winchester, and Chichester. In February, prince Rupert took Cirencester by assault, and made twelve hundred prisoners. Lord Brook, in attacking some of the king's troops intrenched at Litchfield, lost his life; but the post was taken by his followers. These, under Sir John Gill, being reinforced by Sir William Brererton from Nantwich, advanced to Stafford, in quest of the earl of Northampton, who gave them battle on Hopton-heath, though they amounted to three times his number. Their horse were immediately routed; but the earl, being dismounted, was slain, after he had given repeated proofs of personal prowess, and refused quarter from the hands of such infamous rebels. Sir John Byron, who commanded the victorious cavalry, would have attacked them the next day; but they retired by favour of the darkness. Lord Herbert, who had undertaken the siege of Gloucester, was surprised by Sir William Waller, who routed his forces, and took a great number of prisoners. Then he reduced the castle of Chepstow, and made himself master of Monmouth.

§ XVII.

§ XVII. The war was carried on with still greater vigour in the western counties. The marquis of Hertford had been appointed general for the king in that part of the country, and established his head-quarters at Bath; but the earl of Bedford, who commanded for the parliament, having raised a considerable force, obliged him to retire into Wales; from whence he detached Sir Ralph Hopton into Cornwall with about five hundred horse, to manage the king's interest in that county. This gentleman was well received in Cornwall; and the whole county, through the influence of Sir Bevil Greenvil, declared for his majesty. Hopton, having assembled three thousand Cornishmen, drove the commissioners of the parliament from Launceston, where they had made some levies, and afterwards from Saltaſh; but, as they refused to serve in any other county, he dismissed them after this service: nevertheless, he found means to maintain about five hundred regular troops, with which he made incursions into Devonshire. The parliament, alarmed at his success, formed an army of the forces they had raised in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and conferred the command of it upon the earl of Stamford. This nobleman sent a strong detachment into Cornwall, under Ruthven, a Scottish officer, governor of Plymouth, who passed the river Tamar near Saltaſh, and advanced to Bradock-down in the neighbourhood of Liskard, where he was encountered and defeated by Sir Ralph Hopton. Ruthven fled to Saltaſh, which he endeavoured to fortify; and the earl of Stamford, who had proceeded as far as Launceston, in order to join Ruthven, retired to Tavistock. The victors dividing their forces, part of them marched with lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton to Saltaſh, which they took by assault; Ruthven escaping by sea to Plymouth. The other division, conducted by Sir John Berkley, Sir Bevil Greenvil, and colonel Ashburnham, advanced to Tavistock, which the earl of Stamford abandoned at their approach. Immediately after these transactions, the inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall agreed to a neutrality, that the seat of war might be removed from these two counties. The same expedient was proposed in Yorkshire; and the articles were actually drawn up between the lord Fairfax for the parliament, and Henry Bellasis, heir apparent of the lord Falconbridge, who adhered to his majesty. These were subscribed by the principal persons of either party; but the parliament disowned the transaction, reprimanded Fairfax, expressed their detestation of a neutrality, and ordered him to proceed according to his former instructions. About the middle of February, the queen, who had sent repeated supplies of arms and ammunition from Holland for his majesty's service, took shipping for England; and, arriving at Burlington-bay, was received by the earl of Newcastle, who escorted her to York, from whence she was afterwards conducted to Oxford.

§ XVIII. The two houses, having finished their propositions, demanded of the king a safe-conduct for a committee, which was granted in favour of the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, the lords viscounts Wenman and Dungarnon, Sir John Holland, Sir William Litton, William Pierpoint, Bulstrode, Whitelock, Edmund Waller, and Richard Winwood. They set out for Oxford in the latter end of January, and met with a very gracious reception from his majesty, to whom the earl of Northumberland presented the propositions, importing, That he should disband his army,
return.

return to parliament, leave delinquents to justice, allow the papists to be disarmed, pass the bill for abolishing episcopacy, and others for compelling recusants to abjure popery, for removing malignant counsellors, settling the militia according to the desire of the parliament; in a word, to relinquish all his prerogative, and leave himself at the mercy of the two houses. He, in his turn, proposed that his revenue, magazines, towns, forts, and ships should be restored; that every transaction, contrary to law and the king's right, should be annulled; that all illegal power, claimed by the parliament, should be renounced; that a bill might be brought into the house for maintaining the Book of Common Prayer against sectaries; that all persons excepted in the treaty should be tried by their peers; that there should be an immediate cessation of arms, and a free trade carried on through the whole kingdom.

An.Ch.1643. Conferences were opened upon these articles; but as neither side would make the least concession to the other, the two houses recalled their commissioners, and broke off the treaty. Neither king nor parliament had, from the beginning, the least hope of succeeding in this negotiation; for though a few moderate men on each side were extremely desirous of peace, the majority of the leading men were eagerly bent upon a continuation of the war, in which they found their account. The king himself was over-ruled by the persuasions of some who enjoyed too great a share of his confidence.

Whitelock.

§ XIX. During this congress he detached prince Rupert, to open a communication between York and Oxford; and he had already made himself master of Bromicham and Litchfield, when he was recalled to undertake the relief of Reading, which by this time was besieged by the earl of Essex. The garrison was commanded by Sir Arthur Ashton; but he being wounded in the beginning of the siege, the command devolved upon colonel Fielding. A small reinforcement of three hundred men, with a supply of powder, was thrown into the place by lieutenant-general Wilmot; notwithstanding which the town was not thought to be in a defensible condition, and Fielding demanded a capitulation; mean while hostages were mutually given for a cessation of arms. The king began his march from Oxford, to relieve the place; but, after an unsuccessful attempt, was obliged to retire: so that Fielding surrendered the town on condition of being permitted to retire with all the honours of war. He had, however, neglected to stipulate for the safety of the deserters, who were executed by order of Essex, whose soldiers insulted the garrison as they marched out, and even plundered the waggons, in contempt of the capitulation: an outrage which the king's soldiers retaliated in the sequel, as often as they found an opportunity. Fielding was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death for having surrendered Reading upon such conditions; but he was pardoned in consideration of his former services, and lived to signalize his courage and fidelity on many different occasions.

Clarendon.

§ XX. The earl of Essex being joined by Sir William Waller, who had by this time reduced Hereford, and made an unsuccessful attack upon Worcester, he received orders from the two houses to march towards Oxford, where the king was supposed to be in great distress from want of ammunition. He accordingly advanced to Thame, within ten miles of that city. While he remained in this post, colonel Urrey, a Scottish officer, who had served in Germany with general Ruthven, now created earl of Brentford, took this opportunity of deserting

deserting to the king, and persuaded prince Rupert to beat up the quarters of the enemy, after having particularly informed them of their disposition. To demonstrate the practicability of such an exploit, he proposed to go as a volunteer, with a detachment which he conducted to part of these quarters, where he defeated some regiments, and brought a good number of prisoners to Oxford. Prince Rupert, encouraged by his success, complied with his advice, in making a more vigorous attack upon that part of their army which was quartered at Thame. They departed from Oxford with a strong body of horse; and, taking a long circuit in the night, arrived by break of day at Wickham, where they cut in pieces two regiments of the enemy: they attacked another quarter with the same success, and attempted to retire by a bridge, at which they had left a sufficient guard. By this time the earl of Essex had taken the alarm, and detached part of his cavalry, to detain the prince until he should be able to advance with the infantry. They overtook him on the skirts of Chalgrave-field, where he wheeled about, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they betook themselves to flight, after having lost some of their best officers; and, among the rest, the celebrated John Hambden, who had acted as colonel of a regiment since the beginning of the war, and proved in many encounters that his courage was equal to any of his other extraordinary endowments. The candour and moderation, for which this gentleman was distinguished, in the beginning of the opposition to the king's measures, had given way to a violence of animosity against the antient constitution, and the person of his sovereign, by whom he had been declared guilty of high treason. This was an affront he could never forgive: he became passionate and even ferocious, discouraged all overtures towards an accommodation; and now his death struck a damp into the hearts of the whole faction. Other officers of distinction were slain or taken prisoners. The army under Essex was dispirited by these checks, diminished by distemper, and in want of necessaries; so that he thought proper to remove from Thame, and put his troops into quarters of refreshment at St. Alban's, Uxbridge, and other places in that neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Rupert returned in triumph to Oxford, and recommended Urrey to the king in such warm encomiums upon his courage and conduct, that he received the honour of knighthood, and was preferred to the command of a regiment. Clarendon.

§ XXI. The king's affairs still wore a favourable aspect in the western counties, where the neutrality was over-ruled, as in the North, by the votes and declarations of the parliament. Major Chudleigh, with a body of the enemy, made an attempt upon Launceston; but, being repulsed, retired to Okington. About the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marching into Cornwall, at the head of seven thousand horse and foot, with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred cavalry, to surprise the high sheriff of the county at Bodmin. The Cornish loyalists, under lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, seized this opportunity of attacking their infantry, in the absence of their horse. They formed their small army into four divisions, and attacked the hill in so many different parts. After a very warm contest they met upon the summit, disarmed major-general Chudleigh, routed the parliamentarians, and took possession of their cannon and camp, while the earl of Stamford retired with precipitation to Exeter; and

and Sir George Chudleigh, with their cavalry, took the same route from Bodmin, as soon as he was informed of the earl's disaster. The victorious loyalists, having received orders to join prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford, who had advanced as far as Somersetshire, began their march; and joining the marquis at Chard, the two bodies, thus united, amounted to above seven thousand men, in excellent order, with a good train of artillery: thus strengthened they took Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar-castle, almost without opposition.

§ XXII. The two houses, immediately after the battle of Stratton, sent Sir William Waller, to raise an army in the county of Somerset, in order to retrieve their affairs. He acted with such secrecy and dispatch, that a detachment from his army endeavoured to beat up the quarters of the marquis at Somerton, before he had any intelligence of their approach. They were, however, repulsed by the earl of Carnarvon, who pursued them so far that he fell into a kind of ambuscade, formed by a strong party of Waller's dragoons, before which he was obliged to retreat in his turn, till he was sustained by prince Maurice; a very smart action ensued, in which the prince exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid bravery, and the enemy were routed with considerable loss. The royalists, having rested a few days at Wells, advanced towards Sir William Waller, who had fixed his head-quarters at Bath, and received from London a reinforcement of five hundred cavalry, so completely armed with cuirasses and defensive armour, that the loyalists termed them the lobsters; and, in the sequel, found them generally irresistible. After some skirmishes that were fought with various success, the marquis and prince Maurice marched to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath, in the road to Oxford. Waller, whose aim was to prevent their joining the king, immediately took possession of Lansdown hill, which he fortified with breast-works and cannon. Then he detached a body of horse towards Marsfield, from whence they were driven back by the loyalists, who drew up their forces in order of battle on the plain; but, perceiving how advantageously the enemy was posted, they began to retreat to their old quarters. Waller immediately sent his whole cavalry to fall upon their flank and rear; and the new regiment of cuirassiers did great execution; so that the king's horse, hitherto deemed invincible, were broken and dismayed: nevertheless, they were rallied by the valour and activity of their officers, and the enemy fled in their turn. Then the royalists attacked the hill with surprising courage, and gained the summit after a very obstinate engagement; the enemy retiring behind a stone-wall, where they faced the king's troops in good order till night, and then retired to Bath, by favour of the darkness. The marquis was left in possession of the field; but the victory was not purchased without considerable damage. Sir Bevil Greenhill was killed in the attack, together with a good number of excellent officers; and next morning, as Sir Ralph Hopton and serjeant-major Sheldon rode about the field, they were blown up with gunpowder, eight barrels of which happened to be in a waggon, and took fire either by treachery or accident. The major died next day, to the unspeakable regret of the army, by which he was beloved for his courage and amiable disposition; and Sir Ralph Hopton was so miserably scorched, that they despaired of his recovery. The loss of this great man, who was the darling of the soldiers, they deemed equivalent to a defeat, and retreated with heavy hearts to Marsfield.

§ XXIII.

§ XXIII. The marquis then resolved to join his majesty, and began his march for Oxford; but Waller hung upon his rear with such vigilance and activity, that he found it impracticable to reach that city with his whole army. It was therefore resolved, that he and prince Maurice should fight their way through the enemy; and that the infantry and cannon should remain at the Devizes, until the general could return with a reinforcement from Oxford. This resolution they executed; and Sir William Waller beleaguered the Devizes. The earl of Crawford marching at the head of his own regiment of horse, with a convoy of ammunition to the relief of the besieged, was intercepted by a strong body of the enemy's cavalry, and hardly escaped with the loss of his whole convoy. They were by this disappointment reduced to great distress, and hampered so close by Sir William Waller, that it would have been impossible to defend the place for any length of time. The king knowing the importance of relieving them, no sooner understood their situation, from the prince and the marquis, than he detached lord Wilmot, with fifteen hundred cavalry, and two field-pieces, to their assistance. Waller immediately drew up his forces on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes, in order to prevent the junction of Wilmot and the king's troops; and Wilmot resolved to give him battle, in hope that the infantry would march out and join him during the engagement. Waller advancing with his whole cavalry, to charge the royalists, met with such a warm reception, that his invincible regiment of cuirassiers were broken and dispersed, and his horse routed with great slaughter. Then the Cornish infantry arriving from the Devizes, and joining the victorious Wilmot, attacked the enemy's foot with such impetuosity, that almost the whole body was either killed or taken prisoners; and Waller fled with a few followers to Bristol, in which there was a garrison of the parliament's troops. This victory was obtained on the thirteenth day of July, which was doubly fortunate for the king, who, at that very time, met the queen on the field of Keinton, and with her received above two thousand infantry, and one thousand horse, well armed, together with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and one hundred waggons of ammunition, which were conveyed in safety to Oxford.

§ XXIV. In order to take advantage of the consternation with which Waller's defeat had overwhelmed the parliament and their adherents, [Charles consented to the siege of Bristol, projected by prince Rupert; and the whole army was employed in this enterprize. The Cornish troops took post on the side of Somersetshire, and the prince established his quarters on the side of Gloucester. Nathaniel Fiennes commanded in the place, at the head of five and twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of dragoons. The town was in a good posture of defence, and the castle well fortified, and supplied with men, provision, and ammunition. In a council of war, it was determined to proceed by assault; and the troops began the attack on both sides of the town with surprising intrepidity. The Cornish men met with such difficulties from the nature of the ground, and the obstinate defence of the besieged, that, notwithstanding their undaunted courage and resolution, they were repulsed with slaughter, with the loss of many gallant officers. On the other side, where the place was more accessible, prince Rupert had better success. Colonel Washington entered the line, and made room for the horse to follow. The

enemy forthwith abandoned their posts and retired within the town ; so that the assailants, at the expence of much blood, had only obtained possession of the suburbs, and retained little hope of making themselves masters of the city, when the governor demanded a parley. He obtained an honourable capitulation, in consequence of which he surrendered the town, and marched out with his arms and baggage : but his soldiers were insulted and plundered by the royalists, in revenge for the treatment they themselves had met with at Reading ; and many other outrages were committed in the city, on the supposition that the inhabitants were disaffected to the cause of his majesty. The reduction of Bristol, though it greatly swelled the tide of the king's prosperity, cost him a number of excellent officers, the loss of whom he severely regretted. Of the Cornish men, major Kendall, Sir Nicholas Stanning, and the two colonels Trevannion and Buck, were either slain or mortally wounded in the attack. In the division of prince Rupert, the colonels Launsford and Moyle were shot from windows, after they had entered the suburbs ; and the lord viscount Grandison died of the wounds he received on this occasion. He was a young nobleman of unblemished honour, invincible courage, and inviolable fidelity. Fiennes governor of Bristol was tried by a court-martial for having surrendered that city in a cowardly manner, and condemned to death ; but the sentence was remitted by the earl of Essex, and he spent the remainder of his life in foreign countries.

§ XXV. About this time the earl of Newcastle, in the North, encountered the lord Fairfax on Atherston-moor, where the parliamentarians being totally routed, Fairfax retreated with the remains of them into Hull, of which he was appointed governor, in the room of Hotham, whom the two houses had committed to custody. To complete their chagrin, the most violent animosity began to rage between the earl of Essex and Sir William Waller. The earl grew jealous of this favourite, and tired of the war ; and Waller taxed him with neglect of duty, in allowing the queen to pass unmolested to Oxford, and in suffering Wilmot to relieve the Devizes. All these concurring calamities made such impression upon the two houses, that they sent Sir William Armyne, young Sir Henry Vane, and two other members, as a deputation to their brethren in Scotland, desiring they would immediately advance with an army to their assistance. The king had, before this happy turn of his affairs, issued a declaration, declaring the proceedings of the two houses to be void, as the members did not enjoy the freedom and liberty of parliament ; and now he published a declaration, re-capitulating his late successes, repeating the protestation he had made in the beginning of war, expressing his eager desire of peace, his intention to govern by the laws of the land, and maintain the privileges of parliament, and requiring his good subjects to assist him vigorously with men and arms, plate, money, and horses, that he might the sooner be enabled to put an end to the calamities of the nation.

§ XXVI. This declaration co-operating with the victories he had gained, produced such effects among his adversaries and their adherents, that if he had marched directly to London, before the fears of the parliament subsided, in all probability the war would have been finished to his honour and advantage ; but he had cast his eyes upon the city of Gloucester, the possession of which would have made him master of the whole Severne, and enabled him to supply his garrisons

garrisons at Worcester and Shrewsbury from the city of Bristol, the command of which was now bestowed upon prince Rupert, though the government was vested in Sir Ralph Hopton, promoted about this time to the dignity of a baron. The garrison of Gloucester was commanded by colonel Masséy, a soldier of fortune, who had formerly served in the king's army under colonel William Leg, during the last war with Scotland. This gentleman sounded his inclination towards his majesty by a letter, to which he returned a very blunt answer; but he in private desired the messenger to tell colonel Leg, that the king might depend upon his attachment. He said, if prince Rupert should be sent to besiege Gloucester, he would defend it to extremity; but to his majesty in person, he would surrender at the first summons. In consequence of this promise, Charles resolved to march thither without delay. He detached prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon towards Dorchester, with a body of horse and foot, to extend his interest in the western counties; and he himself, attended by the marquis of Hertford, set out for Gloucester, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived on the tenth day of August. He forthwith sent a trumpet, to summon the town to surrender; and the messenger returned with two meagre deputies, who demeaned themselves with great insolence, and presented a paper, declaring the citizens would, with God's help, keep the town, according to the commands of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament. This was subscribed by the governor, the mayor, thirteen aldermen, and a great number of the most substantial inhabitants. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the king's council resolved that the place should be besieged; and Sir William Vavasour, who commanded for his majesty in South Wales, was ordered to draw his forces to the forest-side of the town, to overawe and restrain the besieged, who had broken down the bridges, set fire to the suburbs, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

§ XXVII. Mean while, the parliament, which had hitherto acted with such unanimity, began to be distracted with divisions and conspiracies. Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet, had, with keen satire, and admirable eloquence, opposed the violent counsels by which the commons were governed. He enjoyed the confidence of the earl of Northumberland, Conway, and other persons of moderation, who detested the furious proceedings of the lower house. He concerted with his brother-in-law Mr. Tomkyns, and Mr. Chaloner the intimate friend of that gentleman, an association of the lords and citizens, to refuse payment of the illegal taxes imposed by the parliament without the royal assent. Their discourse was overheard by a servant of Tomkyns, who betrayed it to Pym. All three were apprehended, tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death. Tomkyns and Chaloner were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors: Waller redeemed himself by informing against his friends, counterfeiting sorrow and remorse, bribing the puritanical ministers, and paying a fine of ten thousand pounds. Then the lords and commons subscribed a covenant, which they imposed upon their army, expressing their abhorrence of the late conspiracy, and their resolution to amend their lives; vowing that they would never lay down their arms so long as the papists, in open war against the parliament, should be screened from justice; and promising to contribute their uttermost in assisting the two houses against the king's army. The insolence of the faction was now risen to such a pitch, that they openly accused the queen of high treason, and presented an impeachment of her

to the upper house. An insult which the king resented so warmly, that he issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to obey the orders of the two houses, which he no longer acknowledged as the parliament.

§ XXVIII. Notwithstanding these bold measures, the reduction of Bristol was no sooner known, than the lords began to deliberate upon expedients for peace, and communicated propositions for that purpose to the commons, which produced vehement debates, between the violent party and those who were inclined to a solid pacification; but at length it was determined by a majority, that the propositions should be transmitted to his majesty. The faction immediately began to ply all their engines to cloud this prospect of an accommodation. The pulpits resounded with arguments and exclamations against a treaty: printed papers were distributed and pasted upon all public places, exhorting the people to rise as one man, and repair to the house of commons next morning, as twenty thousand Irish rebels were landed for their destruction. A petition against peace was drawn up in the common-council, and presented to the lower house by Pennington the lord mayor; and all Westminster was filled with tumult. Many moderate members withdrew themselves from the house, where they could no longer sit in safety; while the others thanked the city for their petition and advice, and the propositions for peace were rejected. A great number of the wives of citizens delivered a petition for peace; but they were attacked, and many of them killed and wounded, by a troop of horse commanded by one Harvey. The two houses received Waller after his defeat with the warmest expressions of esteem. He was chosen commander in chief of the forces and militia of London; and they declared that they would enable him to take the field again, to relieve their distressed friends in the West. They passed an ordinance to raise a new army, under the command of the earl of Manchester, to oppose the earl of Newcastle, and protect the associated counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Lincoln. Then they sent a committee of both houses to soothe the earl of Essex, who had been for some time disgusted; and had indeed conferred with the moderate party, upon expedients to force the two houses into pacific measures. Whatever arguments the committee used, he was persuaded to re-adopt their sentiments; and his other friends fearing he would discover their design, withdrew themselves from the parliament. The earl of Portland, lord Lovelace, and lord Conway, repaired to Oxford; and their example was followed by the earl of Clare. The earls of Bedford and Holland escaped to the king's garrison at Wallingford; and the earl of Northumberland retired to his own house at Petworth in Sussex.

§ XXIX. While the king was employed in the siege of Gloucester, the city of Dorchester, Weymouth, and Portland, surrendered to the earl of Carnarvon, who left his army under the command of prince Maurice, and repaired to the king, in discontent at some outrages which the troops had committed with impunity. Sir John Digby routed a body of the parliament's forces at Torrington; Barnstable and Bedford were surrendered to him without opposition; and prince Maurice undertook the siege of Exeter, which was delivered into his hands on capitulation, by the earl of Stamford. The siege of Gloucester proceeded slowly, from the king's want of necessaries for such an enterprize; and the valour and vigilance of Massey, who made repeated sallies, in which the besiegers sustained incredible damage. At length the earl of Essex under-

undertook the relief of the place. The two houses supplied him with forces, among which he mustered four regiments of the city trained-bands; and towards the end of August he began his march from London. The rendezvous of his troops was at Aylesbury, where, being joined by the lord Gray, and reinforcements from the associated counties, he found himself at the head of eight thousand infantry, and half that number of horse. Then he continued his march by Brackley: though he was a little incommoded by a detachment of the king's horse, sent on purpose to harrafs him with light skirmishes, he proceeded with great expedition; and the king's forces abandoning their works at his approach, entered Gloucester in triumph, when the garrison was reduced to extremity. Having supplied the town with provision, ammunition, and a reinforcement of soldiers, he marched to Tewksbury; from whence he made a sudden motion to Cirencester, where he surprized two regiments of the royalists, and seized a great quantity of provisions prepared for the king's army: then he took his route through the northern parts of Wiltshire, having marched twenty miles before the king was informed of his motions.

§ XXX. Prince Rupert was immediately detached over the hills, to intercept him in his march, and amuse him with skirmishes, until the king in person should bring up the infantry. He performed this service with such expedition, that before the enemy reached Newbury, he charged, and put their rear in confusion; and, though they behaved with great conduct and resolution, he compelled them to shorten their intended march, and take up their quarters at Hungerford. Next day, which was the seventeenth of September, the king took possession of Newbury with his foot; so that Essex was obliged to pass the night in the open field; and was indeed in such a situation, that in all probability he would have found it extremely difficult to extricate himself, had the royalists avoided a battle: but he was obliged to the impetuosity of some young officers, who despised such maxims of caution. He drew up his men in order of battle, upon Bigs-hill, within a short mile of Newbury, and made such a disposition as became a general of his conduct and experience. The royalists began to skirmish in small successive parties, until they were insensibly engaged so far, that the king found it necessary to hazard a general action. The king's horse charged with their usual intrepidity, and even routed the cavalry of Essex; but they could make no impression upon his foot, behind which the horse rallied as often as they were put in confusion. The London trained-bands, in particular, opposed themselves like a rampart against the efforts of the royalists, and managed their pikes with such dexterity, that prince Rupert attacked them in vain, at the head of his choice cavalry. The battle was fought all day, with equal obstinacy on both sides; and night parted the combatants, before either army could claim the victory. The king recalled his troops from the field; and next morning the earl of Essex pursued his march towards Reading, which he reached with his cannon and baggage, after his rear had been severely handled by prince Rupert, who charged it when entangled in defiles, at the head of his horse, and one thousand musqueteers. Though the number of men slain in the battle of Newbury was not very considerable, the king sustained irreparable loss in the fate of some worthy noblemen who fell in the engagement. The earl of Sunderland, a young nobleman of promising parts, was killed by a cannon-bullet. The earl of Carnarvon, who had served his royal master with such courage and ability, was run through the body with a sword, and.

and expired in an hour after he had received the wound ; but the theme of universal lamentation was the death of the great, the good, the amiable Lucius Cary lord viscount Falkland, secretary of state, the darling of the muses, the patron of learning and merit, the mirror of integrity, and the pattern of consummate virtue. This excellent person had constantly opposed the crown in those measures which he deemed dangerous to the liberty of the subject, and the privileges of parliament : but, when he perceived the drift of the demagogues was to ruin the constitution ; that the king had sufficiently atoned for the errors of his conduct, during the first part of his reign, by the manifold concessions he had made in favour of his people, he disclaimed their proceedings, and espoused the cause of his sovereign in distress : yet, he was so much afflicted at seeing his country involved in the calamities of a civil war, that he lost his former serenity of temper ; he became silent, pensive, and reserved ; and, in the midst of his friends, the word "Peace" often broke from him with a profound sigh. He eagerly forwarded every overture of an accommodation ; and, that this conduct might not seem the result of personal timidity, he exposed himself on all occasions to the most imminent hazard, as if he had despised life, or been enamoured of danger. When his temper first changed, he began to neglect the exterior ornaments of his person, in which he had been formerly exact and curious ; but, in the morning of the battle, as if he had foreseen his fate, he bestowed extraordinary pains upon his apparel, saying, the enemy should not find his body in a slovenly condition, "I am weary of the times (added he) and foresee much misery to my country ; but believe I shall be out of it before night." He charged in the front of lord Byron's regiment, and being shot in the belly, fell from his horse ; but his body was not found till next morning. This is one of the most finished characters which we find upon record ; and his death the more lamentable, as he died in the four and thirtieth year of his age.

Clarendon.
Rushworth.
Whitelock.

§ XXXI. The earl of Essex having refreshed his men at Reading, quitted that place, which was immediately secured for the king, with a strong garrison, commanded by Sir Jacob Ashley ; and his majesty retired to Oxford. Essex, by slow marches, returned to London, where he was received with joy and acclamation ; and the two houses appointed a solemn thanksgiving, not only for his success in relieving Gloucester, but also for the signal victory he had obtained at Newbury. Indeed this action might have been fatal to the king, had Sir William Waller, who was quartered at Windsor with four thousand horse and foot, advanced to the assistance of Essex : but he did not at all interest himself in the fortune of that nobleman ; though they were afterwards formally reconciled to each other by the mediation of the two houses. The king's little court was distracted by cabals. Prince Rupert thwarted the marquis of Hertford : the queen had her own favourites, among whom the principal was the lord Jermyn. The earls of Bedford, Clare, and Holland, were treated with coldness and reserve, even after they had served at the siege of Gloucester, and behaved with remarkable gallantry at the last battle. They repented this impolitic conduct of the king, who was incapable of dissimulation ; and took the first opportunity of returning to the parliament, from which they easily obtained forgiveness : the earl of Northumberland being informed of the reception they had met with at Oxford, resumed his seat in the house of lords, without being questioned, as he had never manifested his intention to desert their cause.

§ XXXII.

§ XXXII. The committee of the commons which had been sent into Scotland, met with all the success they could desire in their negotiation with the convention of estates, and the general assembly of that nation. They declared themselves ready to assist their brethren of England; and proposed that the two kingdoms should agree in a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union of the English and Scottish parliaments. A draught of such a covenant was transmitted to the two houses at Westminster, where it was received with applause; and subscribed by the lords, commons, and assembly of divines. By this solemn league and covenant, they bound themselves to preserve the reformed religion in the three kingdoms; to promote a uniformity in doctrine and discipline; to extirpate popery and prelacy; to maintain the privileges of parliament and the liberties of the people; to defend his majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdom; to discover incendiaries and malignants, that they might receive condign punishment; to promote a firm peace and union to all posterity; to assist one another with all their power, renounce neutrality, and resist temptation; to humble themselves for their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation. This covenant was read in St. Margaret's church at Westminster, in presence of both houses; and the commons ordered that it should be taken next Sunday by all persons in their respective parishes. The Scots, on this occasion, were partly influenced by temporal interest, and partly by fanaticism. They began to fear, that should the king triumph over the two houses, he would retract all the concessions which had been extorted from him by the Scottish nation. They were inflamed with the hope of establishing their darling presbytery in England, and even extending it to the remotest regions, and some of them were allured with the prospect of sharing the spoils of the royalists.

§ XXXIII. In the beginning of the spring, the earl of Loudon, chancellor of Scotland, with other commissioners of that kingdom, attended by their apostle Henderson, had visited the king at Oxford, and renewed their offer of mediation. They even, in the most pressing solicitations, recommended the presbyterian model of worship and discipline; and he was obliged to desire they would be contented with the concessions he had already made in their favour. They met with no better success, in requesting him to summon a Scottish parliament; and in demanding a passport for London, where they intended to confer with the two houses. Thus baffled in all their endeavours, they returned highly discontented, to their own country. As they could not prevail upon the king to convoke a parliament, the conservators of the peace, lately chosen to maintain the confederacy with England, assembled in his majesty's name, a convention of the estates, which, as well as the parliament, was vested with power to levy troops, and impose taxes. The duke of Hamilton, and his brother the earl of Lanerk, had undertaken to oppose the king's adversaries in this assembly: but, either from want of sincerity, or power, they concurred with them in all their transactions. The Scottish covenanters were themselves over-reached by the profound craft and impenetrable dissimulation of Sir Henry Vane, who, though he hated presbytery, as much as he was averse to episcopacy, acquiesced in all their demands, assisted them in drawing up the covenant, seemed to enter warmly into their religious views, and loudly extolled their discipline, which in his heart

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heart he despised. Thus cajoled, and encouraged with the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, advanced to them on the credit of the two houses, they began to assemble their forces with great alacrity; and, in a little time, their army amounted to twenty thousand men, the command of whom they bestowed upon their old general the earl of Leven, who accepted the office without hesitation, though he had solemnly promised that he would never bear arms against his majesty. In the treaty between the two nations, it was stipulated, that a committee of the Scots should always sit with the close committee at Westminster, for carrying on the war with equal authority; and that there should be no treaty of peace without the joint consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms.

§ XXXIV. About this time, the count D'Harcourt arrived in London, as ambassador extraordinary from the king and queen regent of France, to offer their good offices towards a reconciliation between the king and his parliament. He was received with great ceremony by the two houses, and visited the king at Oxford. At his return from thence, he sent a paper to the earl of Northumberland, desiring he would intimate to parliament, that the king his master, and the queen his mistress, were extremely desirous of interposing their good offices for re-establishing the peace of England; and, that if they would explain the reasons that induced them to take up arms, he would endeavour to propose such expedients as might effect an accommodation. The two houses accepted the offer of the king and queen regent of France, with all due respect; and assured him, that when he should make any propositions to the parliament, by authority from their majesties of France, they would return suitable answers. He had, at his first arrival in Oxford, proposed an alliance offensive and defensive between the king and his master; and afterwards, when Charles agreed to the proposal, he waved it on a frivolous pretence; but, promised that the court of France should assist the king of England in every thing that might contribute to the re-establishment of his authority. After some slight efforts to produce a negotiation, he quitted the kingdom, not without suspicion of having fomented those differences which he pretended to compromise. Richelieu was now dead, but succeeded in the ministry by cardinal Mazarin, who adopted the maxims of his predecessor.

§ XXXV. The two houses having prepared a new great-seal, exactly resembling that which the lord-keeper Lyttleton had delivered to the king, published an ordinance, declaring void and invalid, all grants and letters-patent, which had passed the great-seal since the keeper left the house; vesting their own seal with the whole authority; and pronouncing that whosoever should, for the future, pass or claim any thing under another great-seal, should be held an enemy to the state. It was committed to six commissioners, solemnly sworn to execute the office of keepers of the great-seal, according to the orders of both houses of parliament; and the first instance in which they used it, was a patent constituting the earl of Warwick lord high-admiral of England. The king having sent writs to the judges of Westminster for adjourning the term to Oxford, the messengers were tried by a court-martial as spies, and condemned to be hanged: one was accordingly executed, and the other committed to Bridewell. Charles, notwithstanding his successes in the course of the campaign, had met with divers checks that had an unfortunate influence on his affairs. Besides his being obliged to raise the siege of Gloucester, and the loss he had sustained at Newbury,

Newbury, three thousand of the king's men, under major-general Goring, were defeated at Wakefield, by young Fairfax; and their commander fell into the hands of the enemy: lord Withrington with part of the troops belonging to the marquis of Newcastle's forces, were routed at Horn-castle in Lincolnshire, by the earl of Manchester, lord Willoughby, and Oliver Cromwell: he was likewise obliged to raise the siege of Hull, which he had undertaken in consequence of a correspondence with the two Hothams, who were detected and sent prisoners to London; and the Scots were by this time in a condition to enter England. In hope of averting the storm from Scotland, the peers at Oxford subscribed a letter to the Scottish council of state, representing the foulness of the rebellion raised by the two houses at Westminster, reminding them of their obligation to the king, and conjuring them to desist from their purpose of assisting the parliament: then the king, to convince his subjects of the preposterous claim which the remnant at Westminster laid to the appellation of parliament, issued a proclamation, summoning the members of both houses to assemble at Oxford, on a certain day in January fixed for that purpose.

§ XXXVI. His next expedient for his own defence, was a scheme to use part of the troops that served in Ireland against the rebels of that kingdom. The English parliament had taken no other effectual step to distress the Irish Roman catholics, but that of contracting with the Scots, who sent over a good number of troops, that made a diversion from Dublin, and protected the British planters in the north. Notwithstanding the great inequality of numbers, the English troops in that kingdom had routed the rebels in many encounters; and the earl of Ormond had obtained two signal victories over them. Nevertheless, as the two houses neglected to supply them with provision, ammunition, and recruits, they were by this time destitute of the common necessities of life. The justices who were disaffected to the king, had been removed by the influence of Ormond, and their places supplied with others who wished well to his majesty: for this reason, the parliament paid the less regard to their solicitations. They transmitted to the two houses a remonstrance from the army, describing their deplorable situation, and desiring leave to quit the kingdom, otherwise they should have recourse to those means with which nature had furnished them for their own preservation. The rebels had sent repeated petitions to the king, beseeching him to appoint commissioners to hear what they could say in their own vindication. Influenced by these concurring motives, he authorized Ormond and the justices to conclude a cessation for one year, with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny; and ordered the earl to transport part of the army to England.

§ XXXVII. The lords and commons meeting at Oxford, agreed, with the king's approbation, to send a trumpet with a letter to the earl of Essex, expressing their earnest desire to heal the bleeding wounds of their country, and conjuring him to communicate this their desire to the two houses at Westminster, that persons might be appointed on either part to treat of an accommodation. This letter was subscribed by three and forty noblemen, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, and one hundred and eighteen members of the house of commons; whereas, not above two and twenty peers were engaged in the opposite party. The earl of Essex sent back the trumpeter with a short billet to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, importing, that he could not

communicate the letter to parliament, because it was not addressed to the two houses. At the same time, he transmitted copies of the national covenant, and a canting declaration of both kingdoms, pronouncing the curse of Meroz upon those who should not come to help the Lord against the mighty. The king, without intermitting his preparations for war, sent a message to the lords and commons at Westminster, proposing a treaty: and to this they replied, That they were resolved to defend the rights of parliament with their lives and fortunes, desiring his majesty's hearty concurrence with their measures. All hope of a pacification was again dispelled. The houses at Westminster imposed an excise on wine, beer, and other commodities; and those at Oxford followed their example. These last published a declaration, explaining the reasons which had compelled them to leave the parliament at Westminster. They declared that the Scots had broke the act of pacification: that all his majesty's subjects of England and Wales were bound by their allegiance to resist them: that their abettors were traitors and enemies to the state: that the lords and commons at Westminster were guilty of high treason, for having levied war against the king; for having counterfeited the great-seal; and consented to the invasion of the Scots: that, in these three instances, they had betrayed the trust reposed in them by their country, and ought to be prosecuted as traitors to the king and kingdom. The marquis of Newcastle marched northwards from York, in order to oppose the Scots, who entered England in January, when the weather was extremely severe; but colonel Bellasis being defeated at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the marquis was obliged to return and secure York, while Fairfax marched into Cheshire.

§ XXXVIII. The marquis of Ormond being created lord lieutenant of Ireland, sent over a good body of foot to Chester, where joining the lord Byron, they reduced several places, and defeated a detachment of the parliamentarians at Middlewich. The fugitives retired to Nantwich, and the victors undertook the siege of that place; but their good fortune was of short duration. Sir Thomas Fairfax joining Sir William Brereton, marching to the relief of the besieged, charged them suddenly, at a time when they were divided by a rivulet swelled by excessive rain: the garrison making a sally at the same time, the besiegers were totally routed; and lord Byron escaped with the horse to Chester. On this occasion the celebrated colonel Monk was taken, and committed prisoner to the Tower; but he afterwards engaged in the service of the parliament. The earl of Montrose, in a visit to the king at Oxford, had impeached the conduct of duke Hamilton in such a manner, that his majesty was convinced of that nobleman's having betrayed his interest; and when the duke, with his brother the earl of Lanerk, came to court from Scotland at this juncture, they were put under an arrest by the king's order: Lanerk escaped to London; but, the duke was committed prisoner to Bristol, and afterwards removed to the castle of Pendennis in Cornwall. About this time, the two houses were deprived of their corner-stone, in the death of John Pym, who had in a great measure influenced all their counsels, and was a man of extensive parts, and indefatigable industry. The prince elector palatine, who had retired from England in the beginning of the civil war, now arrived in London, and was carested by the parliament. Whitehall was assigned to him for his lodgings. The two houses issued an order for paying the pension of twelve thousand pounds, which had been formerly granted

to

to him by his majesty; he subscribed the solemn league and covenant, and was admitted to sit in the assembly of divines.

§ XXXIX. Mean while, the severity of the season did not interrupt the operations of war. As the marquis of Newcastle retired, the Scots advanced farther into the kingdom. They summoned the town of Newcastle to surrender, but the garrison refusing to submit, they passed the Tyne; and being joined by the lord Fairfax at Tadcaster, the two generals resolved to undertake the siege of York, to which the marquis had retired. As it was a city of a large extent, they would not proceed in form, until they should be reinforced by the troops under the earl of Manchester, who commanded in the associated counties; and in the mean time, they formed a blockade on one side only. The town of Newark in Nottinghamshire, garrisoned by the king's troops, being besieged by lord Willoughby and Sir John Meldrum, at the head of five thousand men, the king detached prince Rupert with a body of forces to succour the place. When he approached the town, Meldrum, who commanded in the absence of Willoughby, drew up his army in order of battle; and an action ensuing, both sides fought with great obstinacy till night, when Meldrum attempted to retire by a bridge where he had posted a strong guard, to secure his retreat. This, however, he found occupied by the royalists; so that he was surrounded on all hands, and next day obliged to capitulate. The prince agreed, that the officers and troopers should retire with their horses, and the infantry with their swords: but Meldrum was obliged to deliver up all his other arms, artillery, and ammunition.

§ XL. After this signal victory, prince Rupert marched to the relief of the countess of Derby, who was besieged in her house of Latham in Lancashire, by a body of two thousand parliamentarians. She had defended herself with incredible courage for two months; and now the besiegers abandoning their enterprize, part of them reinforced the garrison of Bolton, which the prince afterwards took by assault. Then he made himself master of Liverpool, where he received a letter from the king, commanding him to relieve York, and give battle to the enemy. By this time, the earl of Leven and lord Fairfax were joined by the earl of Manchester, with a good body of infantry; and the siege of York was begun. The marquis of Newcastle made a vigorous defence; and about the beginning of July, prince Rupert approached at the head of an army little inferior in number to the besiegers. They forthwith abandoned their enterprize, and took post on Marston-Moor, while the prince entered York in triumph. He there, in a conference with the marquis, proposed to give battle to the enemy, and payed no regard to the remonstrances of that nobleman, who assured him, that the Scots and English being at variance, would separate in a few days, of their own accord; and that he expected a reinforcement of five thousand men from the North. The prince, on this occasion, demeaned himself in such an imperious manner as shocked and incensed the marquis, whose birth and services intitled him to the utmost respect. When the prince ordered the troops to be in readiness to engage next day, the marquis told him, he should not hesitate in obeying his majesty's nephew; but that, for his own part, he would serve as a volunteer in the battle. On the third day of July the prince advanced against the enemy; and, about two in the afternoon both armies were drawn up in order of battle. But as there was a ditch between them, some time elapsed before the action began. The prince appeared at the head of his left wing, consisting of five thousand horse; the right was commanded

by Sir Charles Lucas and Colonel Urrey; while the main body was directed by general Goring. Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the enemy, consisting of all their cavalry, joined by three regiments of Scottish horse; the left was under the direction of the earl of Manchester and lieutenant-general Cromwell; lord Fairfax took post with a body of reserve, consisting of his infantry, reinforced with a brigade of the Scottish foot; and the main body was commanded by the earl of Leven. Prince Rupert charged the right wing of the enemy with such impetuosity, that they were totally routed; and the three generals of the parliament quitting the field, fled towards Cawood castle. But the battle was restored by the valour and conduct of Oliver Cromwell, who, at the head of their left wing, engaged the right of the royalists, in which the marquis of Newcastle acted as a volunteer. They fought on both sides with incredible fury for some time; but at length the king's forces were totally defeated: and when his left wing, which had been victorious, returned from the pursuit, Cromwell attacked it with such intrepidity before it could be reduced into order, that it was entirely broken and dispersed; so that the parliament obtained a compleat victory. The prince lost six thousand men, one half of whom fell in battle, together with all his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was so much chagrined and confounded at this reverse of fortune, that instead of retiring into York, until he should receive further orders from his majesty, he retreated to Shropshire with the wreck of his army, while the marquis of Newcastle, disgusted by his imperious deportment, embarked at Scarborough for the continent, where he remained till the restoration. He was a nobleman of a most dignified character; a liberal and munificent patron of the ingenious arts, of unshaken loyalty, invincible courage, and extensive influence; so that the royal cause sustained an irreparable loss in his retreat. Immediately after the battle of Marston-Moor, the three generals returned to the siege of York, which in a few days was surrendered by Sir Thomas Glenham the governor, who found himself unable to hold out for any length of time, and despaired of relief. The lord Fairfax took possession of the city; the earl of Manchester marched back towards the associated counties; and the Scottish army returned to the North, in order to join the earl of Calendar on his march from Scotland with a strong reinforcement. When this junction was effected, they undertook the siege of Newcastle, which they carried by assault.

§ XLI. The parliament had made extraordinary preparations for this campaign. Besides the armies of Fairfax and Manchester they had levied ten thousand horse and foot to be under the command of Essex; and ordered the associated counties of Kent, Surry, Suffex, and Hants, to maintain six thousand under the command of Sir William Waller, whom they intended to oppose to prince Maurice in the West, where he bore down all opposition. The king, in order to baffle their design, detached lord Hopton towards Suffex, and Waller faced him at Farnham: but, after some slight skirmishes, this general withdrew his troops into the place, and repaired to London, that he might represent to the two houses the necessity of a reinforcement. He was accordingly supplied with a body of the city-militia, and Essex was ordered to accommodate him with a thousand horse, under the command of Sir William Balfour. Waller, thus reinforced, retook the castle of Arundel, which Hopton had reduced in his absence; and this last general, having received a supply of men from his majesty, resolved to give the enemy battle. The two armies met near Alres-

ford,

Rushworth.
Whitelock.
Ludlow.
Clarendon.

Rushworth,
Clarendon.

ford, on the twenty-ninth day of March. The king's horse were routed by Sir William Balfour, and the infantry was severely handled : nevertheless the action continued till night, when lord Hopton retired with his artillery and ammunition towards Reading, and left Waller in possession of the field ; from whence he marched to Winchester, which he plundered, though he could not reduce the castle.

§ XLII. The two houses, elated by this advantage, resolved to finish the war at once, by undertaking the siege of Oxford, where the king resided ; and for this service they destined the armies of Essex and Waller. The king, suspecting their design, withdrew his garrison from Reading, after having dismantled the place, and assembled an army amounting to twelve thousand men, part of which he posted at Abingdon, in order to check the progress of the enemy. Essex and Waller began their march apart ; the first at the head of twelve thousand foot and three thousand cavalry : the other, with seven thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred dragoons. At the approach of Essex the king's officer abandoned the place, of which the other took immediate possession ; while his majesty endeavoured to defend the banks of the Isis and the Cherwell, which however they found means to pass in spite of all his endeavours. They thought they had now entangled their sovereign in the toil ; but he escaped in the night with a small body of horse, at the head of which he and the prince arrived in safety at Worcester. He had already prorogued his parliament at Oxford, and the queen had retired to Exeter, very far advanced in her pregnancy. There she was delivered of the princess Henrietta ; and when Essex advanced into the western counties, she demanded a safe-conduct for Bristol, which he refused. Then she retired to Cornwall, where she embarked for France, under convoy of a ship of war sent thither by the prince of Orange. The generals of the parliament were not a little surprised when they understood the king had escaped from Oxford. The two houses had ordered Essex to follow his majesty, in case he should retire from that city ; and Waller was commanded to manage their interest in the West. The earl, however, marched into the western counties, contrary to their disposition ; and he had advanced as far as Salisbury, when he received an order from the parliament, commanding him to return and pursue the king, and leave the western expedition to Waller. Instead of obeying this mandate, he wrote a letter to the committee of war, explaining his conduct, and subscribed himself " their innocent, though suspected servant." They did not think proper to exasperate him at such a juncture, and he prosecuted his march into Devonshire. Prince Maurice raised the siege of Lyme, and retired to Exeter. Dorchester, Weymouth, and Tiverton surrendered to the earl, and he was admitted into Barnstaple, where finding one Howard, an officer in the king's army, who had deserted from the service of the parliament, he ordered him to be executed by martial law. Prince Maurice retaliated this instance of severity upon one Turpin, master of a ship, who had been formerly condemned for carrying arms against his sovereign ; though the execution of the sentence had been hitherto respited. The two houses, incensed at the prince's presumption, ordered judge Glanville to be prosecuted as guilty of high treason, for having been concerned in condemning Turpin. This judge had declared for the king in the beginning of the civil war ; but, in the sequel, abandoned the cause of his sovereign. Fourteen clo-

thiers were hanged at Woodhouse by the king's party; and the parliamentarians executed eight Irish prisoners, who had been taken in a skirmish.

§ XLIII. The king arrived at Worcester on the sixth day of June; and, in order to deceive the vigilance of Waller, who had followed him with surprising expedition, he made a feigned march towards Shrewsbury, as if he had intended to join prince Rupert before the battle of Marston-Moor. Waller, believing this was really his intention, made a hasty march, and took post between him and Shrewsbury: then the king wheeled off suddenly, and took the route to Oxford, in the neighbourhood of which he was joined by the rest of his army. After this junction he marched to Buckinghamshire, in order to give battle to the enemy. Waller approached with the same design; and the two armies appeared on opposite sides of the river Cherwell, on the twenty-ninth day of June. The king, with a view to draw Waller from the advantageous ground of which he had taken possession, pretended to begin his march for Northamptonshire, leaving a strong guard at the bridge of Cropredy, to dispute the passage with the foe. Receiving intelligence that a large detachment of the enemy was within a mile of his van, he ordered it to double its pace, in hope of intercepting the whole body: Waller no sooner perceived that there was a great distance between his van and his rear, than he ordered a large detachment to ford the river; while he himself, with fifteen hundred horse, a thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, attacked and made himself master of the bridge of Cropredy. Then passing with his whole forces, he fell upon the king's rear, but was repulsed by the gallantry of the earl of Cleveland, who routed his horse, took part of his artillery, and compelled him to repass the river with precipitation. The king attacked the bridge and ford in his turn: the last he gained; but his attempt upon the bridge was ineffectual. Next day, on the supposition that Waller's soldiers would lay down their arms upon an assurance of pardon, the king sent a trumpeter to demand a safe-conduct for a gentleman with a gracious message from his majesty: but Waller answered, that he had no power to receive any such message without the consent of parliament, to which the king might make his application.

Rushworth.

§ XLIV. After the two armies had faced one another for two days, they retired by different routes. Waller employed himself in recruiting his army, which had sustained great loss in the action; and the king resolved to direct his march to the western counties, in order to join prince Maurice, and give battle to the earl of Essex. By easy marches he arrived at Bath, where he received the melancholy account of the battle at Marston-Moor. How mortified soever he must have been by this intelligence, he bore his fate with surprising fortitude, and still persisted in his resolution to execute the scheme he had projected. Essex, being apprised of his design, proposed to meet him half way, and hazard an engagement, if he should find a favourable opportunity: but he was diverted from this resolution by the lord Roberts, a major-general in his army, who, being a Cornish man, pressed him to proceed in his route to Cornwall, where (he assured him) the inhabitants would immediately declare for the parliament: the earl accordingly entered that county on the twenty-sixth day of July. On that very day the king arrived at Exeter, from whence he followed Essex towards Launceston and Bodmin; where that nobleman, finding himself disappointed in his hope, wrote to the two houses, demanding that an army

army should be sent immediately to make a diversion in his favour. Waller being both unable and unwilling to undertake this expedition, colonel Middleton was detached on that service, at the head of five and twenty hundred horse. The king, conscious of the straits to which he had reduced the enemy, wrote a letter with his own hand to Essex, exhorting him to use his influence for procuring peace to his country. Prince Maurice and the earl of Brentford wrote to him on the same subject; and he received a letter, signed by all the general officers of the king's army, proposing a treaty; and protesting they would maintain with their lives and fortunes the conditions to which his majesty should agree. To these addresses he replied, that the best thing the king could do would be to return to his parliament. About this time lord Wilmot, who had for some time fomented a spirit of mutiny among the troops, and even given Essex to understand, that the officers would compel the king to conclude an equitable peace, was arrested, and deprived of his employment, which the king bestowed on lord Goring, his rival in wit, good fellowship, and reputation. Wilmot was afterwards permitted to quit the kingdom. The earl of Essex was now reduced to such straits for want of provision, that the king, being reinforced by Sir Richard Greenville, resolved to reduce him without hazarding a battle. He accordingly raised a fort upon the bank of the river by which he had been supplied, and hemmed him in on all sides, so as to intercept all his convoys. In this emergency the earl ordered Sir William Balfour to force his passage through the king's quarters, at the head of the cavalry; and this service was successfully performed, under cover of a very dark night. Then Essex sent a trumpet to demand a parley of the king; but, before the messenger returned, he embarked with some officers in a vessel at Foy, and was conveyed to Plymouth, leaving major-general Skippon to make the best terms he could obtain for the infantry. A conference was opened by some officers of each army, who agreed that Skippon should deliver up all his artillery, arms, and ammunition: That the officers should retain their swords and pistols, and march out with drums beating and colours flying: That they should be conducted, at their choice, to Liffithiel, Foy, Pool, Warham, or Southampton; and that the men should not be importuned to enlist in the king's service. Essex, at his return to London, was treated with great civility by the two houses, notwithstanding the cause they had to complain of his conduct. His soldiers were immediately furnished with new arms; and his forces recruited. The earl of Manchester and colonel Middleton were ordered to reinforce his army; and so far were they from being dispirited by this disaster, that they paid no attention to a message received from the king, proposing a treaty for peace.

§ XLV. After an unsuccessful attempt upon Plymouth, his majesty left it blockaded by Sir Richard Greenville, and marching to Chard in Somersetshire, published a proclamation, representing, That his offers of peace had been rejected by the two houses; signifying his resolution to approach London, and commanding the inhabitants of the country through which he should march, to take up arms and join his forces. This expedient produced very little effect in his favour. His army, instead of increasing, was diminished one half since he set out on his western expedition. His soldiers were destitute of cloathing, necessaries, and pay; and the horse were disgusted at the disgrace of Wilmot, who had been very popular among the cavalry. The king was so long

retarded in remedying these inconveniencies, that he found it impracticable to execute his design, and resolved to return to Oxford. Even this scheme was attended with many difficulties. Sir William Waller was posted at Andover. The earl of Essex being recruited and reinforced, began his march towards the same place; and the earl of Manchester was at hand to join the other two generals. In vain the king attempted to prevent their junction, which was effected at Reading on the twenty-first day of October. He then detached the earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse, to relieve Banbury-castle, besieged by colonel John Fiennes, with the forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry; while he himself marched to Donnington castle, in the neighbourhood of Newbury, a fortress which had been long blocked up and besieged by the parliament's forces. Having thrown succours into the place, and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, he took possession of Newbury, where he entrenched himself, while the enemy marched against him from Reading, with a great superiority in number of troops. On the twenty-seventh day of October, they attacked his intrenchments in two different parts; and the action was maintained with great violence from four o'clock in the afternoon till night, when the assailants forced the lines in one place, and took several pieces of cannon; but the darkness prevented them from making use of that advantage. On the other side, they had been repulsed with considerable loss: nevertheless, the king thought proper to retire in the night to Wallingford, leaving his artillery and baggage in the castle of Donnington, which the earl of Manchester next day summoned to surrender. Though the governor refused to capitulate, they took no step towards the reduction of the place, but remained inactive at Newbury, where former animosities between their generals began to revive with redoubled violence. The king retired unmolested to Oxford, where, being joined by prince Rupert with the northern horse, as well as by the earl of Northampton, and reinforced with draughts from different garrisons, he found himself at the head of eleven thousand men, with whom he marched back to Donnington, and drew up his army in order of battle, between that castle and the town of Newbury. The enemy likewise appeared in battalia; but they did not think proper to attack the king, who happily returned to Oxford with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, which he had left in the castle.

Clarendon.
Rushworth.

§ XLVI. In the course of this year, the two houses had ordered that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for the service of the public. They published an ordinance totally excluding those members who had deserted their seats in parliament. The states-general sent ambassadors to England, with offers of mediation between the king and parliament. As they were supposed to be influenced by the king's son-in-law the prince of Orange, the two houses eluded the offer, on pretence that they could take no step of that kind without the concurrence of the Scottish nation, with which they were united by the covenant. They, by another ordinance, forbade their officers and soldiers to give quarter to the Irish who should be taken in the king's service. On the eleventh day of November archbishop Laud, who had remained a prisoner since his first impeachment, was brought to his trial, and made such a vigorous defence, that the commons foreseeing he could not be convicted by common evidence, declared him guilty

guilty by an act of attainder which passed the house of lords, though not without some opposition. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned, that, as he was a priest, a bishop, a privy counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might suffer decapitation; a request which the commons granted with difficulty. On the tenth day of January, this aged prelate was brought to the scaffold, where he harrangued the spectators with great fortitude. He declared himself innocent of any design to subvert the laws of the realm, or to establish popery. He protested he had never been an enemy to parliaments, though he could not applaud some of their proceedings. He forgave all his enemies; prayed that God would direct the parliament for the good of the nation; and submitted his neck to the executioner, who with one stroke severed his head from his body. Whitelock. Thus fell the famous archbishop Laud, a prelate of uncommon learning, piety, and virtue, which were clouded with some unhappy prejudices that proved pernicious to his country. About this time the two Hothams were convicted by a court-martial, and beheaded for having connived at the escape of lord Digby, and corresponded with the marquis of Newcastle. On the fourth day of January, the two houses passed an ordinance for abolishing the book of Common Prayer and the Liturgy, and for establishing the Directory which had been composed by the ecclesiastical assembly.

§ XLVII. This was a bad omen for the treaty which was then in agitation between the king and parliament. Immediately after his majesty's return to Oxford from Newbury, the two houses demanded and obtained a safe-conduct for their deputies, with proposals of peace, which they had drawn up in the summer. The king having heard them read, demanded, in his turn, a safe-conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, who should carry an answer to the two houses: but this request they would not grant, until he addressed himself to the two houses of the English parliament assembled at Westminster, and to the commissioners of Scotland. On this occasion Charles had recourse to a subterfuge which does no great honour to his sincerity. He entered a secret protest in the council-books, importing, that though he had denominated them the parliament, he did not acknowledge them as such. By his deputies he proposed that commissioners should be appointed on each side, to meet at an indifferent place, and treat of a pacification. After some disputes, they agreed that the conferences should be opened at Uxbridge, on the thirtieth of January, and continue twenty days; and that the propositions should be reduced to the three articles of religion, the militia, and Ireland. The king's commissioners were the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingston, and Chichester; and eleven commons, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards earl of Clarendon. The two houses appointed twelve deputies, at the head of whom were the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh; and the chief of the Scottish commissioners were the earl of Loudon chancellor of that kingdom, and the marquis of Argyle. The propositions offered by the two houses were no other than the most severe conditions they could have imposed upon a prince whom they intended to strip of all the power, and indeed of all the ensigns of royalty. In a word, they demanded that the

hierarchy should be abolished, and presbyterianism established in both kingdoms: That the king should subscribe the covenant; abandon his best friends as traitors; give up the militia, and even his own children to the direction of the two houses, which engrossed the whole sovereign authority. Though no peace was to be expected from such proposals, the king's commissioners, in the course of the conferences, agreed, That every person should enjoy liberty of conscience touching the ceremonies of the church: That no bishop should exercise any sort of jurisdiction: That no person should be admitted into holy orders without the consent of the presbytery: That episcopal jurisdiction, with respect to marriages and wills, should be regulated by the king and the two houses: That proper laws should be enacted for the regulations of episcopal visits, the expence of ecclesiastical suits, frivolous excommunications, and other abuses of the spiritual courts: That the militia should be put into the hands of twenty commissioners, one half to be named by the king, and the other by the two houses: and, That the commission should last for three years. These concessions were not deemed satisfactory by the two houses. Nothing material was proposed, relating to the affairs of Ireland; and the twenty days being expired, the conferences broke up, without having produced any prospect of accommodation.

Rushworth.
Whitlock.

§ XLVIII. This miscarriage of the treaty was extremely agreeable to the independent party, which now began to distinguish itself from the presbyterians, with whom it had hitherto concurred in abasing the royal authority: in every other circumstance their views were quite different. The presbyterians fought to humble and restrain the prerogative; the independents to abolish monarchy, and introduce a democracy. The presbyterians rejected the hierarchy; the independents renounced all forms of church-government. They even condemned the ordination of ministers, allowing all persons, without exception, to preach, teach, and expound the scriptures, according to the talents they had received from God and nature. This sect was composed of such fanatics as gave a loose to the wildest reveries of enthusiasm. It was headed by Vane, Cromwell, Tate, and Haslerig, who found it the best engine for effecting their purpose of overturning the constitution in church and state. These now began to practise every art of acquiring popularity. They employed emissaries among the people, to magnify the errors which had been committed since the commencement of the war, both in the civil and military administration; to insinuate that all such misconduct proceeded from the interested views of individuals, who found their account in the troubles of the nation: and that some of the generals had purposely neglected opportunities of fighting to advantage, dreading nothing so much as a termination of the war. Cromwell had publicly accused the earl of Manchester of having misbehaved from these motives, in the last battle of Newbury. The earl recriminated upon Cromwell, by declaring that in a conference with this officer, he said, that if Manchester would stick firm to honest men, he would soon find himself at the head of an army, that should give law both to king and parliament. This declaration alarmed the two houses, and in a conference at Essex-house, it was deliberated whether or not Cromwell should be arrested; but this step was postponed to another opportunity. Mean while Oliver and his associates hastened the execution of the scheme they had projected for new-modelling the army. They proposed that the troops should be formed into new
regiments;

regiments; and that members of parliament should be excluded from all offices civil and military.

§ XLIX. The house of commons having resolved itself into a grand committee, to examine the state of the nation, Cromwell stood up, saying, now was the time to speak, or be silent for ever. He affirmed, that the name of parliament would become odious to the people, unless they should act with more vigour in the prosecution of the war, which some members were accused of protracting for their own interest; and he gave it as his opinion, that every member should resign the office he possessed, as a mark of his disinterested regard for the welfare of the nation. He was seconded by some of his confederates, who spoke in general terms; at length, Tate and Vane proposed an ordinance for excluding members from all offices whatsoever. A committee was appointed to prepare it, together with another for new-modelling the army. A fast was proclaimed for imploring the assistance of God on their endeavours. The pulpits rang with invectives against those members of parliament, who engrossing profitable employments in the government and the army, grew rich by the misfortunes of their country. On the nineteenth day of December, the self-denying ordinance passed the lower house; but was rejected by the lords. Nevertheless, the commons voted new regulations for the army, and bestowed the command of it upon Sir Thomas Fairfax, with power to chuse his own officers. He accordingly delivered his list of colonels, in which there was not one member of parliament. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, finding it impossible to resist the popular torrent, resigned their commissions; and next day the lords passed the self-denying ordinance. The presbyterians were fairly outwitted by the nomination of Fairfax for general. He was of their profession, and they imagined he would be true to their interest; but he was intirely governed by the counsels of Cromwell, who dissembled his real sentiments, and professed himself a zealous presbyterian. While the new general resided at Windsor, where he had fixed his head-quarters, superintending the reformation of his army, the committee of the two kingdoms gave him to understand, that the king had ordered prince Rupert to join him with two thousand horse: they therefore directed him to detach a body of cavalry towards Oxford, to prevent this junction; and expressly ordered him to give the command of this detachment to Cromwell, as the time fixed for putting in execution the self-denying ordinance was not yet arrived. This order was calculated to retain Oliver in the service, even after the ordinance should take place.

§ L. During the course of the preceding year, the earl of Montrose had signalized himself in a wonderful series of victories, over the covenanters. On promise of being supplied with men by the earl of Antrim from the north of Ireland, he with great difficulty reached the Highlands of Scotland in disguise. When the Irish landed, to the number of eleven hundred, he produced the king's commission, and assembled about the same number of Highlanders, well affected to the royal cause. Without any regular provision of arms or ammunition, he attacked and routed lord Elcho at Perth, though he commanded an army of six thousand men, armed and well disciplined, one third of which number was slain in the battle and pursuit. Being afterwards joined by the earl of Airly, he routed five and twenty hundred covenanters, headed by the lord Burley at Aberdeen. When surrounded on all hands by the marquis of Argyle, the earl of

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Lothian, and other noblemen, with the militia of the country, he eluded all their vigilance by the most surprising retreats, marches, and stratagems. He kept the field in the middle of winter, when the ground was covered with snow, exposed to intense cold, famine, and fatigue: he ravaged the country of Argyll with fire and sword: he defeated the troops of the marquis at Innerlochy, with great slaughter. The terror of his name dispersed a body of five thousand men, whom the earl of Seaforth had assembled: he took Dundee by assault, and gave it up to plunder; and retreated above sixty miles, in the face of a superior enemy, commanded by colonel Urrey, who had by this time deserted the king, and joined the parliamentarians. He defeated this officer in a pitched battle near Inverness; and Bailie, another soldier of reputation, marching against him with a fresh army, met with the same disaster. Montrose having obtained such a succession of victories, summoned all the royalists of Scotland into the field, and made preparations for marching into the southern parts of that kingdom, in order to disperse the parliament, which had assembled at Perth, with great solemnity.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§ I. The parliament's army composed of fanatics. § II. The king totally defeated at Naseby. § III. Prince Rupert surrenders Bristol. § IV. Fairfax obtains a victory over lord Hopton at Torrington. § V. Operations of the Scottish army in England. § VI. The king's horse routed at Chester. § VII. He makes an effort to join Montrose. § VIII. Is insulted by his officers at Newark. § IX. Retreats to Oxford. § X. Proposes a treaty to the two houses, by which his proposal is rejected. § XI. Lord Ashley defeated. § XII. The king repairs to the Scottish army. § XIII. They march to Newcastle. § XIV. The two houses send propositions to the king. § XV. He makes divers concessions in the article of religion. § XVI. The Scottish commissioners claim an equal interest with the English in the person of the king. § XVII. The Scots deliver the king to the English commissioners, and he is conveyed to Holmby-castle. § XVIII. Rupture between the parliament and the army. § XIX. The soldiers refuse to serve under the officers appointed by parliament. § XX. They choose agitators. § XXI. The two houses make concessions to the army. § XXII. The troops seize the king's person, and convey him to Newmarket. § XXIII. The tyranny of the parliament. § XXIV. They arm the trained-bands of London. § XXV. Eleven members impeached by the army. § XXVI. The two houses obliged to comply with the demands of the troops. § XXVII. The presbyterians form an engagement against the army. § XXVIII. Tumults at Westminster. § XXIX. The speakers of the two houses retire to the army. § XXX. Fairfax arrives at London with some forces; and the army gains the ascendant in parliament. § XXXI. The king at first caressed by Cromwell and his associates. § XXXII. He escapes from Hampton-court; and is conveyed to Carisbrook-castle in the Isle of Wight. § XXXIII. He leaves a letter addressed to both houses. § XXXIV. The levellers are quelled by Cromwell. § XXXV. The king sends proposals for an accommodation, to the parliament. § XXXVI. The two houses resolve to treat with his majesty. § XXXVII. Charles concludes a private treaty with the Scottish commissioners. § XXXVIII. The two houses vote that no addresses shall be sent to the king. § XXXIX. Plan of operations in favour of his majesty. § XL. The Scots assemble an army under the duke of Hamilton. § XLI. Insurrections in Kent and Essex in behalf of the king. § XLII. Part of the fleet declares for the prince of Wales. § XLIII. The earl of Holland, with the duke of Buckingham, &c. take the field for the king; he is routed and taken. § XLIV. The duke of Hamilton enters England. § XLV. He is defeated and taken by Cromwell, who marches into Scotland. § XLVI. Colchester is surrendered to Fairfax, who causes Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle to be put to death. § XLVII. The parliament take resolutions for treating with the king. § XLVIII. The accused members are acquitted: the houses determine to treat. § XLIX. The king and parliament agree to open the conferences at Newport. § L. Particulars of the negotiation. § LI. Remonstrance of the army against the king, who is removed to Hurst Castle. § LII. The commons purged by the army. § LIII. The independent interest prevails in parliament. § LIV. They resolve to impeach the king, who is removed to Windsor. § LV. The ordinance for impeaching the king rejected by the upper house. § LVI.

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The king is brought to trial, and refuses to own the jurisdiction of the court.
 § LVII. *He is condemned to death.* § LVIII. *The French, the Dutch, and the Scots, interpose in his behalf.* § LIX. *Charles bears his fate with great equanimity.* § LX. *He is beheaded at Whitehall.* § LXI. *Character of Charles I. king of England.*

§ I. **T**HE parliament's army was by this time new-modelled according to the plan of Cromwell, so as that all members of parliament were excluded; and their adherents resigning their commissions, the vacant places were filled with independents. These acted the part of chaplains as well as of officers: in the intervals of military duty, they exercised themselves in sermon, prayer, and exhortation. They were seized with extasies of devotion, and poured forth rhapsodies, which they themselves mistook for prophecy and inspiration. Thus actuated, they mounted the pulpits, and held forth in a torrent of that sort of eloquence, which though least understood, is the most effectual in kindling the blaze of enthusiasm. The common soldiers were infected by this contagion: they were seized with the same holy fervours: they underwent the operations of grace: they communicated their mutual feelings: they gave utterance to the spirit: they advanced to battle singing psalms, or religious songs: they fought with the most eager zeal, and died in full confidence of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. It was with a detachment of such warriors that Cromwell marched from Windsor on the twenty-fourth day of April. In the neighbourhood of Ilip, he cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry. Blechington was surrendered to him at the first summons, by colonel Windbank, who was condemned by a court-martial, and shot for cowardice; but Cromwell was repulsed in his attack upon Farrindon. Taunton being besieged by Sir Richard Greenville, the two houses ordered the general to march to the relief of that place; but when he had advanced as far as Blandford, he received a countermanding order; in consequence of which he returned to Newbury, after having detached colonel Weldon with body of horse and foot, to succour Taunton. At his approach Greenville raised the siege; but being afterwards joined by a reinforcement under Goring, he resumed his operations against the place, in which the detachment with Weldon was now included.

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§ II. The king marching to Leicester, took that city by assault; and Fairfax followed the same route, in order to give him battle, the two houses having, at the desire of their general, dispensed with the attendance of Cromwell, who thus preserved his command in the army, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance. Charles being informed that Fairfax was ordered to besiege Oxford, advanced towards Harborough, where he received intelligence that he had abandoned his design upon Oxford; and had been repulsed with great loss in assaulting the castle of Borstal. The king continued his march, in expectation of being joined by colonel Gerard with two thousand men from Wales, as well as by Goring, at the head of three thousand cavalry. This officer had wrote to him from Taunton, giving him hopes of reducing that place, and advising him to act upon the defensive, until he should join the army: but, the letter fell into the hands of Fairfax, who thus apprized, resolved to hazard an engagement before the junction could be effected. For this purpose he followed the royalists; and the king seeing it would be impossible to reach Leicester, without exposing his

his rear to certain destruction, determined to meet him half way. He accordingly marched back; and, on the fourteenth day of June, came in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle on a rising-ground, in the neighbourhood of a village called Naseby. Prince Rupert led the right wing of the royalists: the left was under the direction of Sir Marmaduke Langdale: lord Astley commanded the main body, consisting of all the infantry: and the king headed the body of reserve. The cavalry on the enemy's right wing was commanded by Cromwell; the left by his son-in-law Ireton: while Fairfax and Skippon conducted the center. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with his usual impetuosity and success: they were broke and pursued as far as the village; but, the prince in his return mispent his time, in a fruitless attempt to seize their park of artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was furiously engaged with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whose horse were broken after a very obstinate dispute. The infantry on both sides maintained the conflict with equal valour for some time; but, in spite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way, when Cromwell returned, and charged the king's infantry in flank, with such vigour as they could not resist; so that they were immediately routed and dispersed. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king, and the small body of reserve; but his troops, tho' victorious, could not be brought to a second charge. They were at all times licentious and ungovernable: but here they were intimidated; for, Fairfax, Skippon, and Cromwell, had by this time reduced their forces into order of battle; and stood ready either for attack or defence. The king would have charged them, at the head of his reserve, even before Rupert returned, had not he been prevented by an uncommon accident. The Scottish earl of Carnwath, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying with a loud oath, "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" The troops seeing this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in such confusion, that they could not be rallied during the whole action. The king perceiving the fortune of the day irretrievably lost, was obliged to abandon the victory to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thousand prisoners. Among other things that fell into their hands, was a casket containing his private letters to the queen, some of which the two houses printed and published, as proofs of his insincerity with regard to the treaty of Uxbridge. We have already observed, that neither side was sincerely disposed to peace at that juncture: but such an air of tenderness runs through this correspondence between Charles and his consort, as must impress every impartial reader with a very favourable idea of his conjugal affection.

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§ III. After the battle, he and prince Rupert retired with the horse to Ashby de la Zouche, from whence they proceeded to Hereford, where they parted. The prince repaired to Bristol, to put that place in a posture of defence; while the king continued his route to Wales, in hope of being able to assemble an army in that exhausted country. Fairfax advanced to Leicester, which surrendered upon capitulation. Then he marched into the West, where he raised the siege of Taunton, and totally defeated lord Goring at Lamport. This victory was attended with the reduction of Bridgewater, Sherburn, and Bath; after which Fairfax undertook the siege of Bristol. That place was well supplied with men, provisions, and ammunition; and every body concluded, from the
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known valour of prince Rupert, that it would make a very vigorous defence. He even wrote to the king, that he should be able to hold out four months, unless a mutiny should compel him to surrender. Notwithstanding this promise, and the general expectation, he offered to capitulate at the first summons; and actually delivered up the place before the besiegers had begun to make their approaches. The unhappy monarch, in the first transports of his grief and resentment, ordered his nephew to quit the kingdom, and revoked all his commissions.

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§ IV. Fairfax having secured Bristol with a proper garrison, resumed his march to the western counties, ordering Cromwell to keep open the communication with London; and detaching colonel Rainborough to besiege Berkeley-castle, which was the only place that remained in the king's possession between Gloucester and Bristol. Cromwell, in the course of this excursion, made himself master of the Devizes, the town and castle of Winchester, and several other places. Fairfax mean while reduced Tiverton, and blocked up the city of Exeter. Hearing that the prince of Wales had assembled an army in Cornwall, and was on his march to give him battle, he advanced with great expedition to meet his royal highness, who thought proper to retreat into Cornwall, after part of his cavalry under lord Wentworth had been surprised by the enemy. Then Fairfax took Dartmouth by assault, and returned to the blockade of Exeter. Lord Goring had by this time retired to France; and the prince of Wales bestowed the command of his army upon lord Hopton, who resolved to relieve Exeter. General Fairfax being informed of his design, left the conduct of the blockade to Sir Hardress Waller, and marched towards Torrington, where Hopton lay intrenched. His troops endeavouring to dislodge the parliamentarians from some of their posts in the night, were insensibly drawn into an engagement, which became general, and lasted till morning. The intrenchments were forced; the infantry on the king's side were either killed, taken, or dispersed; and lord Hopton retired with the cavalry into Cornwall. Thither he was followed by the victor; and the prince of Wales finding himself in danger of being taken, embarked on board of a vessel, and was conveyed to the isles of Scilly. Hopton continued still to retire before the army of the parliament, over which he gained some petty advantages; but at length he was surrounded on all hands at Truro, and obliged to take the benefit of a capitulation. He stipulated that his troops should be dismissed, and allowed either to cross the sea or return to their own houses. All their horses and arms were delivered to Fairfax, who granted passports to those who desired to quit the kingdom, after they had sworn that they would never serve against the parliament. This treaty being executed, the lords Hopton and Colepepper retired to Scilly; so that the king's troops in the western counties were entirely dispersed; and Fairfax returned to the siege of Exeter, which surrendered in the month of April.

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§ V. In the course of this year, the Scottish army besieged Carlisle, which surrendered on capitulation in the month of June. About the latter end of July, they invested Hereford; but abandoned this enterprize in the beginning of September. The earl of Leven published an apology for his miscarriage, in which he complained that his men were not payed by the parliament; that the two houses had not performed their promise, of supplying

him with artillery, and other implements of siege; and that he had been obliged to detach David Lesley with the greater part of his horse and dragoons, to oppose the earl of Montrose in Scotland. They retreated to Yorkshire, where they received a supply of thirty thousand pounds, and the two houses ordained that the eastern associated counties should furnish them with fourteen hundred pounds sterling a week, on condition that they would undertake the siege of Newark, which they accordingly invested in the month of October.

§ VI. During these transactions, the unfortunate king underwent a surprising series of dangers, mortifications, and distresses, which he bore with uncommon fortitude and dignity. Far from being overwhelmed with despair, in consequence of his defeat at Naseby, he no sooner understood that Fairfax had marched into the western counties, than he advanced from Wales, at the head of his cavalry, amounting to three thousand men, reduced the town of Huntington, visited Oxford, where he received a small reinforcement, and then took post at Cambrden, at the time when Bristol and Hereford were invested. The Scots raising the siege of this last place, he entered it with his little army, and there remained till the twentieth day of September. He was now reduced to such a melancholy situation, that he saw no other prospect of retrieving his affairs, than that of joining Montrose in Scotland; and this expedient he actually embraced. Hearing that a strong body of horse and dragoons belonging to the enemy, was posted, under the command of Pointz, between Hereford and Worcester, he resolved to take his route through North Wales to Chester, and from thence pass through Lancashire and Cumberland to Scotland. He found the enemy in possession of the outworks and suburbs of Chester, which they had surprised. He detached Sir Marmaduke Langdale over Holt-bridge, in order to fall upon the back of the besiegers early next morning, while he himself entered the city. Pointz, who had followed the king by hasty marches, appeared next day, and was charged by Sir Marmaduke, who compelled him to retire at a greater distance. The besiegers no sooner perceived him, than they began to evacuate the suburbs, in order to join his troops; and thus reinforced, he attacked the royalists in his turn. They were overpowered by numbers, and pursued to the walls of Chester. Then the earl of Litchfield and lord Gerard, with the king's guards, and the rest of the cavalry, advanced to the charge, and Pointz was obliged to retire: but his musqueteers being drawn up among the narrow lanes and hedges, made such a fire upon the royalists, that they were broken, routed, and dispersed, after the gallant earl of Litchfield, and many other gentlemen of reputation, had lost their lives in the engagement.

§ VII. The king retreated with five hundred horse to Denbigh-castle in North Wales, and Pointz hung upon his rear. Being joined by prince Maurice with eight hundred horse, and some other reinforcements, he crossed the river Dee, gained a march upon the enemy, and arrived at Bridgenorth, where, receiving intelligence that Berkley-castle and the Devizes had surrendered to the parliamentarians, he, by the advice of his council, set out for Newark in Nottinghamshire, where he had a garrison of two thousand horse and foot. Though he had already been chagrined with an account of Montrose's total defeat by David Lesley, who suddenly fell upon him before he had

proper notice of his approach; it was now confidently reported, that the earl, strengthened by a reinforcement, had attacked and worsted Lesley in his turn, and marched towards the border with a strong army. This false intelligence gained such credit with the king, that he advanced northwards as far as Rotheram, where he was undeceived. There he was certainly informed that Montrose had retreated with his broken forces towards the Highlands; that David Lesley was master of all Lothian; and that the Scottish army lay between Northallerton and Newcastle. Inexpressible was the sorrow and anxiety that this intelligence produced in the bosom of the king, who forthwith resolved to return; but, in the mean time, he constituted lord Digby lieutenant-general of all the forces raised, or to be raised, on the other side of Trent; and ordered him and Sir Marmaduke Langdale to proceed with fifteen hundred horse for Scotland, to join Montrose. This new general began his expedition without delay. He dispersed a thousand foot, raised for the parliament, in the neighbourhood of Doncaster; and at Sherbourne attacked colonel Copley, who commanded a body of cavalry. Digby was routed, and fled to Skipton, while his baggage fell into the hands of the enemy; and, among other things, a cabinet of papers, which were published by order of the two houses. Notwithstanding the check he had received, he proceeded through Westmoreland and Cumberland, as far as Dumfries in Scotland: but receiving no intelligence of Montrose, and finding himself in danger of being surrounded by the covenanters, he embarked with Sir Marmaduke, and the Scottish earls of Carnwath and Niddesdale, for the isle of Man, from whence they were transported to Ireland.

§ VIII. His majesty returning to Newark, prince Rupert appeared in his presence, desiring he might have an opportunity to justify his conduct. The king, who ever loved him with the most tender affection, complied with his request; admitted of his apology; and, by a declaration, absolved him of all suspicion of disloyalty. The well-affected gentlemen of that country being dissatisfied with the conduct of Sir Richard Willis governor of Newark, the king, who was determined upon removing to Oxford, told him he would appoint him captain of his horse-guards; so that he should always be in attendance upon his person; and that he would confer the government of Newark upon lord Bellasis. Sir Richard was extremely mortified at this intimation, and retired to consult with his friends. While his majesty sat at dinner, he entered the apartment, accompanied by prince Rupert and prince Maurice, lord Gerard, and about twenty officers of the garrison. He said his disgrace was now the public talk of the town. Prince Rupert affirmed, that Sir Richard Willis was no otherwise faulty than in being his friend. Lord Gerard exclaimed, it was a plot of lord Digby, who was a traitor, and he would prove him to be so. The king, equally surprised and incensed at their intrusion, rose from the table in disorder, desiring Sir Richard Willis would follow him into his bed-chamber. He replied, that he had received a public injury, and expected a public satisfaction. The king could no longer contain his indignation. He assumed such an air of resentment and authority as he had never manifested before, and commanded them to begone from his presence, with such dignity of displeasure as overwhelmed them with confusion and dismay. They had no sooner quitted the apartment, than he was visited
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by the lords and gentlemen in the town, who comforted him with the most dutiful expressions, and professed a very tender sense of the insolent usage he had endured. Lord Bellasis was immediately declared governor of the place, Clarendon. and began to perform the functions of his office. In the afternoon, the king received a petition, signed by the two princes and their adherents, desiring that Sir Richard Willis might be tried by a court-martial; or, should this be denied, that they and their friends might be furnished with passes. These were immediately expedited; they next day retired to Wyverton, and then to Belvoir-castle; from whence they sent one of their number to the parliament for leave to quit the kingdom; yet they were afterwards pardoned and taken into favour.

§ IX. Nothing could be more forlorn and desolate than the condition of Charles at this juncture. His faithful counsellors, and trusty friends, had either fallen in his cause, or been obliged to exile themselves from their country. His consort, the tender partner of his heart, had been obliged to fly for refuge to a foreign land. His eldest son now roamed a wretched fugitive among the barren rocks of Scilly; and the rest of his children ran the risque of falling into the hands of his inveterate enemies. His armies were either slaughtered or dispersed; he was abandoned by his ungrateful nephews, whom he had always cherished with parental affection; and now he found himself so encompassed by his adversaries, under Pointz and Rossiter, that it seemed impossible to escape, without the interposition of a miracle. In the midst of these dangers, he still preserved an unclouded judgment, and unshaken equanimity. He sent a messenger to the governor of Oxford, with orders that the horse of the garrison should be between Banbury and Daventry, at an appointed time. He departed from Newark on the third day of November, at eleven o'clock at night, attended by five hundred horse. At three in the morning they reached Belvoir-castle, where he found Sir Gervas Lucas, the governor, ready with guides to conduct him farther on his way. In passing near Burleigh, where the parliament had a garrison, he was molested by their horse, who killed and took some stragglers. Towards evening he was so fatigued, that he found it absolutely necessary to take some repose in a village near Northampton. At ten o'clock he continued his march, passed Daventry before day, reached Banbury about noon; and there he found the horse, by whom he was safely conducted to Oxford, after having undergone such a vicissitude of misfortune, danger, and fatigue, as must have broken the spirit of any prince not endued with a very uncommon share of magnanimity.

§ X. He had now leisure to deliberate upon the means of his own preservation; but no plausible scheme occurred to his imagination. In this emergency he had again recourse to the method of negotiation. He entertained some faint hopes of profiting by the dissensions between the presbyterians and independents; and indeed he built too much on this misunderstanding. He demanded of the two houses a safe-conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, and some others, whom he intended to send with proposals for an accommodation. Receiving no answer, he renewed his demand. In a third message, he offered to treat with them in person, provided the parliament, the Scottish commissioners, the mayor of London, and the generals of their armies, would engage that he should safely reside among them for forty

days, and return unmolested to Oxford, Worcester, or Newark, in case the negotiation should prove ineffectual: and, for their encouragement to treat, he declared himself ready to settle the militia in the hands of such persons as they should recommend or approve for that purpose. The houses, in answer to his first message, refused a safe-conduct for his commissioners; but promised to draw out propositions and bills, which should be presented to his majesty. To his proposal of a personal treaty they made no answer. He complained of their silence in repeated messages. He offered liberty of conscience to nonconformists. He proposed, upon the dismissal of the armies, to join the two houses, to take measures for the payment of the public debts, and for settling the affairs of the militia and of Ireland, to the satisfaction of all parties. The houses rejected his proposal, and upbraided him with having shed the blood of his subjects. He refuted their aspersions, insisted upon the personal treaty, and made other concessions, which plainly indicated his sincere desire of peace. Considering his deplorable situation, they could not doubt his sincerity: but nothing was farther from their thoughts than an accommodation with their sovereign. Their leaders were determined upon a dissolution of monarchy. They had reduced their king to extremity, and now they thought it was their turn to impose conditions. They taxed him with a design to make peace with the rebels in Ireland, and employ their troops against his parliament. If he had actually practised this expedient for his own preservation, he would have been acquitted by all the unprejudiced part of the world. Persecuted and hunted down by his own rebellious subjects, he had a natural right, after more pacific means had proved ineffectual, to call in an army of foreigners to his assistance, how much soever they might have differed from him in articles of faith. This has been the practice of all nations. How much more justifiable was he then, in securing the aid of his own subjects, even though he gratified them for this service with that liberty of conscience which every human being has a right to enjoy? But Charles absolutely denied the imputation of having empowered the earl of Glamorgan to conclude a treaty with the Irish rebels. He owned, indeed, he had commissioned that nobleman to raise and bring a body of Irish troops into England: nor did he deny that the marquis of Ormond had powers to finish by treaty a war which the parliament had neglected to maintain; as the protestants of Ireland were threatened with utter extirpation. Glamorgan exceeded his powers; and actually concluded a treaty in the king's name: but this was no sooner known, than the earl was arrested and imprisoned by the marquis of Ormond; and the king disowned the transaction.

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§ XI. Such was the melancholy situation of Charles, when the court of France sent over Montreuil, on pretence of mediating a peace between the king and parliament, though his real intention was to effect a separate accommodation between his majesty and the Scottish army. His queen dispatched Mr. Davenant at the same time, to persuade him to declare for the presbyterian party, which was espoused by the city of London, in opposition to the independents. Montreuil found the Scottish commissioners at London, very well disposed to treat with his majesty; but they insisted upon the abolition of episcopacy, as an indispensable preliminary, with which the king, from conscientious motives, constantly refused to comply. While the French minister made a journey to the

the Scottish army before Newark, in hope of finding some temperament, Fairfax advanced with his army towards Oxford; so that the king was in the most imminent danger of being surrounded. He had ordered the lord Aftley to draw from the few garrisons still in his possession, such a body of troops as might take the field early in the spring. He accordingly assembled about two thousand, with which he advanced towards Oxford; but the parliamentarians, apprised of his design, fell upon him in his march, when his troops were fainting with fatigue. After a very obstinate dispute, his forces were defeated and dispersed, and he himself taken prisoner, together with Sir Charles Lucas, and many other officers.

§ XII. This was the last effort which the king made to defend himself by force of arms. He now saw no other possibility of escaping the rancour of his adversaries, than that of throwing himself into the arms of the Scots, who he hoped, would, from resentment to the independent party, which they hated, and affection to their native prince, be prevailed upon to espouse his cause, or at least protect his person from the rage of his enemies. Such protection their chiefs had severally promised, in conferences with Montreuil, though they refused to sign any treaty or convention for that purpose; and this French agent advised the king to depend upon their sincerity. Charles was beset in such a manner, that he had no time to hesitate; and he thought this was the least desperate course he could follow. Had any other resource remained, he would hardly have thrown himself, without any other assurance, upon the mercy of those who were his declared enemies, and acted as auxiliaries to the parliament of England. Early in the morning of the twenty-seventh day of April, he quitted Oxford in disguise, attended by John Ashburnham, and one Hudson an ecclesiastic, who undertook to conduct him through bye-ways that were little frequented. He spent several days in travelling from one gentleman's house to another, where he was not unknown, though no notice was taken of his person. He passed through St. Alban's, and even came within a few miles of London, as if he had intended to present himself before the parliament: then he took the road to the Scottish camp at Newark. His escape from Oxford was no sooner known in London, than the two houses issued an order, denouncing the pains of high treason against those who should shelter or protect their sovereign. When he discovered himself to the earl of Leven, that general seemed exceedingly surprised and confounded at his presence: nevertheless, he received him with all the marks of respect and veneration.

§ XIII. An express was immediately dispatched with an account of this important incident to the two houses; in which it was immediately resolved, that Fairfax, who had invested Oxford, should relinquish that enterprize, and march directly to Newark: but this resolution was postponed, when the Scottish commissioners declared that the king's coming was altogether unexpected by their generals, who would punctually obey the orders of the parliament. The Scots prevailed upon the king to order Bellasis governor of Newark to surrender the place, which was accordingly delivered up; and hearing that Fairfax had made a motion towards the North, they forthwith retired with his majesty to Newcastle. There he was excluded from all communication with Montreuil, and Ashburnham was obliged to leave the kingdom, otherwise he would

would have been delivered up to the parliament. The * Scottish preachers insulted him to his face from the pulpit; and the officers treated him with unremitting reserve and the most distant respect. They advised him to surrender all his garrisons to the parliament; and he complied with a good grace. Ormond received his order to deliver Dublin and other forts in Ireland to the officers appointed by the two houses; and Montrose, being commanded by his master to lay down his arms in Scotland, retired to the continent.

§ XIV. The king sent a message to the two houses, desiring they would finish the affair of religion according to the advice of able theologians. He consented to their appointing commissioners for the militia during seven years: he offered to concur with them in settling the affairs of Ireland; to dismiss his troops, and surrender the places that were still in his possession. He wrote to the city of London, that he was disposed to satisfy the two houses in every particular. He afterwards pressed the parliament to send propositions; and asked leave to come and treat with them in person. The Scots published a declaration, protesting that they would adhere to the covenant; and that they abhorred all secret practices tending to produce a misunderstanding between the two kingdoms. They presented a petition to the king, beseeching him to labour effectually in the great work of peace, to subscribe the covenant, regulate religion in conformity with the practice of the best protestant churches, and conduct himself according to the advice of his parliament. The general assembly of the kirk of Scotland wrote to the parliament of England, the city of London, and the ecclesiastical assembly, intreating them to forward the work of reformation according to the tenour of the covenant. The house of commons voted that there was no further occasion for the Scottish army; and that the commissioners of that kingdom should be required to withdraw their forces from England. Then they sent proposals of peace to the king, more severe than those upon which they had insisted at Uxbridge. They now arrogated to themselves the whole power of the administration; and their deputies gave the king to understand, that they could not stay longer than ten days at Newcastle. He answered, that though he could not strip himself of that which he inherited by birth and the laws of the realm, he would consent to all just and reasonable demands for the good of the commonwealth, without paying any regard to his own particular interest. The earl of Loudon, chancellor of Scotland, exhorted him to comply with the proposals, deriving his arguments from the necessity of his majesty's affairs; but, in the article of episcopacy, the king was immovable.

§ XV. The deputies of Scotland presented a memorial to the upper house, offering to withdraw their army from England, upon payment of their arrears. Commissioners were immediately appointed to examine their accounts. After various disputes they agreed to take four hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all their demands: and this is said to have been the price for which they sold their king to his enemies. That the delivery of this ill-fated prince to the

* One of their preachers upbraided him with his misgovernment, and ordered this psalm to be sung by the congregation:

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?

The king, standing up, called for the psalm beginning with these words:

Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour.

The audience accordingly sung this psalm, in compassion to his majesty in distress. Whitelock.

two houses was a private stipulation in the treaty, is scarce to be questioned: that it was criminal in the Scots, will admit of some doubt. Had they acted otherwise they must have deviated from all their former maxims, and engaged in a dangerous war against their own confederates, in behalf of a prince whom they had always considered as their implacable enemy. In protecting their king, they must have betrayed their cause, proved false to their trust, and ruined the work which they had raised with such labour. Their aversion to the king was inspired by the suggestions of resentment, interest, and fanaticism: these are motives hardly to be resisted. Had they given way to the dictates of generosity and compassion, they would have gloriously atoned for the mischiefs they had occasioned: though ruined in the contest with the king's adversaries, they would have nobly fallen, and their memory would have escaped that reproach by which it is now stigmatized. In the beginning of September, the duke of Hamilton had been removed to St. Michael's mount in Cornwall; and when it surrendered to the parliamentarians, he was released. He now repaired from London to Newcastle with the Scottish commissioners, and importuned the king to close with the propositions of the two houses. His majesty said, all he desired was a hearing, and that was denied. He did not absolutely reject the proposals, but wished for an opportunity to explain his sentiments. He proposed that the hierarchy should be confined to some particular dioceses, such as Oxford, Winchester, Bristol, Bath, and Exeter; and that the presbyterian discipline should be established in all other parts of the kingdom: he hoped the clergy would not press him to act against his conscience, until he should be better informed.

§ XVI. On the eighteenth day of September, the two houses appointed a committee to confer with the Scottish commissioners about disposing of the king's person. The earl of Loudon alledged, that each kingdom had an equal right to this disposal, as he was equally sovereign of both kingdoms; and as the interest of both nations was united by the covenant. The English committee replied, that they had the sole right to dispose of his person, because he was then in England, and the Scottish army acted as auxiliaries to that nation. This point was debated in several conferences; and the Scots printed a relation of what they had advanced to prove that Scotland and England were equally interested in the person of the king, and had an equal title to dispose of him and his affairs. The commons ordered the copies of this relation to be seized, and the printer was imprisoned. Then they published a long answer, which they sent to the Scottish commissioners, who refused to receive it, on pretence that it was not offered in the name of either house of parliament. On the sixteenth day of December, the parliament of Scotland, resolved that their commissioners at London should demand of the two houses, in their name, that the king might return to London with honour and safety; and, at the same time, declare that the Scottish parliament was resolved to maintain the monarchy in the person of the king, together with his just rights to the crown of England. Next day, however, a remonstrance was presented to them by the commissioners of the general assembly, representing the enormous sin of taking any step tending to produce a rupture between the two nations; and proposing that new efforts should be made for persuading the king.

king to satisfy his subjects, that he might return to his parliament of England as a prince reconciled with his people.

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§ XVII. After obstinate debates they resolved, that the king should be required to comply with the propositions which the houses at Westminster had sent to Newcastle; otherwise they would join their brethren in providing for the security of both kingdoms. The king sent another message to Westminster, soliciting leave to come and treat with them in person, declaring that his intention was to grant every thing that should be deemed necessary for the welfare of his people: he begged they would consider it was their king who craved an hearing; and that he himself would be looked upon as a tyrant, should he refuse that favour to the meanest of his subjects. The two houses voted, that his majesty should reside at his house of Holmeby, in the county of Northampton, and be treated with all due deference and respect: then they appointed commissioners to receive him from the hands of the Scots. The parliament of Scotland sent up a declaration, consenting to his residing at Holmeby, or in any other of his houses near London, provided no violence should be offered to his person; that no new change should be made in the government; and that his posterity should suffer no prejudice in their succession to the throne of England. On the thirtieth day of January, the king was delivered by the Scots to the commissioners of the English parliament; and that very day the Scottish army began its march for their own country. The king bore his fate with his usual fortitude. In his journey to Holmeby he found the roads crowded with multitudes of people, who came from all quarters to behold his deplorable reverse of fortune. They expressed their pity and affection in tears, lamentations, and fervent prayers for his safety; and such an opinion of his sanctity then prevailed, that he was earnestly solicited to touch a great number of persons afflicted with the king's-evil.

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§ XVIII. Hitherto the presbyterians and independents had acted in concert against their sovereign: but now their mutual animosity began to appear. Oliver Cromwell, who possessed indefatigable resolution, unbounded ambition, and impenetrable dissimulation, influenced the whole conduct of the independents. He gained a surprising ascendancy over the spirit of general Fairfax, and filled the army with officers devoted to his interest, such as Rainsborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harrison. The majority of the members in parliament were presbyterians, supported by the city of London: they dreaded the general officers, and wanted to disband the army. As it was necessary to send forces into Ireland, they formed a plan of enlisting private men for that service, and transporting them to that kingdom under new officers, in whom they could confide. Cromwell, knowing their design, opposed it with all his power; and found this task the more easy, as the earl of Essex died in the preceding year. He seemed to approve the scheme of the commons, feigned himself a rigid presbyterian, talked in the language of scripture, and persuaded Fairfax that he had nothing in view but the glory of God, and the establishment of the true religion. At the same time he set his emissaries at work to excite a spirit of mutiny among the troops. The inferior officers had been so long accustomed to military license, that they could not bear the prospect of returning to their former occupations.

§ XIX.

§ XIX. The commons understood they had prepared a petition to their general, for the perusal of the house, demanding an act of indemnity, the payment of their arrears, and an exemption from serving in Ireland against their own consent. Two colonels, and two lieutenant-colonels, being examined at the bar of the house, touching the nature of the petition, were commanded to suppress it and all other such addresses as might be drawn up for the future. At the same time the general was directed to give orders that a declaration should be read at the head of each regiment, importing that the petition tended to excite discontents in the army; to impede the reduction of Ireland; and that the house would proceed against the authors of it, as perturbators of the public peace. This expedient served only to inflame the resentment of the soldiers, who now loudly complained, that after they had shed their blood in defence of the liberties of the nation, they were now, by the most insupportable tyranny, debarred the privilege of presenting a petition to their general: a right to which they were certainly intitled as free-born subjects of England. When the commissioners, appointed by the parliament, repaired to the army, and caused the votes to be read aloud for new-modelling the regiments, colonel Lambert, in the name of all the officers, demanded the act of indemnity, the payment of arrears, security for their subsistence while in Ireland, and the names of the generals under whom they should serve in that kingdom. They exclaimed aloud, they were ready to march under Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon: some of the general officers presented a declaration to the parliament, justifying their former petition, and insisting upon the same articles.

§ XX. The commons voted that the army should be disbanded, and the soldiers receive six weeks pay at their dismissal. Then Skippon produced a petition from several regiments, specifying their reasons for not serving in Ireland, and complaining of the ill treatment they had received from the parliament. The commons, alarmed at these marks of discontent, passed divers votes for giving satisfaction to the army; and ordered Cromwell, Skippon, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to signify their favourable intentions to the soldiery. It was on this occasion, that the common soldiers elected agitators or deputies to discuss their affairs, and communicate their resolutions to a council composed of generals, field-officers, and captains. These were the instruments by which Cromwell and his associates managed the whole military machine. They were chosen from the private soldiers or the lowest class of officers, for their reputed knowledge, and their spiritual gift of preaching and prayer. The two houses, still persisting in their resolution to disband all the troops, except those destined for Ireland, ordained, That security should be given to the troops for their arrears: That the soldiers should not be compelled to serve in Ireland: and, That provision should be made for the widows and orphans of those maimed in the service. Then they regulated the manner in which the regiments were to be disbanded at different times and places.

§ XXI. When the general, in a council of war, produced the votes of the commons, the officers said they did not believe the soldiers would be satisfied, because they would neither receive their full pay, nor security for their arrears; and, without an act of amnesty, they might be prosecuted at law after their dismissal. The soldiers themselves, in a petition to the general, complained of these hardships, and desired that the army should be assembled in one place,

where they might consider of means to redress their grievances before they should be disbanded; otherwise they should be obliged to take such measures as might be prevented by a compliance with their demands. The general, with the advice of the council of war, immediately contracted his quarters; and, in a letter to the two houses, begged they would concert measures for appeasing the army, and preventing a very dangerous rupture. The parliament, intimidated by this intelligence, resolved, if possible, to divide the forces. They offered a month's pay to those who should quit their regiments, and engage in the Irish expedition. For the satisfaction of the army, they voted, That the subaltern officers and soldiers should receive the whole of their arrears, and a month's pay over and above: That the declaration of the two houses against their petition, should be erased from the journal; and, That an act of indemnity should be passed in their favour. But all these concessions could not satisfy the army. The directors of it were resolved, that it should not be disbanded, but kept up as a ballance to the presbyterian interest. It was, by this time, converted into a kind of a republic, in which the vote of a common soldier was equivalent to that of his colonel; and every separate brigade thought they had a right to take resolutions, which were executed in the name of the army: so that very little discipline or subordination remained.

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§ XXII. A few regiments of horse resolved to make themselves masters of the king's person. For the execution of this design they pitched upon cornet Joyce, who had been a taylor before the war. On the third of June, this officer arrived with a detachment of fifty horse at Holmby, about break of day; and going up stairs, attended with three troopers, knocked at the door of the king's apartment. The door being opened, at his majesty's desire, Joyce and his companions, approaching him with their hats off, and pistols in their hands, told him he must go to the army. When the king asked by what authority he came on this expedition, the cornet answered, "By this;" pointing to his pistol, and desiring his majesty would put on his cloaths, as dispatch was absolutely necessary. The king ordered one of his attendants to call the committee of the two houses, who had taken charge of his person. They were not a little surprised at the arrival of Joyce, and asked if he acted by order of the parliament: he answered in the negative, and held up his pistol. They said they would write to the parliament to know their pleasure: he replied, they might do so, but the king must go along with him immediately. Colonel Brown, having sounded the guard which the parliament had set over the king, found them averse to any resistance; so that his majesty, having broken his fast, went into his coach, attended by a few domestics, and resigned himself to the will of Joyce, not without suspicion that he should be carried to some unfrequented place, and murdered. He had, however, dispatched the Scottish earl of Dumfries with a letter to the two houses, giving an account of this adventure; and desiring they would not give credit to any thing he should write under confinement. He lay the first night at the house of colonel Montague near Cambridge, and next day arrived at Newmarket, where he was treated with great respect by the officers of the army. The regiments, being assembled at this place, presented a petition to the general, complaining of the parliament; and next day subscribed a writing, which they termed "The engagement," consenting to be disbanded, on condition that their grievances should be redressed, according

according to the determination of a council composed of the generals, together with two officers, and as many soldiers of every regiment; but, declaring they would not separate until they should have received this satisfaction. On the seventh day of June, the general informed the two houses of the king's being removed from Holmby, by the soldiers, who had received no order from their officers for that purpose. He said, he had sent colonel Whaley with a detachment to meet the king, and reconduct him to Holmby; but that his majesty had refused to return. He assured them, that neither he, nor any of his officers, had any share in removing the king: that the sole aim of the army was to establish a firm and lasting peace: that they had no intention to oppose the presbyterian discipline, and set up independency: but, they would leave every thing to the prudence of parliament, without pretending to espouse any particular party.

§ XXIII. The commons, in order to vindicate themselves from the imputation of acting from interested motives, confirmed the self-denying ordinance; vacated all employments possessed by members of parliament; deprived all members of that personal privilege by which they had been screened from their creditors; declared that all informations against members should be heard on an appointed day; and, that no member should be indemnified for his particular losses, until the public debts should be discharged. Notwithstanding these votes, the army advanced to St. Alban's, within twenty miles of London; and the general sent a message to the houses, intreating them to take some speedy measures for the satisfaction of the soldiery. Nothing could be more agreeable to the people in general, than this commencement of hostility against the parliament, which had exercised the most despotic tyranny over the nation. Those clamorous demagogues who had unsheathed the sword against their sovereign, on pretence of screening the subject from oppression, were now the authors of the most intolerable extortion. They had by the most arbitrary exaction levied above thirty millions in five years; and still the public was loaded with enormous debts and incumbrances. They are said to have divided three hundred thousand pounds among their own members. Great sums were secreted by their committees appointed to manage the different branches of the revenue. The exchequer was now abolished, that those managers might plunder the public without controul. An excise was extended over butchers meat, and all the common necessities of life. One-half the lands and rents of the kingdom, belonging to the royalists, were sequestered. Great numbers of these unhappy sufferers were denied all redress. The rest could obtain no remedy, but that of paying exorbitant compositions, and subscribing the covenant; so that many antient and honourable families were intirely ruined by those upstart plebeians. More than one half of the clergy were deprived of their livings, and reduced to beggary, because they would not renounce their civil and religious principles. The country committees continued to fine, imprison, and corporally punish those they stiled malignants, without law, justice, or restraint: in causes of private property, they took vengeance upon those who favoured their sovereign; and sold their protection to the best bidder. They said they were authorized to spoil the Egyptians: they termed their oppressive conduct, the dominion of the elect: they pretended to seek the Lord in prayer, and cloaked their iniquity with all the grimace of affected holiness. Hume.

§ XXIV. At the motion of the army, the parliament was overwhelmed with consternation. They forthwith passed an ordinance, empowering the city of London to raise some cavalry, as if they intended to put themselves in a posture of defence. The general and the rest of the officers wrote a letter to the mayor, complaining that certain members of parliament were desirous of involving the nation in a new war, that they themselves might escape the punishment they had so richly deserved. They protested they had no design to intermeddle in affairs of government, or to injure the presbyterians, and the city of London, unless they should attempt to protect those incendiaries; they declared themselves ready to withdraw to a greater distance, upon proper assurance that the government would be settled in an equitable manner; but should the city take arms against the army, it would run the risque of bringing abundance of mischief on its own head. This letter being communicated to the parliament, they sent an order to the general, that he should not come within five and twenty miles of London. They ordered ten thousand pounds to be paid to the soldiers who should quit the army, and engage in the Irish expedition. Next day, being alarmed with a false report that the army approached London, they ordered the trained-bands to arm, on pain of death; but they soon recalled this order, though they continued to enlist soldiers. The city sent a soothing answer to the general's letter; and the parliament dispatched commissioners to the army, to know their demands.

§ XXV. The army, conscious of its own strength, presented a remonstrance to the two houses, demanding, That the parliament should be purged of corrupted and unduly elected members: That those who had openly opposed the army, should be expelled, and rendered incapable of sitting as judges upon soldiers, even after the army should be disbanded: That some period should be fixed to this parliament: and, That for the future, parliaments should continue only for a certain time: That they should neither be dissolved nor adjourned, but with their own consent: That the subject should be confirmed in the right of presenting petitions: That the power of committees and lieutenants of counties, should be regulated and reduced to proper bounds: That the public accounts should be equitably settled: and, That after some acts of justice upon delinquents, an act of amnesty should be passed. The next bold step which they took, was to impeach eleven members of parliament, who were indeed the chiefs of the presbyterian party. They sent a deputation of officers to Westminster, to accuse Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols. These members were charged with having obstructed the course of justice: with having raised suspicion against the officers, and endeavoured to sow sedition between the parliament and the army: with having formed a design to disband the army, to seduce the troops, and engage the officers in their mischievous machinations. Next day they presented a memorial to the commons, desiring, that the accused members should be ordered to withdraw: That the army should receive a month's pay, and the same advantages granted to those who enlisted for the service of Ireland: and, That until the differences between the parliament and the army could be compromised, no levies should be carried on in London or elsewhere.

§ XXVI. The army in these demands was countenanced by the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Hereford, and Buckingham. Glamorganshire sent deputies

deputies on purpose to complain, that the people were oppressed by the committees which the parliament had established in the different counties. The two houses were fain to comply with all the demands of the army; which being determined against accommodation, produced a new remonstrance, threatening to employ extraordinary means, unless they should receive immediate satisfaction with respect to the following articles: That the declaration inviting officers and soldiers to quit the army, should be revoked and annulled: That the king should remain with the army: That the accused members should be expelled: That the officers and soldiers who had abandoned the army, should be disbanded and dispersed: That the reduced officers should quit London: That levies should cease; and the parliament put an end to the difference subsisting between them and the army. After this remonstrance was delivered, the troops advanced as far as Uxbridge; and the king's friends began to hope that a rupture between the parliament and the army would redound to his majesty's advantage. The king himself was of that opinion. He was treated with all imaginable deference by the troops, among whom he found himself very much at his ease; and Cromwell, with his confederates, assured him they would restore him to his former dignity. The two houses were so startled at this prospect, that they resolved to gratify the army with every sort of concession. The accused members desired leave to absent themselves from the house, and every other step was taken for their satisfaction: so that, at length, the army seemed satisfied; and the head-quarters were fixed at Wickham.

§ XXVII. The presbyterians were disgusted at this tame condescension of the parliament in favour of the independents. They engaged in an association with the magistrates of London, to oppose force with force. They sent private agents into Scotland to solicit assistance. The common-council presented a petition to the two houses, complaining of the arbitrary power exercised by the committees; demanding they would take proper measures to repress the insolence of the army, settle the government, re-establish the king in the possession of his just rights, according to the covenant, prosecute the war in Ireland with vigour, punish delinquents, and pass an act of amnesty. Petitions were likewise delivered by the apprentices and populace, desiring that the presbyterian discipline might be established on a sure footing; that the insolence of sectaries might be repressed; and the army payed off and disbanded. These commotions were countenanced by the accused members, and many others of that house, who would have risked a rupture with the army; but they were over-ruled by the caution of the majority. The army being informed of the transactions in London, and the message sent to Scotland, demanded, in another petition, that the parliament should publish a declaration, prohibiting foreign troops to enter the kingdom; that the forces should be regularly payed; and the militia of London settled on its antient footing. The houses immediately complied with their request. The rigid presbyterians, incensed at this servile complaisance, joined with the common-council of London, and a good number of members of parliament, in forming an engagement, by which they bound themselves to assist one another in opposing the army, on the supposition that its intention was to overthrow every measure which had hitherto been taken towards establishing the peace of the kingdom. They engaged to employ their lives and fortunes in defending the king's authority and person, the privileges of parliament,

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liament, and the liberties of the people. The two houses published, by sound of trumpet, a prohibition to sign this engagement. Nevertheless, the presbyterians in London held assemblies, and enlisted soldiers; the common-council received two petitions from the burghers and apprentices, desiring that the militia might be regulated according to the ordinance of the fourth day of May, which had been lately abolished by the two houses. In consequence of these remonstrances, the common-council petitioned the parliament, that the last might be revoked, and the other confirmed. By the ordinance of May, the city of London had entrusted the militia to a new committee, composed of presbyterians; but, this ordinance they afterwards recalled at the desire of the army.

§ XXVIII. On the twenty-sixth day of July, a great multitude of the populace assembled at Westminster, with a petition, demanding, that the new ordinance touching the militia, should be revoked; that the declaration against the engagement should be annulled; and an order immediately issued to recal the absent members, particularly the eleven who had been accused. These commotions were influenced by Sir William Waller, Pointz, and Masséy, who had been removed from their employments by the new model, and now resided in London. While the parliament deliberated upon those demands, the populace were very clamorous in the halls adjoining to the two houses. They knocked at the doors of the upper house, broke the windows with stones, and committed such outrages as terrified the members into a compliance with their demands. They voted, That the last ordinance touching the militia, should be annulled; and adjourned till next day: but, the multitude compelled the speaker and the members to resume their places, and ordain, that the king should return to London. The general sent a letter to the common-council, expressing great affection for the city of London, and complaining of the violence which had been offered to the parliament. They returned a civil answer, excusing what had been done, and desiring he would not approach nearer to the city; but, being informed that the army was on its march towards London, they ordered the militia to guard the lines; and all the inhabitants able to carry arms, to repair to the quarters assigned.

§ XXIX. The parliament meeting after a short adjournment, found that the speakers of the two houses, with a good number of members, had quitted London. They forthwith substituted other speakers, and were not sorry that the friends to the army had withdrawn themselves. They voted, That the king should return to London: That the committee of the London militia should be authorised to raise troops for the defence of the city, as well as to chuse a general acceptable to the parliament; and, that he should appoint the officers, with the approbation of the committee. The choice fell upon major-general Masséy; and a day was appointed for delivering commissions, and disposing the troops into regiments. The common-council received another menacing letter from the general; and, in their turn, published an apology, which was no other than a recrimination upon the army, for its insolence and arbitrary proceedings. The parliament understanding that the general approached London, on pretence of protecting them from violence, sent a letter to assure him they needed no protection; and as his march to London would be productive of mischief, they expressly ordered him to withdraw his troops to a greater distance.

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They recalled the absent and accused members; while Maffey, Waller, and Pointz were employed in forming their regiments and companies. The two speakers, and the other members who had absented themselves, to the number of sixty-six, demanded the protection of the general, alledging that they had been obliged to quit the houses for fear of being torn in pieces by the populace. The army was glad of this pretext for marching to London, in order to restore the members, to whom they payed the respect that was due to the parliament; and continued their route for Hounslow-heath, which was the place of rendezvous. The earl of Manchester and Lenthal, speakers of the two houses, together with the other members who had retired to the army, were presbyterians in their hearts; but they foresaw the army would at length prevail, and they took this method to save themselves from destruction.

§ XXX. The army now published a manifesto, acquitting themselves of the imputations laid to their charge, recapitulating the arbitrary measures of the presbyterian faction; declaring they would support the two speakers, who had fled to their protection, and punish the authors of these disorders. The courage of the citizens vanished, when they understood that the army had advanced to Hounslow. The common-council wrote a letter to the general, importing, That, as it appeared from his declaration, he had no other design than to do justice to the absent members, the city was ready to concur with him; that they had ordered all the avenues to be opened, and put an end to their preparations of defence. On the sixth day of August, Fairfax, accompanied by the speakers, and the members who had absented themselves, arrived in Westminster with an escorte of dragoons; and the members forthwith resumed their places in parliament. The two houses immediately concurred in voting, that the general should be constituted governor of the Tower. They appointed a day of thanksgiving for the re-establishment of the parliament without bloodshed; and they ordained that the army should receive a month's pay as a gratuity. The lords proposed that all the transactions of parliament, from the twenty-sixth day of July, to the sixth of August, should be annulled; and that the members who had sat at Westminster during the absence of the two speakers, should be excluded from their seats in parliament, and punished for their presumption. The army had, in a remonstrance, made the same demands; but, after violent debates in the lower house, they were rejected by a very small majority. Nevertheless, seven peers, the mayor and aldermen of London, together with some officers of militia, were accused of treason, for having been concerned in tumults, and endeavouring to excite a new war. The two houses resolved, with the concurrence of the army, to send six thousand foot soldiers, four thousand horse, and five hundred dragoons, to Ireland; to maintain six and twenty thousand men in England, and disband the rest of the forces. But these resolutions were executed slowly, and each side endeavoured to amuse the other. Though the army had at first pretended to nothing but the care of their own concerns, they now professed to settle the commonwealth; and, before their march towards London, presented to the commissioners of the parliament, a set of proposals seemingly for this purpose, though they were calculated for retarding the settlement, which the authors of them professed to forward and promote.

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§ XXXI.

§ XXXI. The king still continued in the neighbourhood of the army, by which he was treated with the most flattering marks of distinction. His chaplains were permitted to attend him, and celebrate service according to the forms of the English church. He was permitted to converse with his old servants. Sir John Berkeley and Ashburnham attended his person; and even the marquis of Ormond had free access to his presence: but the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed, was the company of his own children, with whom he had several interviews, which were so tender, that they seemed to melt the heart of Oliver Cromwell, who declared, he had never seen such a pathetic scene as the meeting of this fond parent with his infant offspring, and extolled the king for the benevolence of his disposition. He was visited by the Scottish commissioners, who expressed the most eager desire to serve him, thinking it was their real interest to unite with their sovereign against the independents, who were their common enemies. Cromwell and his associates caressed his majesty, in order to prevent this union, and assured him they would not lay down their arms, until he should be restored to his former dignity. Charles detested the presbyterians, as the inveterate enemies of the hierarchy, and the authors of all the troubles to which he and the kingdom had been exposed: but he prudently maintained a correspondence with both sides, in hope of being chosen as umpire to decide their difference; or at least of holding the balance between them, so as to make either scale preponderate. He had too great an opinion of his own importance. Cromwell, Ireton, and the other chiefs of the independent faction, amused him with vain hopes, until they had obtained a complete victory over the presbyterians and the city. Then they abated in their expressions of respect; he was more strictly guarded; they would hardly allow his domestics to converse with him in private; he remained at Hampton-court, without receiving any further proposals of accommodation; and spies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He now perceived he had been the dupe of Cromwell, and began to be apprehensive of mischievous designs upon his person. The army presented him in private with proposals of peace, much more severe than those which had been offered to him at Newcastle; and, because he rejected them, the officers were offended. Cromwell bitterly reproached Ashburnham, the king's chief confidant, for having assisted his majesty in treating with the Scottish commissioners, in order to engage that nation to act against the army. Major Huntington, whom Cromwell had employed in conveying secret messages to the king, gave his majesty to understand, that his employer would ruin him, if not prevented. He forthwith resigned his commission, and even offered to discover Cromwell's sinister practices to the parliament; but he was refused a hearing.

§ XXXII. Finally, the king being warned from different quarters, and by various channels, of the designs that were harboured against his life, resolved to withdraw himself from the army. Early in the evening, he retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed; and, in an hour after midnight, went down the back-stairs, attended with Ashburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of the bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and directed their route towards Hampshire. Ashburnham said he had bespoken a ship for conveying the king to some

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part of the continent, or to Jersey: but the vessel could not be found at the place appointed. The royal fugitive, thus disappointed, repaired to Titchfield, a seat belonging to the earl of Southampton, and discovered himself to that nobleman's mother, who received him with the warmest cordiality. There he deliberated with his friends about his next excursion; and they advised him to cross over to the isle of Wight, which was under the government of colonel Hammond, who enjoyed a great share of Cromwell's confidence. Ashburnham and Berkeley were sent before, to exact a promise of this officer, that if he could not protect, he would not detain his majesty's person. Hammond seemed surprised at their address; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but owned, at the same time, he was under the necessity of obeying his superiors. When he understood where the king was, he accompanied them to Titchfield with a guard of soldiers, and stayed in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou hast undone me!" The other shed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the colonel: but the king would not consent to such an expedient. He recollected all his fortitude; and sent for Hammond, who repeated his professions of regard, and seemed to believe the army would take no step to his prejudice. Charles submitted to his fate, accompanied the colonel to the Isle of Wight, and was lodged at Carisbrook-castle, where at first he found himself treated with marks of duty and respect. Though Ashburnham's conduct, on this occasion, has the air of treachery, the king acquitted him of any treasonable intention; and, in all probability, he was outwitted by the emissaries of Cromwell and Ireton, who found some method to persuade him that the king's person would be safer in the Isle of Wight than with the army. If that was the case, he concealed his design from the king, who perhaps would have disapproved of the scheme, and amused him with the hope of a vessel which he had never intended to provide. If he was free of disloyalty, he was certainly guilty of the most unwarrantable presumption and temerity.

§ XXXIII. The parliament was informed of the king's escape by Cromwell, who transmitted to them a letter, left by his majesty on the table, addressed to both houses. He complained of the rigorous captivity he had undergone, among people who were continually fluctuating in their principles; who were not ashamed to declare a design of destroying the nobility, by depriving the peers of their negative voice in parliament; and who favoured and encouraged the principles of the levellers. He said his intention was to conceal himself for some time, even from the knowledge of his friends; nevertheless, he earnestly wished for peace; and declared, he would contribute all that lay in his power, for the satisfaction of all parties. Lastly, he desired to be heard with honour and safety, in which case he would quit his retreat, and appear in public. On the fifteenth day of November, the earl of Manchester, speaker of the upper house, received a letter from colonel Hammond, informing their lordships, that the king had come to the Isle of Wight, and put himself under his protection.

§ XXXIV. Cromwell now began to be disturbed by a sect of his own raising. He and his associates had indulged the soldiers to such a degree of licence, that he found it extremely difficult to reduce them to any sort of subordination.

When the differences between the parliament and the army were compromised, the generals had no further occasion for the concurrence of the common soldiers: their councils were suppressed, and the agitators remanded to their respective regiments. They refused to obey these orders; the councils and conferences were continued; they claimed an equal share with their generals, in regulating the government; they pretended to abolish all distinctions, and thence acquired the appellation of levellers. These principles would have produced division and anarchy among the troops, and entirely destroyed the authority of the generals, had not they been nipped in the bud by the conduct and resolution of Cromwell. He repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men, and began to expostulate with them upon the dangerous consequences of their stubborn and precipitate conduct. Finding them deaf to his remonstrances, he fell upon them all of a sudden, routed and dispersed the whole body, ordered some of the prisoners to be hanged upon the spot, and sent the rest to London. By acting with the same vigour and intrepidity on several other occasions, he broke the mutinous spirit of this dangerous sect, and reduced the army to submission.

§ XXXV. The king being disappointed in his hope of escaping, sent a message to the two houses, accompanied with proposals for an accommodation. Though his conscience would not permit him to give up the order of bishops, he was contented that the presbyterian discipline, at present established, should continue during three years, on condition that he, and others of the English church, should be permitted to use their own rites, without incurring any penalty; that the ecclesiastical assembly at Westminster should consult and deliberate with twenty theologians of his nominating, upon the subject of religion, that he and the two houses might fix upon a form of church-government, according to the word of God; and that all persons should enjoy liberty of conscience, without prejudice to the laws enacted against popish recusants, atheists, and unbelievers. He said he would consent to an act of parliament, vesting the power of the militia in the two houses, during his whole reign, provided that it should be afterwards reunited with the crown, as in the reigns of Elizabeth and James; and he proposed that, during his whole reign, all the great officers of state, and privy-counsellors, should be nominated by the two houses. He offered to abolish the court of wards and liveries, and to pass an act of oblivion; and he demanded permission to treat in person, with honour, liberty, and safety. When the king quitted Hampton-court, the two houses had prepared a set of propositions for his majesty; but they were not sent, because the Scottish commissioners raised continual obstacles, complaining that these proposals did not sufficiently provide for the interest of their country. The Scots at that time hoped to conclude a separate peace with him upon their own terms; but they insisted upon the abolition of episcopacy; and this was a demand with which he would not comply.

§ XXXVI. At length the two houses resolved to treat with the king, provided he would give his assent to four preliminary acts, for establishing the militia; recalling all the declarations published against the parliament and their adherents; depriving peers created since the troubles, of their right to sit in parliament; and empowering the two houses to adjourn at their own pleasure. These bills were prepared with such dispatch, that the independents had not
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time to start objections; and the Scottish commissioners in vain attempted to throw obstacles in their way. The parliament was now resolved to break the measures of the independents; and, on the sixth day of November, received another message from the king, demanding a personal treaty. The commissioners from Scotland presented a long memorial to parliament, complaining that the two houses violated the covenant, in seeking to treat of peace without their concurrence; and objecting to the proposals that were prepared. The houses answered this memorial in very acrimonious terms, and ordered the printer to be imprisoned. Then they appointed a committee to present the bills to his majesty.

§ XXXVII. The Scottish commissioners at the same time repaired to the Isle of Wight, with the articles of a treaty drawn up in form. Charles prudently refused to pass the four bills, without any security for the success of the treaty, because he justly feared, that after having granted these concessions, he should find the two houses as implacable as before. He was better pleased with the conditions offered by the Scots. The duke of Hamilton had made a tender of his services, which was very agreeable to his majesty. The marquis of Ormond had communicated to him a scheme of joining the lord Inchiquin in Ireland, and raising forces for his service in that kingdom. The Scots undertook to assemble an army in his behalf; and he imagined that the union of his friends with the presbyterians of both kingdoms, would be able to crush the power of the independents. Influenced by these considerations, he concluded a secret treaty with the Scottish commissioners, in which he promised to confirm the covenant in England and Scotland, together with the presbyterian government, for three years, during which the affairs of religion should be settled by an assembly of theologists and ecclesiastics of both kingdoms. They engaged that the kingdom of Scotland should defend the rights of his crown against all opponents; for which purpose it should send an army into England, to re-establish him upon the throne, effect an union of the two nations, and procure a solid peace. The commissioners stipulated several other advantages for their country, and returned very well pleased with the success of their negotiation.

§ XXXVIII. The king had no sooner dismissed the committee of parliament with a refusal, than the governor ordered all his domestics to quit the castle, and confined him so closely that no person could speak to him without having first obtained permission. An officer of the name of Burley residing in the Isle of Wight, was fired with indignation at the unworthy treatment to which his sovereign was exposed; and endeavoured to engage some people in a design to rescue the king from the hands of his enemies; but, before he could put his scheme in execution, he was apprehended, condemned, and put to death. When the king's answer was reported in the house of commons, several members spoke with great virulence against his person; and in particular Oliver Cromwell, who called him a man of blood, and a double-dealer. He advised them to send no further addresses to the king, but to regulate the affairs of the nation without his concurrence. His proposal was supported by his associates; and, after violent debates, the house resolved, that for the future no addresses or messages should be sent to the king. They published a declaration on the subject, containing all the bitterness and malice of the famous

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remonstrance on the state of the kingdom, together with additional reproaches upon the king's subsequent conduct. This step, however, was not taken without great opposition in the house of commons, where there was still a majority of presbyterians, though they were intimidated by Cromwell, and overawed by the neighbourhood of the army.

§ XXXIX. The Scottish commissioners, before they returned to their own country, concerted measures with the marquis of Ormond, the other friends of the king in England, and the leading men among the presbyterians. They agreed that the marquis should join Inchequin, who commanded the parliament's troops in Munster, and had declared for his sovereign: besides, some chiefs of the rebels, disgusted at the tyranny exercised by the pope's nuncio in Ireland, had promised to reinforce Ormond with a considerable body of forces. The cavaliers undertook to raise insurrections in different counties of England; and the officers, excluded from the army by the new model, engaged in the same design. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had great influence in the North, resolved to secure Berwick and Carlisle; and the presbyterian party in London, and in the house of commons, began to make preparations for appearing openly against the parliament. Had this scheme been duly digested, and all the parts of it executed at the same time, Cromwell would have had occasion for all his talents, to preserve the footing he had gained; but, as they did not concur in one connected plan, acted at different times, without unanimity and proper preparation, the army found no difficulty in quelling one party before another declared itself, until all opposition was subdued.

§ XL. The parliament of Scotland assembled on the tenth day of March, notwithstanding the intrigues of the marquis of Argyle, who, though a rigid presbyterian in religion, was an independent in politics, and had engaged in an intimacy of friendship with Vane and Cromwell. The moderate presbyterians were headed by the duke of Hamilton, his brother the earl of Lanerk, and lord Loudon. Their interest predominated on this occasion; and the duke was chosen president of the committee of danger, appointed to provide for the safety of the kingdom. Argyle, finding his party outnumbered in parliament, had recourse to the general assembly, which had almost turned the scale in his favour. The committee, having examined the state of the kingdom, found it in great danger, and declared it would be necessary to raise an army of forty thousand men, to put it in a proper posture of defence. The commissioners of the assembly opposed this expedient with great violence and obstinacy. They presented a great number of demands to parliament, insisting upon the danger and iniquity of engaging in a war without provocation. Eighteen lords and forty members of parliament solemnly protested against the vote for levying an army. The marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, affirmed, that the intention of the committee was to support the king's partisans, the mortal enemies of the Scots, and of all the presbyterians in both kingdoms; that Edinburgh already swarmed with cavaliers, such as Langdale, Musgrave, Glenham, Fleming, and others, who hated the covenanters with the most inveterate rancour; and that a junction with the king's party, composed of papists, episcopals, and other malignants, was a manifest violation of the covenant. These representations, joined to the efforts of certain envoys, sent thither by the independent

dents of England, made such an impression upon the people, that the parliament could not help issuing an ordinance, excluding from their army and protection all persons who should refuse to subscribe the covenant. The duke of Hamilton, who was declared general, found himself obliged to dismiss the cavaliers, assuring them that he would elude this order as soon as he should have entered England. In a word, he met with continual obstacles, which retarded his levies. Instead of forty, he could hardly assemble fourteen thousand men, and these ill-armed and undisciplined; and his army was not in a condition to march till the beginning of July. Rushworth.

§ XLI. During these preparations, Langhorn, Powel, and Poyer, three colonels who had served in the parliament's army, declared for the king, secured the castle of Pembroke, and influenced the greatest part of South-Wales to espouse the royal cause; while lord Byron endeavoured in North-Wales and Cheshire to raise an insurrection in favour of his sovereign; and the people of Kent took arms, under the command of one Mr. Hales, a young gentleman of great fortune, but small experience or capacity. General Fairfax sent Cromwell with a detachment to reduce the Welsh and oppose the Scots, should they invade the kingdom; while he himself continued at London to prevent disturbances in that city, and observe the motions of the Kentish insurgents. These were increased to a great number; and lord Goring, now earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller headed them, in expectation that London would declare for them, should they approach that city. With this hope they advanced to Blackheath; and Fairfax immediately took the field. Then they retired, some to Rochester, and others to Maidstone; which last place the general took by assault, where a great number of the enemy was killed and taken prisoners. The rest abandoned Rochester, and took post on Hounslow-heath, in hope of being succoured by the city of London; but, being disappointed in this hope, they dispersed at the approach of the army. The earl of Norwich crossed the Thames at Gravesend, in boats, with about five hundred men, in order to join the king's friends in Essex. These were assembled, to the number of three thousand, under lord Capel, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, Sir Bernard Gascoign, and colonel Farr, which last had been in the service of the parliament. They took possession of Colchester, where they proposed to remain until they could join the Scottish army, which they heard was already on its march. They were soon invested by Fairfax, who seeing the place almost destitute of defences, attempted to enter by force, but was repulsed with such loss, that, being unwilling to hazard another assault, he resolved to reduce it by famine, and formed the blockade so close as to prevent the besieged from receiving the least succour or reinforcement.

§ XLII. During these transactions there had been a commotion in London among the populace who favoured the king. They defeated a troop of the militia, secured two of the city-gates, compelled the mayor to take refuge in the Tower, advanced to Whitehall, exclaiming, "For God and the king;" and were at last dispersed by two regiments of cavalry. The king's second son, the duke of York, found means to escape from St. James's, where he had been kept under the eye of the earl of Northumberland, and retired to Holland, where he was cordially received by his sister the princess of Orange. Langdale and Musgrave surprized Berwick and Carlisle; and, in a little time, found them-
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themselves at the head of four thousand royalists; so that they were in a condition to go in quest of general Lambert, who commanded in those parts for the parliament: but, by an express order from Edinburgh, they were forbid to hazard any action until the Scottish army should have entered England. In the latter end of May, the sailors of a squadron, lying in the Downs, revolted against their commander Rainsborough, whom they set ashore, together with some other officers disaffected to the royal cause. Being supplied with provision by the king's friends in Kent, they steered their squadron to the Brill, and delivered it to the duke of York, whom the king had appointed high-admiral of England. The prince of Wales, who had retired to Paris, where he resided with his mother, was no sooner informed of this lucky incident, than he repaired to Helvoetsluys; and, going on board of the fleet, was received with loud acclamations. He sent his brother to the Hague, and set sail for England, in order to join and head the Scottish army, when it should enter that kingdom. When he arrived at Yarmouth, the inhabitants refused him admittance; then he directed his course to the river Thames, and took several rich vessels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards restored. Meanwhile, the earl of Warwick assembled a squadron, with which he sailed in quest of the prince; and anchored his ships so near him in the river, that an engagement was thought unavoidable. The prince of Wales was eager for battle, and had actually weighed, in order to attack the earl; but, the wind failing, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his resolution. Warwick was reinforced with some fresh ships; and the royal fleet being in want of provision, young Charles was persuaded to return to Helvoetsluys, whither he was followed by the enemy. In the beginning of June the royalists surprised the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, which they secured with a good garrison: and about the same time, Scarborough revolted from the parliament.

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§ XLIII. At this juncture, the earl of Holland, who had changed sides so often, formed a design in favour of his majesty. The Scottish army was ready to march; Cromwell was employed in the siege of Pembroke castle; Fairfax engaged in the blockade of Colchester, while not above two regiments remained in London; and the presbyterian party had regained its influence in parliament. The earl of Holland, thinking there could not be a more favourable opportunity for executing the scheme he had projected, set out from London publicly, attended by about an hundred horsemen, and was joined at Kingston upon Thames by the duke of Buckingham, his brother lord Francis Villiers, and the earl of Peterborough, with some forces. They forthwith sent a letter to the mayor and common-council of the city, declaring their intention of joining the troops of Surrey, Suffex, and Middlesex, in order to deliver the king, and establish the peace of the nation; and desiring the assistance of London, as their sole aim was peace and the welfare of the kingdom, according to the covenant. The magistrates of the city, having very little confidence in the earl and his confederates, sent the letter to the parliament, by which the three noblemen were instantly declared traitors to their country. That same day their horse were attacked by colonel Lewesly, who routed them in the neighbourhood of Kingston; and lord Francis Villiers was slain in the engagement: but, in the night, the leaders abandoned the place, and retired with about four hundred men to St. Alban's. They were afterwards surprised at St. Neots by colonel Scroop,

Scroop, who took the earl of Holland, and conducted him to London, from whence he was removed to the castle of Warwick: the other two noblemen escaped, and the whole project miscarried. On the eleventh day of July, the duke of Hamilton entered England at the head of the Scottish army; and Cromwell, having reduced the castle of Pembroke, began his march to join Lambert, who commanded for the parliament in the northern counties.

§ XLIV. Had the duke of Hamilton advanced immediately into the heart of the kingdom, before the separate bodies of the English army could join together, in all probability he would have effected the restoration of his sovereign. The city of London would have shut its gates against Fairfax, and the royalists would have taken up arms in so many different parts of the kingdom, that the independents must have been divided, distracted, and overpowered: but the duke and his army seemed to act upon different principles. He desired to restore the king without conditions. The presbyterians, of whom his troops were composed, insisted upon the treaty which their commissioners had concluded with his majesty. They refused to march with the royalists, because they scrupled to take the covenant; they suspected their general of having a warm side to episcopacy; therefore thwarted his measures, and retarded his motions. He removed the English garrison from Carlisle, in which he left a body of his own countrymen. He was joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse; but this officer was obliged to march always at a distance from the Scots, to elude the order of their parliament, which had expressly forbid Hamilton to act in concert with those English who should refuse to subscribe the covenant. Lambert retired at their approach with such precipitation, that he must have been entirely defeated had the duke pursued him in his retreat; but that nobleman, instead of taking the advantage of his disorder, loitered away several days at Carlisle, then marched to Kendal in Westmoreland, where he remained until he could no longer find subsistence for his army. For this reason he advanced with part of his forces into Lancashire, and fixed his head-quarters at Preston.

§ XLV. Cromwell, having joined Lambert in Yorkshire, resolved to seek the enemy, though his troops did not amount to nine thousand; and these were almost exhausted with fatigue. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whose division composed the duke's vanguard, sent notice that Cromwell was at hand; and advised his grace to contract the quarters, which were scattered at great distances from each other. The duke persuaded himself that it was no more than a detachment from Cromwell's army, and neglected the salutary advice of the English officer, who was attacked by the enemy's horse; and, after a very obstinate dispute, driven back to Preston. The duke ordered him to advance again, and promised that he should be sustained; but he did not perform his promise, and Langdale was entirely routed on the sixteenth day of August. Then Cromwell's cavalry marched to Preston, which they found in the utmost confusion, and took, after a smart engagement. The duke retired to the other side of the bridge, at which he posted a strong guard, that defended it obstinately for some time; but, at length, they were obliged to abandon it to the victors. The fugitives were, next day and the following, pursued to Warrington; after having made a stand, and defended a defile for several hours: there Bailey, who commanded them, surrendered with his men prisoners of war. The duke fled,

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fled, with about three thousand horse, to Utoxeter; but, Lambert being close at his heels, he and all his officers fell into the hands of the enemy: while the broken cavaliers escaped to Cumberland, where they joined major-general Monro. This officer had followed the duke of Hamilton with a reinforcement of horse and foot, and now retreated to his own country, without paying any regard to the remonstrances of the king's friends, who solicited him to join them, and make a stand against the enemy. Cromwell, marching to the border, sent a letter to the committee of the Scottish parliament, demanding that they would recall Monro, and deliver up Berwick; otherwise he would carry the war into their country. The face of affairs was now entirely changed in Scotland: Argyle's interest predominated, and he assembled a body of troops to oppose Monro, who had been, at his return, joined by the earl of Lanerk. They seized Stirling, and hampered the marquis: but all their measures were broken by Cromwell, who advanced to Edinburgh. The committee of danger abandoned that place, and the earl of Lanerk and Monro consented to an accommodation. Cromwell was received at Edinburgh with great solemnity, by means of Argyle, with whom he cultivated an intimacy of friendship. Berwick and Carlisle were delivered into his hands: at the desire of the Scots, he left Lambert with some regiments, to overawe the malignants of that country; and, having concerted measures with the marquis, returned in triumph to England.

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§ XLVI. The royalists in Colchester had defended the place with surprising intrepidity and resolution, until they were compelled by famine to surrender at discretion. Then the general sullied his victory with an act of cruelty, which he was instigated to commit by the barbarous and blood-thirsty Ireton. In a council of war it was resolved, That Lucas, Lisle, and Gascoign, should be put to death; but the life of Gascoign was spared, on account of his being a foreigner. When the other two were brought out to be shot, Lucas gave the word to fire, as if he had been at the head of his own company. Lisle kissed him eagerly after he was dead; and desired the executioners to come nearer. One of the soldiers replying, "I'll warrant you sir, we will hit you!" "Friends (said he smiling) I have been nearer you when you have missed me." So saying, he received their shot, and fell, lamented by all good men who had an opportunity to know the candour of his heart and the sweetness of his disposition. Gascoign, who was a Florentine, having undressed himself to undergo the same fate, desired he might be indulged with pen, ink, and paper, to make the grand duke acquainted with the nature of his death, that his family should not be deprived of his possessions; and the council of war, finding he was a foreigner, would not take away his life, lest the grand duke of Tuscany should make retaliation upon the English subjects in his dominions.

§ XLVII. While the army was at a distance from London, and the Scots expected in England, the presbyterian party prevailed in the two houses at Westminster: and the independents were fain to submit. The common-council of the city presented a petition, demanding that the chains for their streets, and barricadoes, which had been taken from them, should be restored; and major-general Skippon commissioned to command the forces in London. Their demands were immediately granted. The house of commons, having deliberated upon the form of government to be established, voted that the
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nation should be governed by a king and two houses of parliament : That the proposals sent to the king at Hampton-court, should serve as a foundation for the government : and, That each member might freely speak his sentiments with respect to his majesty. The parliament received another petition from the mayor and common-council, desiring, That they should be authorized to establish their own militia : and, That the command of the Tower should be conferred on a person recommended by them to the two houses. The parliament complied with these requests ; and the citizens began to prepare for action. On the fifth day of May, the commons published a declaration, importing, That they would maintain the covenant, and join the Scots in treating with his majesty. The inhabitants of Surry repairing to Westminster in great numbers, petitioned the two houses, That the king should be re-established in all his rights and prerogatives ; and the troops disbanded. They committed such violence upon the guards of the parliament, that recourse was had to a detachment of horse and foot quartered in the Mews and Whitehall, who attacked and dispersed them, after having killed and wounded a great number. Such rash, inconsiderate conduct was prejudicial to the king's affairs. The presbyterians began to suspect, that their intention was to restore the king, without conditions ; and therefore they kept aloof when the cavaliers took arms in different parts of the kingdom.

§ XLVIII. Embarrassed between the royalists and independents, and equally afraid of the success of either, they resolved to conclude a peace with the king, during the absence of the army. In spite of the opposition of the independents, the two houses voted, That after the king should have signed three bills to be presented to his majesty, they would treat with him upon the rest of the proposals to which the two kingdoms had agreed. These three bills related to the establishment of the militia, the presbyterian discipline, and the revocation of the declarations which had been published against the parliament. The commons ordained, that the eleven members of their house, and the lords who had been accused by the army, should be acquitted of all imputation ; they restored Glyn, the member for Westminster, who had been expelled ; and forbade all persons, on pain of death, to take arms without their authority. On the twenty-sixth day of June, they appointed a committee to consider of means to treat with his majesty. The mayor, aldermen, and common-council, petitioned, that a personal treaty should be set on foot with his majesty ; and the Scots invited to concur with them in their endeavours after peace. The commencement of this negotiation was retarded by disputes between the lords and commons. The advice of the committee was, that they should annul the vote by which they had prohibited addresses to the king : that they should not insist upon the three bills as preliminary ; but remove his majesty to one of his houses in the neighbourhood of London. The lords approved of this advice ; but the commons refused to treat, except upon the three previous conditions. The city of London concurred with the upper house, in several petitions, and seemed to threaten the commons with more violent measures. These, on the other hand, employed Skippon to enlist soldiers for a guard, on pretence of apprehending the designs of the cavaliers, who at that time swarmed in London ; and the independents employed all their arts to foment this division.

§ XLIX. At length, the commons consented to wave the three preliminary bills; but, fifty days elapsed before they could agree upon the manner, time, and place of the treaty; and in that interval, the Scots and all the royalists were overthrown: so that the presbyterians became more fearful, and the independent interest revived in the two houses. Nevertheless, they resolved to proceed with the treaty; and signified their resolution to the king. In compliance with his demands, the upper house voted, That the prohibition to address him should be annulled: That those whose attendance and advice his majesty required, should be with him; and that he should be restored to the same liberty he had enjoyed at Hampton-court: That the treaty should be carried on in the town of Newport; and the Scots be invited to send thither their commissioners: That five lords and ten commoners should be appointed as commissioners from the English parliament. The commons objected to the article of inviting the Scots; but agreed, that they might send deputies of their own accord, or in consequence of the king's invitation. They drew up instructions to colonel Hammond, touching his conducting the king to Newport; and insisted upon his majesty's promising, upon his royal word, that he would not leave the Isle of Wight, during the conferences, nor for twenty eight days after they should be finished. Mean while, petitions were delivered to the parliament, by the city of London, demanding, that the king should be set at liberty, and invited to a personal treaty: another to the same purpose, was presented by the officers who had been reduced; but, when the news of Cromwell's victory arrived, the independents produced a petition, signed by many thousands, taxing the commons with corruption; disapproving of a treaty with the king; and proposing the model of a sort of republican government. This address was seconded by another, in the name of the ship-masters; but, the parliament did not think this was a proper conjuncture to irritate them further, by answering their reproaches: nevertheless, they persisted in their resolution to treat, and their commissioners set out for the Isle of Wight.

Rushworth.

§ L. They were surpris'd at the manifest change that appeared in their hapless sovereign. When he was bereft of his servants, and cut off from all human communication, he laid aside all care of his person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair, which being dishevelled and neglected, was now almost totally silvered by the hand of time, or the pressure of anxiety; and his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood a venerable figure of majesty and distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. Though his exteriors were altered, his mind was serene; he received them with a chearful aspect; and, in the course of the conferences, discovered an amazing extent of understanding. The earl of Salisbury, surpris'd at these instances of uncommon capacity, said to Sir Philip Warwick, "The king is extremely improved of late!" "He was always so, (replied the other) "but now, at last, you are sensible of it." Sir Henry Vane insisted upon their being rigid and circumspect in proposing terms of accommodation, on account of the king's uncommon abilities. He freely agreed to recal the declarations which had been published against the parliament; but, it was not without great reluctance, that he consented to acknowledge they had taken arms in their own defence. He surrendered to the parliament the whole power of the militia, and that of levying money for its support, during the term of twenty years; nay, even

even that of resuming the same authority, at any time after the expiration of that term, when they should declare such a step necessary for the public safety. With respect to religion, he said his conscience would not permit him to consent to the abolition of episcopacy, which he firmly believed was of apostolical institution; and as to the sale of the church-lands, he deemed it not only sacrilegious, but expressly contrary to his coronation oath, by which he was bound to maintain the rights of the clergy; nevertheless, to convince them of his eager desire after peace, he would consent to their reducing episcopacy to its primitive use: that archbishops, deans, and chapters, should be abolished: that the presbyterian form of discipline should continue for three years, during which the king and parliament, with the advice of the ecclesiastical assembly, and other divines named by his majesty, should agree upon some suitable plan of church-government. He yielded up the queen's privilege of having mass celebrated in her own chapel: he was willing that the chapter-lands should be let at low leases for ninety-nine years: he gave up the book of Common-prayer, with the proviso, that he might use some other liturgy in his own exercises of devotion: he resigned the whole management of the Irish war to the two houses: he promised his assent to an act for raising money to discharge the public debts: he submitted to the parliament's demand of selling all the great offices for twenty years, as well as to the abolition of the court of wards, on condition, that he and his successors should, in lieu of it, receive the annual sum of one hundred thousand pounds: he acknowledged their great seal, and resigned his own, together with the power of creating peers without the consent of the two houses: he consented to their obliging the royalists to compound for their estates; but, when they demanded a bill of attainder against the marquis of Newcastle, lord Digby, lord Byron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins, he absolutely refused to sacrifice his best friends to their vengeance, though he would have yielded to their banishment for a limited time. He continually upbraided himself with his tame condescension in giving up the earl of Strafford to the rage of an implacable faction; and his ideas of gratitude and friendship had been corroborated by the reflections that occurred to him in his solitary confinement. Though he had now almost wholly divested himself of his royalty, to please the arrogance of an usurping parliament, the two houses having considered his answers and concessions, voted them unsatisfactory on the articles of episcopacy, popery, the covenant, the sale of church-lands, and delinquents. The term of the conferences was prolonged; and the parliament demanded a final answer of his majesty. To make a parade of their indulgence, they voted, That he might return with honour, liberty, and safety to London: and, That he should be put in possession of his lawful revenues, as soon as he should have subscribed to all their propositions. What was this but a cruel mockery of insolence and deceit. They professed to treat with their sovereign, and insisted upon his complying with all their demands. No person of sentiment and candour can reflect upon the pride and obstinacy of those plebeians, without indignation.

§ LI. While the king and the two houses were engaged in this negotiation, the officers of the army endeavoured to start new obstacles to a pacification. The king's party having surprised the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, colonel Rainsborough was sent to besiege the place, and lost his life in a struggle with a

party of the garrison, which endeavoured to carry him off by stratagem. He was a desperate tool of Cromwell, who therefore resolved to revenge his death, and invested the castle with some of the troops from Scotland. In the mean time, he sent a strong detachment forwards to join Fairfax, whose head-quarters were at Windsor. The officers thus reinforced, drew up a remonstrance, and presented it to parliament. They demanded, that the king should be brought to justice, as the author of all the bloodshed and evils with which the kingdom had been afflicted: that the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be proclaimed traitors, and banished for ever, unless they should submit within a certain limited time: that the revenues of the crown should be sequestered for public uses: that a continual succession of parliaments should be secured on some settled plan: that, for the future, no king should be owned but by the election of parliament, and after the person so elected should have expressly renounced his negative voice against the resolutions of the commons. Addresses of the same kind were received from a number of the inhabitants and shipmasters of London, from the neighbourhood of Oxford, the town of Newcastle, the county of York, and different bodies of the army. The general recalled Hammond, and sent colonel Eure to take the king into close custody. The commons complained of this change, and ordered the general to continue Hammond in his command; but, instead of obeying their mandate, he directed Eure to remove his majesty to the castle of Hurst in Hampshire, opposite to the Isle of Wight. He justified this step by a declaration, in which the army taxed the majority of the members with corruption, and exhorted those who had good intentions, to protest against the resolutions of the two houses, and retire; in which case, the army would acknowledge and obey them as the legal parliament.

§ LII. On the first day of December, the general wrote a letter to the city of London, intimating that he was on his march for that capital, on account of the contempt with which the parliament had treated the remonstrance. He protested he had no sinister design against the city; but, desired the magistrates would supply him with forty thousand pounds sterling, in eight and forty hours. The commons assented to the request, though the money was not sent; and the general was intreated to advance no nearer to London. While the house was employed in examining the king's offers, the general arrived with several regiments, and took possession of Westminster. On the fourth day of the month, the house of commons receiving intelligence that the king was conveyed to Hurst-castle, voted, That his majesty had been removed without their consent: then they resolved, That the king's concessions might serve as a foundation for peace. After this vote, they appointed a committee to treat with the general, about restoring a good understanding between the parliament and the army. On the sixth day of the month, Fairfax dismissed the militia of London, which for several months had served as a guard to the two houses; and ordered his soldiers to take possession of the avenues to Westminster-hall. Forty-one members going to the lower house, did they arrest, and confine in a neighbouring house; and when the speaker sent thither the serjeant to summon those members to their places, the officer who guarded them, told him he knew no orders superior to those he obeyed. Colonel Whalley, accompanied by several officers, repaired to the house of commons, and presented a writing, intituled,

“Propositions

Rushworth.

Clarendon.

"Propositions and demands of the army for its justification." They charged the invasion of the Scots, and all the obstacles which had hindered the re-establishment of peace, upon major-general Brown, and ninety members of the house, whom they named, and whose immediate expulsion they demanded. On the seventh day of December, the commons, in going to the house, found a strong guard on both sides of the door, by which those ninety members were denied admittance.

§ LIII. The presbyterians being thus excluded, the house became wholly independent; and Cromwell taking his seat, was thanked for his great services. The general detached three regiments into the city, and seized twenty thousand pounds belonging to the merchants. The excluded members having published a protestation against the violence they had undergone, the two houses declared it scandalous and seditious; then they ordained, that in the ensuing election for the magistracy of London, no person should be chosen mayor, or common-council man, who had assisted the king against the parliament, either in the first or second war; who had countenanced the tumults in London and Westminster, or the insurrections in Kent, Essex, Middlesex, or Surry. On the twentieth day of December, the general released sixteen of the imprisoned members, who were allowed to resume their places in parliament. The small number of peers who sat in the upper house, unable to stem the torrent, thought proper to acquiesce in the measures of the victorious party. Petitions were now presented against the king, by the soldiers of Lambert's army, and the counties of Somerset and Norfolk; and the fleet under the earl of Warwick sent a declaration, in which it concurred with the army's remonstrance.

§ LIV. At length, this bold remnant of the house of commons, presumed to form a resolution which far transcended all former acts of treason and fanaticism. They appointed a committee to draw up a formal accusation or impeachment of his majesty. Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor. On the road he was permitted to dine at the house of lord Newburgh, who had previously contrived a scheme for his escape, by means of a fleet courser provided for that purpose; but, before the king arrived the beast was lamed by the kick of another horse. The duke of Hamilton, who was confined at Windsor, being admitted into the presence of his sovereign, ran towards him with all the eagerness of affection, and fell upon his knees, exclaiming, "My dear master!" The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you." The king was instantly hurried away, and the duke weeping bitterly, foretold that this was the last time he should see his persecuted prince. Such was the fortitude and resignation of Charles, that all his own misfortunes never cost him one tear; but, he could not see unmoved, the ruin of his adherents. Immediately after the deplorable fate of the gallant Sir Charles Lucas, a relation of that gentleman appearing before the king, in a mourning habit, his majesty recollected the occasion, and shed a flood of tears as a tribute to the memory of the deceased. When Charles arrived at Windsor, the council of war ordained, that he should be no longer treated as a sovereign. All ceremony was laid aside: he saw himself deprived of his servants, and exposed to every insult of contemptuous familiarity. These were severe mortifications, which, however, he bore without repining.

pinning. He could not believe his adversaries would presume to bring him to a formal trial; but, for some time, he nightly expected the private stroke of assassination, until he was undeceived by Harrison, who assured him, that his fate would be as public as the sun at noon.

§ LV. On the twenty-eighth day of December, the commons having considered the report of their committee, passed an act for erecting a high-court of justice, empowered to try the king, by the name of Charles Stuart, for having formed the detestable design to overthrow the fundamental laws and liberties of the nation, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government: for having waged a cruel war upon his parliament, by which the kingdom had been miserably ravaged, the public treasure exhausted, commerce intirely ruined, many thousands of people destroyed, and an infinite number of evils produced. Thomas lord Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, Philip Skippon, and other persons, to the number of one hundred and forty-five, were appointed commissioners and judges, on this surprising trial. The ordinance for impeaching the king being sent to the upper house, was unanimously rejected by sixteen peers, who instantly adjourned for ten days: the lower house immediately voted, That the members of their house, and the other commissioners nominated as judges on the king, might execute the commission, although the lords had rejected the ordinance. At the same time, they erased from the commission, the names of six peers who had been appointed among the judges, and inserted others. Among these was Bradshaw, a practitioner of the law, whom they afterwards elected president of their high-court of justice. This measure being taken, they voted, That the sovereign power resided originally in the people: That the authority of the nation was in the hands of the commons of England, assembled in parliament as representatives of the people: and, That whatsoever the commons declared to be law, had the force of a statute, without the assent of king or peers. From the sixth to the twentieth day of January, the time was employed in making preparations for this astonishing trial, which passed in Westminster-hall. On the sixth day of January, the Scottish commissioners resident at London, in a letter to parliament, pressed for unity of councils and actions between the two nations, according to the covenant; and desired that the house would not proceed to try the king until the opinion of Scotland should be known.

§ LVI. Coke being chosen solicitor-general for the trial, and Dorislaus and Aske appointed to assist in managing and drawing up the charge against the king, the court of justice heard the charge, and appointed a committee to peruse the proofs. On the first day of the trial, the crier of the court called over the names of the commissioners; and nobody answering for lord Fairfax, his name was repeated, when a female voice from the gallery exclaimed, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read "In the name of all the good people of England," "No, (replied the same voice in a shriller tone) nor the twentieth part of them." One of the officers ordered a file of musqueteers to fire at the place from whence this answer proceeded; but, they soon discovered that the person who spoke was the lady Fairfax, whom they persuaded to retire. The king being brought from Windsor to St. James's, was next day produced before the high-court in Westminster-hall, having been guarded thither by colonel Hacker, and about thirty officers armed with partizans.

zans. He was met at the gate by the mace of the court, and conducted to a chair placed within the bar, on which he sat down without moving his hat, and, with an air of dignified disdain surveyed the members of the court, who were likewise covered. The president Bradshaw gave him to understand, he was brought thither to be tried, upon a charge against him by the commons of England. His majesty made a motion to speak, but was interrupted. When he heard the charge, accusing him as author of all the blood that had been shed during the war, he smiled at their insolence; and demanded by what authority he was brought to such a trial? Bradshaw replying, "In the name of the commons of England;" he observed, that without the king and the lords, there could be no parliament; that the kingdom of England was hereditary; and, that without being convinced of their having lawful authority, he should betray his trust in answering the articles of his impeachment. Having been summoned to answer several times, and refusing as often, he was remanded to St. James's; and the court adjourned. On the twenty-second day of January, the Scottish commissioners delivered some papers to the house, declaring, That Scotland had an undoubted interest in the person of the king: That he was not delivered to the English commissioners at Newcastle for the ruin of his person; but for a speedier settlement of the peace of his kingdom. They dissented extremely from the present way of proceeding against him, which, they said, left a deep impression on their hearts, and sat heavy on their spirits, in regard of the great miseries that were like to ensue upon the kingdoms; and they moved for leave of the house, to make their personal addresses to his majesty: papers of the same nature they likewise presented to the lord-general. At the second sitting of the high-court, the president required the king to answer to the charge of high-treason which had been brought against him. His majesty again demurred to the legality of the court; observed, that the commons of England never constituted a court of judicature; challenged Bradshaw to produce one precedent; and offered to give his reasons for conceiving, that he could not, in conscience and duty, submit to their authority. But, he was interrupted by the president, and reconveyed to his lodgings. At his third appearance, he continued firm to his purpose; refused to put in any particular answer until he should be convinced that their proceedings were not contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom: he told them they had made their king a prisoner, while he was in treaty, on the public faith of the kingdom: and, that he was willing to give satisfaction to his people; but, not as a criminal before a court of judicature, which could have no legal authority. He underwent divers interruptions and insolent replies from Bradshaw, and was conducted to the house of Sir Robert Cotton in the neighbourhood, where he spent the night.

§ LVII. Their next step was to publish the charge against his majesty. On the twenty-seventh day of the month, the high-court sat in Westminster-hall; and the king in going thither was insulted by the soldiers, and the lowest class of the populace, who exclaimed, "Justice, justice! execution, execution!" He appeared undaunted as before, with his hat on; and desired, that as he had something to say that might nearly concern the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, he might be heard before the lords and commons in the Painted-chamber. His judges withdrew into the court of wards, where many members

members of their court were of opinion that they should comply with the king's desire. When they were over-ruled by the majority, colonel Harvey and some others went away in discontent, and would never afterwards sit with the rest of the commissioners. The king's proposal being rejected, he declared he had nothing else to say. Had he been indulged in this request, it was thought he would have proposed a resignation of the crown in favour of the prince of Wales. The president now expatiated upon his misgovernment; and endeavoured to prove by argument, and instances from history, that kings were accountable to their people. Then he commanded the clerk to read the sentence, reciting the charge of treasons and crimes, for which the court did adjudge, That he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traytor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by severing his head from his body. He discovered no signs of emotion at this unheard-of outrage against justice, humanity, and decorum; but, again desired a hearing, which was refused. In walking through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble, instigated by their superiors, renewed the cry of "Justice and execution." They reviled and scoffed at him in the most bitter and taunting expressions: they blew into his face the smoke of tobacco, which was particularly offensive to his organs; and one miscreant even presumed to spit in the face of his anointed sovereign. These insults he bore with the patience and piety of a primitive martyr. He smiled at their rancour: "Poor souls! (said he) for a little money they would treat their commanders in the same manner:" and he poured forth ejaculations to heaven in favour of his adversaries. Those of the populace who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. A soldier melting at the sight of fallen majesty, could not help imploring aloud, the blessing of heaven upon his royal head. An officer overhearing his petition, struck him to the ground in presence of the hapless monarch, who said, "The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence." At his return to Whitehall, he desired permission of the house to see his children, and be attended in his private devotion by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London; and both these requests were granted, though he was exposed to the impertinent exhortations of Hugh Peters the furious fanatical preacher.

§ LVIII. The design of trying a king as a malefactor before a court of judicature, constituted of his own subjects, was looked upon with horror by every nation on the continent. Though the French ministry was distracted, and that kingdom involved in a civil war, their ambassador in England was ordered to interpose in the king's behalf. The Dutch also employed their good offices, though in a very cold, phlegmatic manner. The Scots exclaimed, preached, and protested, against the violence offered to majesty. Pathetic letters were written to the parliament by the queen and the prince of Wales. The duke of Richmond, the earls of Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsey, presented a remonstrance to the commons, importing, that as they were the king's counsellors, and had advised all those measures now imputed as crimes to their sovereign, they only were guilty; and offered themselves as sacrifices to the safety of their prince. This generous interposition in favour of their hapless master, which reflects eternal honour on their names, produced no effect upon the commons; and the high-court of justice appointed the thirtieth day of January, for the king's execution.

§ LIX. Dur-

§ LIX. During this short interval of three days between his sentence and his death, he had a very tender interview with his two hapless children, the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, who were brought to him from Sion house. This last was an infant; but the princess, though a child, expressed a deep sense of the misfortunes to which her family was exposed. The fond parent now wept over his orphan offspring, while he clasped them in his paternal embrace. He enriched his daughter with sensible advice and pious exhortations. He charged her to tell the queen, that he had never, not even in thought, swerved from his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal affection should not terminate but with his life. He gave her two seals adorned with jewels, the only wealth that now remained to this ill-fated monarch. He implored heaven to shower down blessings on these forlorn babes and the rest of his children; and, taking leave of them in the most affecting manner, resigned himself to his fate. This last struggle of nature being passed, he prepared himself for death with the most serene tranquillity. The greatness of this dreadful transaction overwhelmed the people with fear and astonishment: they waited in silent horror, as if they expected the dissolution of nature. The fanaticism of the soldiers was wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiastic frenzy by sermons, exhortations, and prayer. Fairfax, who exerted all his influence to avert the execution of the sentence, was plyed with this religious artifice: Cromwell and Ireton assured him that the Lord had rejected the king; and exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from heaven. Harrison was employed to join with him in his exercises of devotion, which he prolonged in prayer, psalms, and lamentations, until the fatal stroke was over.

§ LX. The warrant for executing the king was now granted by the high court of justice, and pious Charles longed for his deliverance. On the thirtieth day of January he was conducted on foot through St. James's park to Whitehall, accompanied by doctor Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot, under the command of colonel Tomlinson. He had taken the sacrament in the morning. He continued at his devotion in Whitehall till noon, when he drank a glass of wine, and ate a morsel of bread. Then he went through the Banqueting-House to the scaffold erected adjoining to that edifice. It was covered with black cloth: on the middle of it appeared the block and ax, with two executioners in vizors; several troops of horse and companies of foot were drawn up on each side, and the place was surrounded by a multitude of spectators. The king eyed the implements of death with great composure, and asked if there was not a higher block. Then, addressing himself to colonels Tomlinson, Hacker, and some other persons who were on the scaffold, he declared himself innocent of having commenced the war against his parliament. He owned that his fate was a just judgment from heaven, for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his successor as their lawful sovereign; and signified his inviolable attachment to the protestant religion, as professed in the church of England. While he prepared himself for the block, doctor Juxon told him, there was but one stage more; which, though troublesome, was short, and would convey him to heaven, where he should find ineffable joy and comfort. "I go (said the king) from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance

Ludlow.
Rushworth,
Whitelock.
Clarendon.

"can be." "You are exchanged (replied the good bishop) from a temporal to an eternal crown; a good exchange." Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his george to the prelate, pronouncing the word, "Remember." Then he laid his neck upon the block, and stretched forth his hands as a signal. One of the men in vizors severed his head from his body at one blow; and the other, holding it up streaming with blood, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." The spectators testified their sorrow in sighs, tears, and lamentations; and great numbers attempted to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of this murdered prince, which they considered as the precious relics of a blessed martyr. Such were the impressions of grief and horror made by this melancholy spectacle, that some pregnant women lost the fruit of their wombs; others were seized with convulsions; and many fell into violent distempers that conveyed them to their graves. The very pulpits, that used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with the tears of real sorrow and contrition; and the people, in general, conceived an abhorrence and detestation of those execrable hypocrites, who, under the mask of sanctity, performed a deed, which hath fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the nation*. The body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to an apartment in Whitehall; then embalmed, and exposed for several days at the palace of St. James's. At length, the duke of Richmond, the marquiss of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lind-

* That the people in general were afflicted and incensed at the execution of the king, appeared from the eagerness with which they bought up the first impression of the work, intitled, *Icon Basilike*, a collection of the prayers and meditations of the king in the exercise of his private devotion and reflection. The style of this book is strong, elegant, and perspicuous; and it abounds with such manly sentiments of piety and good-sense, as reflect unfading honour upon the memory of the royal author. His enemies, not contented with having deprived him of life, endeavoured to rob him of the reputation of having written this performance, which they ascribed to Dr. Gawden; but the *Icon* is so much superior in style, matter, and composition, to all the other productions of this author, that every reader of discernment must perceive the absurdity of the imputation. Charles was very liberal to the celebrated Flemish painter, Sir Peter-Paul Rubens, by whose advice he purchased the cartoons of Raphael, which are now in the palace of Hampton-court; together with many excellent pieces of painting from foreign countries. He likewise carested Vandyke, who was the pupil of Rubens, and even bestowed upon him his own kinswoman in marriage. His architect was the famous Inigo Jones, an artist who far surpassed all his contemporaries, and left many monuments of his inimitable genius, that still remain in England. Laws,

the musician, was a particular favourite with Charles, who used to call him the father of music. He bestowed particular marks of favour upon the renowned Harvey, who, to the eternal honour of the English nation, discovered the circulation of the blood, from his own sagacity assisted by experiments. It must be allowed that this prince was a judge of literary merit, and yet he seems to have been void of taste for poetry and the drama. Sir John Suckling was the only poet that enjoyed any degree of countenance in the court of Charles; and that he owed not so much to his poetical talents, as to his family and connexions. He entirely overlooked the merit of Ben Johnson, until he was reduced to extreme poverty in his old age; and then the king sent him ten pounds in charity. Ben was shocked at the pitiful present, which, however, his necessities obliged him to receive; but he could not help giving way to the dictates of his spleen. "The king (said he to the messenger) sends me ten pounds, because he hears "I lodge in a blind alley; but, from the narrowness of his bounty, I perceive his soul "lodges in a blind alley." Charles, considering the narrowness of his revenue, lived with great magnificence, and possessed four and twenty palaces, elegantly and completely furnished. All his furniture was sold, and great part of his pictures and rich tapestry were purchased by cardinal Mazarine at low prices.

sey,

fey, obtained permission to bury it in the church of Windsor; where it was privately interred, without any funeral ceremony †.

§ LXI. Such was the unworthy and unexampled fate of Charles I. king of England, who fell a sacrifice to the most atrocious insolence of treason, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was a prince of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His hair was of a dark colour, his forehead high, his complexion pale, his visage long, and his aspect melancholy. He excelled in riding and other manly exercises: he inherited a good understanding from nature, and had cultivated it with great assiduity. His perception was clear and acute, his judgment solid and decisive; he possessed a refined taste for the liberal arts, and was a munificent patron to those who excelled in painting, sculpture, music, and architecture. In his private morals he was altogether unblemished and exemplary. He was merciful, modest, chaste, temperate, religious, personally brave; and we may join the noble historian in saying, "He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best christian of the age in which he lived." He had the misfortune to be bred up in high notions of the prerogative, which he thought his honour and his duty obliged him to maintain. He lived at a time when the spirit of the people became too mighty for those restraints which the regal power derived from the constitution; and when the tide of fanaticism began to overbear the religion of his country, to which he was conscientiously devoted. He suffered himself to be guided by counsellors who were not only inferior to himself in knowledge and judgment; but generally proud, partial, and inflexible: and, from an excess of conjugal affection that bordered upon weakness, he paid too much deference to the advice and desires of his consort, who was superstitiously attached to the errors of popery, and importuned him incessantly in favour of the Roman catholics. Such were the sources of all that misgovernment which was imputed to him during the first fifteen years of his reign. From the beginning of the civil war to his fatal catastrophe, his conduct seems to have been unexceptionable. His infirmities and imperfections have been candidly owned in the course of the narration. He was not very liberal to his dependents; his conversation was not easy, nor his address pleasing; yet the probity of his heart, and the innocence of his manners, won the affection of all who attended his person, not even excepting those who had the charge of his confinement. In a word, he certainly deserved the epithet of a virtuous prince, though he wanted some of those shining qualities which constitute the character of a great monarch.

† Charles, by his queen Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, had four sons and five daughters; namely, Charles-James, who died in the cradle; Charles prince of Wales, by whom he was succeeded; James duke of York, Henry duke of Gloucester, who died after the restoration; Mary, who espoused William of Nassau, prince of Orange, by whom she was left a widow; Elizabeth, confined by the regicides in Carisbrook castle, where she died of grief; Anne, and Katherine, who died in their infancy; and Henrietta-Maria, who was carried in her infancy by the countess of Dalkeith into France, where

she married Philip duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV.

Carte.

During the peaceable period of this reign, the commerce of England increased considerably, to the East-Indies, Guinea, Spain, and Turkey. The colony of New-England became populous; for, great numbers of puritans fled thither in consequence of being severely treated by Laud and the high-church party. The catholics, afterwards, in order to avoid the same kind of persecution from the puritans, resorted to America, and settled the colony of Maryland.

C H A P. VI.

§ I. The parliament choose a council of state. § II. Execution of the duke of Hamilton and lord Capel. § III. The members of the house sign the engagement. § IV. Charles II. resolves to try his fortune in Ireland. § V. He is proclaimed in Scotland; but declines complying with their proposals. § VI. Dr. Dorislaus is assassinated at the Hague by some Scottish officers. § VII. Insurrection in Scotland. § VIII. Mutiny of the levellers at Burford. § IX. The marquis of Ormond is obliged to raise the siege of Dublin. The king retires to Jersey. § X. He agrees to treat with the Scots. § XI. Their propositions at Breda. § XII. Montrose arrives in Scotland. § XIII. He is defeated and taken. § XIV. Condemned and executed. § XV. The king lands in Scotland. § XVI. Rapid progress of Cromwell in Ireland; from whence he is recalled, and declared general of the forces of the commonwealth. § XVII. The Scots raise an army. § XVIII. Cromwell marches into Scotland. § XIX. Defeats the Scots at Dunbar. § XX. Great animosity in Scotland between the resolutioners and protesters. § XXI. The king attempts to escape from the marquis of Argyle. § XXII. He is crowned at Scone. § XXIII. Lambert, with a detachment of the English army, routs major-general Brown in Fife. § XXIV. The king marches into England, and is followed by Cromwell. § XXV. The earl of Derby defeated by colonel Lilburne. § XXVI. The king takes post at Worcester. § XXVII. Where he is totally routed by Cromwell. § XXVIII. Charles conceals himself among the boughs of a spreading oak. Is conducted to a cottage, and lies in a barn. § XXIX. Undergoes surprising hardships. § XXX. Is cordially received by Mr. Lane of Staffordshire; and rides before that gentleman's daughter to the neighbourhood of Bristol. § XXXI. Finds a safe retreat in the house of colonel Francis Wyndham. Is in imminent danger of being discovered near Lyme in Dorsetshire. § XXXII. Embarks at Brightbelmstead, and lands in Normandy. § XXXIII. The earl of Derby is beheaded. § XXXIV. Scotland is incorporated with England. § XXXV. Prince Rupert sails to the West-Indies; and Ireland is totally reduced. § XXXVI. Motives for a war with the Dutch. § XXXVII. The States-General send ambassadors to London. § XXXVIII. Sea-engagement in the Downs between admiral Blake and Van Tromp. § XXXIX. Declaration of war between the two republics. § XL. A drawn battle off Plymouth between Sir George Ayscue and De Ruyter. § XLI. Blake is worsted at the back of the Goodwin Sands by Van Tromp and De Ruyter. § XLII. These are defeated, after a desperate engagement with the English fleet, commanded by Monk and Deane. § XLIII. Cromwell resolves to make himself absolute. § XLIV. He dissolves the parliament by force. § XLV. Account of Oliver. § XLVI. Aims of different parties. § XLVII. He convokes the Barebone parliament. § XLVIII. A sea-engagement off the coast of Flanders, in which the English have the advantage. § XLIX. Another more desperate off the Texel, in which Van Tromp is slain, and the Dutch fleet defeated. § L. Negotiation with the Dutch. § LI. The parliament surrender their power to Cromwell. § LII. Who is chosen protector.

§ I.

§ I. **A**FTER Charles I. had fallen a martyr to a bold and unrelenting faction, the commons published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of incurring the penalty of high treason, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, eldest son of the late king, as sovereign of England. They likewise voted the house of lords, useless and dangerous. It was therefore abolished, and all the peers reduced to a level with their fellow-subjects. They afterwards passed an act, abolishing the kingly power, as useless, burthensome, and dangerous; and decreed, that the state should be governed by the representatives of the people, sitting in the house of commons, under the form of a republic. On their new great seal were engraved the arms of England and Ireland, circumscribed "The great seal of England:" the other side represented the house of commons, surrounded with this inscription, "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." It was committed to the charge of a certain number of persons, intitled, The Conservators of the liberty of England; and all public orders were expedited in their names, under the direction of parliament. Thirty-nine persons were chosen as a council of state for the administration of public affairs, under the authority of parliament. Another high court of justice was erected, to try some noblemen who remained in custody; and Bradshaw was again elected president. An.Ch. 1649.

§ II. The persons devoted to death under this form of justice, were the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring whom the king had created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, accused of having carried arms against the parliament. The duke of Hamilton had made his escape, and was discovered by accident in the Borough of Southwark, from whence he was conveyed to the Tower. At his trial, he pleaded, that he was not a subject of England; but a prisoner of war, taken in open hostility, acting by virtue of a commission from the parliament of his own country. The judge told him he was tried as earl of Cambridge; and that having accepted this title, and sat in the English parliament, he was become a subject of England. The earl of Holland, being oppressed with age and infirmities, made very little defence. The earl of Norwich said he had been bred from his youth in the court, and received many obligations from his majesty, whom he thought it was his duty to obey. Lord Capel refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court; he claimed a fair trial by his peers, if he had done any thing contrary to the laws. He affirmed, that when Colchester was taken, general Fairfax had promised that his life should be spared: but this promise was overruled, upon the general's declaring he had only exempted the prisoner from military execution. Sir John Owen said he had served the king according to his conscience, and the oath of allegiance he had taken. They were all convicted, and condemned to lose their heads. Sir John Owen hearing the sentence, thanked the court, with a profound reverence, for adjudging him to such an honourable death; and swore, by God! he was afraid they would have ordered him to be hanged like a felon. Their friends petitioned the parliament in their behalf; and the earl of Norwich, with Sir John Owen, were reprieved. The duke, when he mounted the scaffold, complained bitterly of the sentence, by which he suffered death for obeying orders which he could not have rejected, without incurring the penalty of high treason. This nobleman

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Baker.
Clarendon.

is represented by historians as a dissembling temporiser, who was never hearty in the king's affairs; but, from the tenour of his conduct, he seems to have been rather diffident and irresolute, than lukewarm or perfidious; and, in all probability, his chief aim was to moderate the mutual animosity by which the two parties of his own country were inflamed. Lord Capel behaved in his last moments with great dignity and resolution. He, in a speech to the people, extolled the virtues of their murdered sovereign, and exhorted them to acknowledge his son the prince of Wales, whom he recommended as a prince of genius, courage, and piety. This nobleman died a shining example of worth, valour, and fidelity. Divers other unfortunate royalists were executed in different parts of the kingdom; and, among the rest, Poyer, who, with Powel and Langhorn, had raised an insurrection in Wales for the king's service.

§ III. The commons finding themselves exposed to the ridicule and reproach of the nation, from their scanty number, resolved that all the excluded members might resume their places, on condition they would sign a writing called "The Engagement," renouncing all the concessions made by the late king in the treaty of Newport, approving the proceedings against him, and obliging themselves to be faithful to the republic, and the administration established under the house of commons, without king or peers. By this expedient they excluded all those who were known enemies to the independents, or secret friends to the royal cause.

§ IV. The prince of Wales, now in the eighteenth year of his age, resided at the Hague, where he received the melancholy tidings of his father's death. He forthwith assumed the title of king; and all those who attended him, and had been members of his father's council, were now continued as counsellors, and took the oath accordingly. He subsisted entirely on the friendship and bounty of his brother-in-law the prince of Orange; but he soon saw himself in danger of being cut off from that resource. The states of Holland, foreseeing that the parliament would insist upon their obliging him to leave their dominions, were inclined to anticipate the demand; and the king being informed of their inclination, resolved to prevent the disgrace of a dismissal: but he knew not where to find a retreat. In his father's life-time, he had met with an inhospitable reception in France; and he was too well acquainted with the disposition of the queen-regent and the cardinal, to believe they would now prefer his friendship to that of the new republic: besides, he could not relish the prospect of living with a mother who had endeavoured already to direct his conduct with the most despotic authority. In this emergency Charles fixed his eye upon Ireland. The pope's nuncio had rendered himself so odious to the catholics of that kingdom, that he was obliged to retire. The marquis of Ormond having concluded a second treaty with the council of Kilkenny, took the command of their forces, with which he wrested Dundalk, Newry, Trim, and Drogheda, from the hands of the parliament of England, and resolved to undertake the siege of Dublin. Prince Rupert, who now commanded the king's fleet, had been chased by a superior navy under the earl of Warwick, and retired to the harbour of Kingsale, where he lay in safety, and was able to favour the operations of the marquis. Thither Charles resolved to retire, when his design was suspended, in consequence of the intelligence he received from Scotland.

§ V.

§ V. The parliament in that kingdom had disavowed the proceedings against the late king; and in high terms taxed the English parliament with a violation of the covenant, inasmuch that their commissioners were arrested, and for some time detained in custody. The Scots hated the independents, whom they considered as implacable enemies to their nation, as well as to the presbyterian discipline; and they dreaded the thoughts of a republican government, settled upon the principles which the English parliament seemed to pursue. Their states therefore being assembled, issued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary sovereign, on condition that, before his admission to the exercise of the regal functions, he should give proper satisfaction to the kingdom, touching the security of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland, according to the national and solemn league and covenant. Deputies were sent to inform the king of this transaction; and they reached the Hague just at the time when the earls of Lanerk and Lauderdale arrived in Holland. In a few days after their landing, the king was visited by the marquis of Montrose, who had formerly paid his respects to the queen and Charles, then prince of Wales, at Paris, where they received him very coldly, because they were afraid of disobliging the covenanters, by whom the marquis was abhorred. After that interview, Montrose engaged in the service of the emperor; but hearing of his master's martyrdom, he now repaired to the Hague, with a numerous retinue of gentlemen, who followed his fortunes, and made a tender of his service to his young sovereign: so that now the king was besieged by three parties of the Scottish nation, who hated one another; namely, the rigid covenanters, patronized by Argyle; the moderate presbyterians, who adhered to duke Hamilton; and the royalists, headed by Montrose. The king had no great reason to be rejoiced at the news of his being proclaimed, under such restrictions. He was displeased at their insolence, in presuming to capitulate with their sovereign: he remembered that the ruin of his father was entirely owing to the Scottish presbyterians: he had no great opinion of their power and unanimity: he detested their hypocrisy, was averse to their austere manners, and waved their invitation. Instead of subscribing to their conditions, he persisted in his design to visit Ireland; and in the mean time granted a commission to Montrose to make a descent upon Scotland.

§ VI. Charles, in consequence of his mother's importunities, resolved to visit her before his voyage to Ireland. He was the more inclined to gratify her in this request, as he perceived the states-general were heartily tired of his residing in Holland: besides, his departure was hastened by an incident which gave great umbrage to the Dutch nation. Dr. Dorislaus, a native of Delft, who had lived many years in England, and been employed as judge-advocate in the parliament's army, was now sent over to the Hague, in quality of agent from the two houses. On the very evening of his arrival, as he sat at supper in a public ordinary, five or six strangers entering the apartment, with their swords drawn, one of them desired the company would be under no apprehension, as their business was only with Dorislaus, agent to the rebels in England, who had so lately murdered their sovereign. So saying, he pulled him aside, and killed him on the spot. The assassin and his confederates retired unmolested: but they were known to be Scottish officers depending upon the marquis.

quis of Montrose. The states did not fail to complain of this outrage; but they behaved with great respect to the king, and proceeded so slowly in their inquisition, that the offenders had time to consult their own safety.

§ VII. Charles, in order to avert the disgrace of a formal intimation to be gone, desired an audience of the states of Holland, to whom he explained the nature of his situation, with regard to Scotland and Ireland, and craved their advice and assistance. After this instance of his confidence and esteem, they could not with any decency desire him to withdraw, especially as he had signified his resolution to visit Ireland with the first opportunity. Mean while, he appointed the lord Cottington, and Mr. Hyde chancellor of the exchequer, his ambassadors and plenipotentiaries to the court of Madrid, to solicit succours from his most catholic majesty. His friends in Scotland understanding he was averse to the conditions which the parliament wanted to impose, determined to excite an insurrection; and, if it should be crowned with success, receive him upon his own terms. Colonel Middleton and Monro, with the assistance of the Gordons, levied some troops, and surprised Inverness; but they were soon dispersed by the vigilance and activity of Strachan, an officer employed against them by the parliament.

Clarendon.

Baker.

§ VIII. The face of affairs in Ireland underwent such an alteration as rendered it impracticable for the king to go thither with any prospect of advantage. The English house of commons was now at leisure to provide for the security of that kingdom. They were alarmed at the union of the royalists and the Irish Roman catholics: they voted a strong army for that service, and Cromwell was appointed lord lieutenant of the kingdom. The levellers, incensed at finding themselves treated as mutineers, and sowers of sedition; after they had acted such a considerable part in reducing the presbyterians, began to assemble, on pretence of deliberating upon the choice of the troops to serve in Ireland; and actually took post at Burford, to the number of five thousand, pretending Cromwell had promised that no part of the army should approach within ten miles of their rendezvous: but Reynolds, by the direction of Fairfax, fell upon them suddenly, at the head of six thousand men, and they were totally routed. About fourteen hundred he made prisoners and sent to London: a few of these were executed, and the rest pardoned through the mediation of Cromwell.

§ IX. While Oliver was employed in preparing his forces for the Irish expedition, the marquis of Ormond undertook the siege of Dublin: but hearing that Cromwell intended to land his troops in Munster, he detached lord Inchiquin to that province to oppose him, and began to form the blockade of Dublin, though his army was now considerably weakened. Cromwell had sent thither a reinforcement of three thousand men; and colonel Jones the governor being thus strengthened, would no longer remain upon the defensive. He made a sally with the best part of his garrison, and charged the quarters of the besiegers at day-break with such fury, that Ormond's army fled with great precipitation; he himself escaping with difficulty, after he had made a gallant stand with a body of officers. Cromwell being informed of this action, changed his design; and, instead of landing in Munster, sailed directly to Dublin, where he arrived in the middle of August. Then the marquis retired with the wreck of his army to a greater distance, after having thrown into

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Tredagh a numerous garrison, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston. About the same time the royalists were obliged to raise the siege of Londonderry, in consequence of a defeat they sustained in a sally from Sir Charles Coot the governor. These unfavourable events deterred the king from prosecuting his purpose of repairing to Ireland: but, as he found his situation at Paris very uncomfortable, both on account of his mother's temper, and the mortifying neglect of the French court, he retired with his brother the duke of York, and his little court, to the island of Jersey, where Sir George Carteret the governor still preserved his fidelity inviolate.

Clarendon;

§ X. The committee of the Scottish parliament, which had received no definitive answer from Charles, dispatched George Windram to the king, with proposals for his settlement in Scotland, according to a treaty to be concluded between him and the states; but they protested they would not begin the negotiation, until he should have acknowledged the legality of the present parliament. Before Windram reached Jersey, the king had received the account of Ormond's defeat, and Cromwell's progress in Ireland, where he had taken Tredagh by assault, and put the garrison and Irish inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. Charles was moreover importuned by the queen and the prince of Orange, to listen to the Scottish proposals; so that Windram found him extremely well disposed to a treaty. Not that he would have condescended so far, could he have found any other resource; for, after he had assured Windram that he would meet the Scottish commissioners at Breda, in the month of March, he wrote a letter to Montrose, to hasten his preparations for a descent upon Scotland, in hope that his success would spare him the mortification of treating with those whom he considered as the worst of rebels. When Windram returned to his own country, the parliament, and general assembly of the kirk, influenced by the marquis of Argyle, concurred in preparing a set of propositions, and appointed deputies to open the conferences at Breda.

Whitelock;

Bate.

An.Ch. 1650.

§ XI. They met the king at the appointed time and place, and presented him with four articles of peace, from which they would not recede. They demanded that none of those who had been excommunicated by the kirk, should have access to his majesty: That he would declare upon oath, and by writing signed with his privy-seal, his approbation of the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant of the two kingdoms, and fulfil the intention of them to the best of his power: That he would confirm and ratify the acts of parliament enjoining the subscription of those covenants, establishing the presbyterian church-government, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechism: That he would practise them himself; give order that they should be practised by his domestics; and promise that he would never allow them to be changed: finally, That all civil concerns should be regulated by the parliament, and all ecclesiastical affairs by the general assembly. Charles did not receive these proposals without indignation, which, however, he carefully disguised, because he was in no condition to manifest his resentment. He signified his aversion to take the covenant, which indeed he detested: he offered to confirm the presbyterian discipline in Scotland, by act of parliament; but, with respect to his own person, he thought it unreasonable to expect that he should renounce the religion in which he had been educated. He desired to know if they

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had power to relax in any demand, or to treat about the assistance he might expect from the Scots, towards his being restored to the crown of England. They owned they had no such powers; and that he had no other alternative but that of accepting or rejecting their propositions.

§ XII. Shocked as he was, at this insolent imposition, he found it absolutely necessary to temporize, and protracted the negotiation, until he should hear from Montrose, upon whose success all his hopes were founded. That heroic nobleman having been supplied with money by the king of Denmark, and some private gentlemen of his own country, who were settled in that kingdom, and in Sweden, purchased some arms and ammunition, which, with about five hundred soldiers, he transported to the most northern parts of Scotland, at the very time when the commissioners were at Breda. He surprised a castle, in which he secured his military stores, summoned his friends to join him, and published a manifesto, representing, that he was come by virtue of his majesty's commission, to protect his fellow-subjects, without any intention to interrupt the negotiation at Breda. On the contrary, he hoped to facilitate the conclusion of it, by means of his army; and should it be crowned with success, he would immediately lay down his arms.

§ XIII. The parliament at Edinburgh was exceedingly irritated against the king, for having, at such a conjuncture, granted a commission to a person who was alike the object of their terror and abhorrence, degraded and forfeited by their court of justiciary, and excommunicated by their clergy. They perceived the king's drift was to make his own terms. They forthwith assembled an army, under the command of David Lesley: and, in the mean time, detached Strachan northwards, with a body of horse, to keep the country in awe, and hinder the royalists from joining Montrose. The marquis had no cavalry, and very few partisans repaired to his standard; so that he neither could procure intelligence of the enemy, nor withstand them when they suddenly appeared. The highlanders fled at the first charge; but the foreigners made a vigorous stand for some time, and the marquis fought with his usual intrepidity: at length, however, they were broken and dispersed. Montrose himself being obliged to provide for his safety in flight, threw away his george and garter, and exchanging apparel with a peasant, repaired in this disguise to the house of a gentleman who had formerly served under his command. There he lay concealed for two days; but, whether he was betrayed by his landlord, or discovered by accident, he fell into the hands of Lesley, who treated him with great insolence; and, after having exposed him to the view of the people, in this wretched attire, conveyed him to Edinburgh, where the parliament was then sitting. At the gate of the city, he was delivered to the magistrates, who caused him to be bound down upon a high chair, placed in a cart provided for the purpose, and conducted through the public street, that the people might have a full view of the man, at mention of whose name they had so often trembled. The common executioner stood by him in the cart, before which the officers taken in the engagement walked in fetters, to the prison, where he was treated as a common malefactor. He stood collected within himself, and bore all these indignities with the most noble disdain, often smiling at the ridiculous rancour of his enemies.

§ XIV.

§ XIV. In two days after his commitment, he was brought before the parliament, and bitterly reviled by the earl of Loudon the chancellor, who upbraided him with having broken the covenants, rebelled against God, the king, and the kingdom, and committed many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties. He told them, that as the king had condescended to treat with them, he would behave towards them with more reverence than he should otherwise have expressed for such an assembly. He said he had taken and kept the first covenant, while they prosecuted the purposes for which it was ordained; that he had never subscribed the second, which was productive of the most monstrous rebellion; that he had raised forces by virtue of his majesty's commission, and acted like a faithful subject, without perpetrating those cruelties that were laid to his charge, or suffering any blood to be shed but in battle; on the contrary, he had always put a stop to the carnage as soon as he possibly could take such a step with any regard to his own safety, and had saved the lives of many persons then present, to whose evidence he appealed. He observed, that he had laid down his arms, and quitted the kingdom, at his late master's command; that he had now again returned to Scotland, by the authority of his present majesty. He advised them to consider the consequence of proceeding against him in this manner, and demanded a fair trial by the laws of the land, or by the law of nations. He was condemned to be hanged next day on a gallows thirty feet high; and the sentence implied, that he should be afterwards quartered, and his members exposed in different parts of the kingdom. During this short interval, he was persecuted by their ministers, who told him, his sufferings in this life would be but an easy prologue to those which he would undergo hereafter; and, without scruple, pronounced his eternal damnation. He heard them with scorn, observing, that they were a miserable, deluding and deluded people, and would shortly bring that poor nation to the most insupportable servitude. He declared, he was as well pleased to hear that his head should be placed on the Tolbooth, as he should be to know that his picture hung in the king's bed-chamber; and wished he had flesh enough to be distributed among all the cities of Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered. At the place of execution, the hangman tied about his neck, with a cord, an elegant Latin book, containing the history of his exploits, written by Dr. Wisheart, who had been his chaplain. He smiled at this mark of impotent malice, saying, he was prouder of that collar than ever he had been of the garter. He demeaned himself with undaunted courage, and the most pious resignation. He expatiated on the virtues of his murdered master; spoke in praise of the justice and goodness of the present king, and fervently prayed that they might not betray him as they had betrayed his father. After some devout ejaculations, he cheerfully submitted to the sentence, which was executed with every circumstance of barbarous exultation. Such was the ignominious death of James Clarendon. Graham, marquis of Montrose, a nobleman of illustrious birth, unspotted faith, Whitelock. amazing courage, and incredible magnanimity. He possessed the romantic virtues of heroism above all his contemporaries. He thirsted after glory with the most greedy appetite: he seemed insensible of danger; and thinking himself equal to the most arduous enterprise, achieved a series of the most surprising adventures. Thirty of the officers taken with Montrose, were executed in different parts of the kingdom; and, among these, colonel Urrey, who had shifted sides

so often since the beginning of the troubles. Colonel Whiteford saved his own life by saying, when he was brought to the place of execution, that he was to suffer for no other reason, but because he had slain Dorilaus, who was concerned in the murder of the late king. The magistrate then present suspended the execution, in order to report this expression to the council, who thought proper to avoid reproach, by sparing the colonel's life.

§ XV. After the death of Montrose, the king finding himself absolutely without other resource, subscribed the terms which the Scottish commissioners had presented, and embarked at Schéveling, with the earl of Lanerk, now duke of Hamilton, and his kinsman the earl of Lauderdale, who were so obnoxious to the rigid presbyterians, that when they arrived in Scotland, they found it necessary to retire to their respective houses for their personal safety. The king was obliged to sign the covenant, before the Scots would allow him to set his foot on shore. Then the marquis of Argyle received him with demonstrations of the most profound respect: but all his English domestics of any quality, were removed from his person, except the duke of Buckingham. Daniel O Neal was apprehended, as an Irishman who had been in arms for the late king, and banished from Scotland by order of the council: and they dismissed Mr. Robert Long, principal secretary of state, Sir Edward Walker clerk of the council, and many other servants, whose places they supplied with rigid covenanters. He was surrounded, and incessantly importuned by their clergy, who came to instruct him in religion; obliged to give constant attendance at their long sermons and prayers, which generally turned upon the tyranny of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignant disposition. They insisted upon his observing Sunday as the most rigorous fast of a Jewish sabbath; they kept a strict watch upon his looks and gestures; and, if ever he chanced to smile during this religious mummary, he underwent a severe reprimand for his profanity. With respect to the external appearances of royalty, he had no occasion to complain. He lived in great state and plenty, was well attended, and served with marks of deference and submission; but debarred all exercise of regal power, and restricted in every article of private satisfaction. The marquis of Argyle at first strove to ingratiate himself with Charles, by the most complaisant deportment, and such entertaining conversation as he thought would be agreeable to his majesty: but, when the king hinted the desire of effecting an union between him and Hamilton, he appeared extremely averse to such a coalition, and gradually withdrew himself from all communication with his sovereign, whom he now suspected of a design to accomplish his destruction by means of his inveterate rival.

§ XVI. The English parliament, alarmed at the treaty of Breda, as supposing that the king would employ an army of Scots to recover the crown of England, resolved to anticipate the danger, by carrying the war immediately into Scotland, whither, in all probability, they were invited by the marquis of Argyle; and for this purpose they recalled Cromwell from Ireland, which by this time was almost wholly subdued. The marquis of Ormond was disabled from opposing him effectually, by the dissensions that prevailed among the Irish. Monk, after a long imprisonment, had been persuaded to engage in the service of the parliament, and now acted as one of their generals, under Cromwell. He concluded a peace with O Neal, which was authorized by the

council of state; but the parliament having refused to ratify it, as being too favourable to the catholics, O'Neal began to treat with Ormond; and was on the point of joining that nobleman, when his purpose was prevented by death: then his troops dispersed of their own accord. Mean while Cromwell reduced Kilkenny, with many other places, and prosecuted his conquests with surprising rapidity. That the Irish might not have opportunities to compromise their differences, and unite against him, he, by proclamation, permitted their officers to enlist as many soldiers as they could engage in foreign service, and assured them that they should depart unmolested. Above five and twenty thousand immediately took the advantage of this permission, and entered into the service of France; so that all opposition was subdued. Then he constituted his son-in-law Ireton deputy-lieutenant, and returned to England, in obedience to the mandate of the parliament. When he took his seat in the house, the speaker thanked him for the services he had done the commonwealth: then they proceeded to deliberate upon the war with Scotland. They desired to know if Fairfax would conduct that enterprize. He knew they did not much depend upon his attachment, and that this was no other than a bare compliment. He therefore declined the service, and sent his commission to the commons, who gratified him with a pension of five thousand pounds, and appointed Oliver Cromwell general of the forces of the commonwealth. As the royalists and presbyterians exclaimed against the injustice of this war, the house appointed a committee to draw up a declaration, in which they supposed that the Scots intended to intrude Charles II. into the throne of England, though they had not as yet signified any such intention.

Clarendon.
Bate.

Whitelock.

§ XVII. They had indeed begun to levy some troops; and they were no sooner informed of the English preparations, than they redoubled their diligence in assembling an army, the command of which they bestowed upon Lesley earl of Leven. Argyle, in modelling this army, excluded all officers and soldiers who were suspected of having a warm side to the royal cause. Commissions were granted to none but rigid presbyterians, who were generally destitute of courage and discipline. They were directed by a committee of the kirk and state. The ministers encouraged them with long prayers, and preached with equal bitterness against the vices of the court, and the impiety of Cromwell. They promised victory with as much confidence as they could have expressed, if they had been actually inspired. With great difficulty they consented to the king's seeing the army; but perceiving the soldiers were pleased with the sight of their sovereign, they removed him to a greater distance, declaring that the soldiers were too much inclined to put their confidence in the arm of flesh, whereas their hope and dependence ought to be in the prayers and piety of the kirk.

§ XVIII. About the middle of July, Cromwell, at the head of an army amounting to eighteen thousand men, began his march for the Scottish border, where he published his manifesto, and understood that the Scots were encamped, to the number of eight and twenty thousand men, well armed and equipped, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. They had ordered all the people to quit the country between Berwick and the capital, and remove their effects; so that Cromwell advanced without opposition through a desolate country, attended by a fleet which supplied him with provision. He found the

the enemy so strongly intrenched between Leith, Edinburgh, and Dalkeith, that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage, and thought proper to retreat towards Mussleburgh. Lesley detached a body of horse to fall upon his rear, commanded by Lambert, over whom they gained some advantage. Next day a hot skirmish happened between two detachments; and the Scots were repulsed to their camp with considerable loss. Cromwell made another motion towards them, in hope of drawing them from their intrenchments; but all his efforts were ineffectual. After the two armies had remained in sight of each other for several weeks, Cromwell was so strained for want of provision and forage, that he found himself under a necessity of retiring. He resolved to embark his infantry on board of the fleet, and return with his horse to Berwick. With this view he marched to Dunbar, where his navy lay at anchor; and by this time his army was diminished to about twelve thousand men. He was followed by the Scots, who encamped upon a hill, at the distance of a mile from Dunbar, in full confidence of putting an end to the war, by the destruction of the whole English army.

§ XIX. Indeed Cromwell was now reduced to such difficulty, that he could neither embark his troops, prosecute his march, nor remain in his present situation, without exposing his army to the most imminent danger of being defeated or starved. General Lesley, sensible of his advantage, resolved to keep his ground, and watch the motions of the enemy; but, the clamours of the ministers who attended the camp, and boldly promised victory in the name of the Lord, excited such a spirit of impatience among the soldiers, that he was obliged to yield to the torrent, and put his army in motion to attack the English. Cromwell had spent his time in preaching, praying, and seeking the Lord, from whom, he said, he received particular comforts and assurances, during the exercise of his devotion. On the second day of September, perceiving the Scots in motion, he exclaimed, "The Lord has delivered them into our hands;" and ordered his army to sing psalms, as if he had already been assured of the victory. Indeed, he had no great reason to doubt of his success against such an enemy. He then advanced towards them, and next morning before day-light, began the attack. The Scottish cavalry on the right wing made a vigorous charge; but were soon repulsed, broken, and put to flight: the left wing abandoned the field without engaging. Three regiments of their infantry stood until they were cut in pieces; but all the rest fled with the utmost precipitation. Above three thousand were slaughtered on the spot, and in the pursuit; and among these some ministers, in the very act of encouraging them with assurance of victory. Seven or eight thousand were taken, together with seven and twenty pieces of cannon, all their baggage and ammunition; while, on the other hand, the English did not lose above forty men in the engagement. Cromwell immediately took possession of Leith and Edinburgh; but, the castle held out till the latter end of December.

§ XX. This defeat was far from being disagreeable to the king, who resided at St. Johnston's. The Scottish parliament, which had excluded the Hamiltonians, and all the royalists, from the army over which Cromwell had obtained the victory, now saw the necessity of employing them for the preservation of the kingdom; and therefore treated the king as a person of some importance to the commonweal. They resolved that all those who had been formerly excluded

Clarendon.
Baker.
Whitelock.

cluded should, upon proof of their repentance, be admitted to offices and employments in the state and army. Great numbers did public penance, that they might have an opportunity to serve their country; and the king soon saw his friends in a condition to exert themselves for his interest. This change, however, was not effected without great opposition from the rigid party, who protested against the parliament's resolution, and acquired the appellation of Protesters, while the other side were termed Resolutioners. The former, strengthened by an association of the western shires, and joined by Strachan, Ker, and some other good officers, presented a remonstrance to the parliament, by which it was declared seditious; but, as this faction was very numerous, it was thought necessary to take some measure for their satisfaction. To this end, the king was obliged to publish a declaration, acknowledging the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family; and that he was guilty of all the blood that had been shed in the civil war. He expressed a deep sense of his own pernicious education, and the prejudices he had imbibed against the cause of God; he confessed all the former part of his life, had been a course of enmity to the work of God; he professed his repentance for having granted a commission to Montrose; and protested he would adhere to this declaration to the end of his life. It was not without the utmost reluctance that Charles complied with this expedient, which did not produce the desired effect. The protesters believed, that this extraordinary step, by which he voluntarily stigmatized his own family, was no other than a cover to some design which he had hatched against them. On this supposition, they engaged in a closer union among themselves; and declared they would have no nearer communication with the resolutioners, than with Cromwell and the English independents.

§ XXI. Charles, extremely chagrined to see he had exposed himself to no purpose, and very much dissatisfied with his present situation, listened to a proposal of the royalists, who solicited him to join them at Dundee, where he would find a considerable body in arms. He escaped in the night from St. Johnston's; but, at the place of rendezvous found only a very small party in waiting; and, while he deliberated upon his next excursion, he was overtaken by colonel Montgomery, whom Argyle had detached in pursuit of him with a troop of horse. The king was obliged to return, not a little mortified at his disappointment; but, this attempt to escape had a good effect in his favour. The marquis of Argyle and the committee of the estates, were now alarmed with the apprehension, that the rigour with which he was treated, might reduce him to take some desperate resolution, perhaps, that of joining the cavaliers, and involving the nation in a civil war. They therefore relaxed in their severity; and even admitted him to some small share in the administration.

§ XXII. Charles perceiving that nothing effectual could be done for his service without the concurrence of Argyle, who was at the head of the clergy by whom the majority of the nation was directed, endeavoured to gain over that nobleman to his interest. He affected to treat him with uncommon affability and esteem; and even hinted a desire of espousing his daughter. The marquis ^{Clarendon.} kept aloof, because he knew the king's aversion to his principles; but, his son ^{Burnet.} lord Lorn, who was captain of the guard, attached himself to the king, and faithfully executed his private commissions. The ceremony of the coronation

was

was performed at Scone on the first day of January; and, after that time, all persons were indiscriminately admitted into his majesty's presence. Levies were now set on foot, without distinction of parties; and an army of eighteen thousand men was completed by the beginning of June, before Cromwell could take the field, so much was he retarded by want of forrage.

An. Ch. 1651.

§ XXIII. Charles appointed David Lesley his lieutenant-general, and putting himself at the head of his troops, took post at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Stirling, in a very advantageous situation, having at his back a plentiful country, from which he could be conveniently supplied with provision. All the passes of the Forth were strongly guarded, and his camp surrounded with intrenchments, which secured him against any attack of the enemy. Cromwell marched up, and offered him battle; but, the Scots had been rendered circumspect by the experience of the preceding year, and would not quit their defences. After the two armies had faced each other about six weeks, Cromwell detached colonel Overton with sixteen hundred men towards Edinburgh, and they passed the frith in boats provided for that purpose. He was immediately followed by Lambert with a more considerable body; and these two officers took post in the shire of Fife, while Cromwell favoured their descent by advancing to the king's intrenchments, as if he had intended to carry them by assault. The king no sooner understood that the English had taken possession of Fife, than he sent major-general Brown, with four thousand men, to give them battle; but, he being totally routed by Lambert, Cromwell transported his whole army without further opposition. Though he had thus cut off the king's communication with Fife, from whence he had drawn his chief supplies of provision, this motion had left the frontiers of England exposed; and even frustrated the purpose of the war, which was undertaken to prevent the king from marching into England.

§ XXIV. Charles therefore, instead of following Cromwell, who now made himself master of Perth, resolved to seize this opportunity of penetrating into England, where he did not doubt of being joined by a great number of royalists and presbyterians. In that hope he took the route to Carlisle with all possible dispatch, and had been several days on his march before Cromwell received the least intimation of his design. This was the second capital error which Oliver had committed since he invaded Scotland; the first was, that of suffering himself to be cooped up at Dunbar, where nothing could have saved him from ruin but the egregious folly of the Scots, joined to their want of true courage and discipline. When he received intelligence of the king's march into England, he wrote an account of it to the parliament, assuring them he would soon be at the heels of Charles. He advised them, in the mean time, to arm the militia in all the different counties, that the royalists might be prevented from assembling, and he himself be reinforced at his arrival in England. He detached Harrison and Lambert, with a strong body of horse, to harass the king in his march: he left Monk and five thousand men in Scotland, with orders to reduce Stirling and Dundee; and then he began his march with great diligence, in hope of overtaking the king before he should reach London.

§ XXV. Charles had sent colonel Massey before him, with a detachment, to receive those who should join the royal standard; and he wrote to the earl of Derby

Derby to quit the Isle of Man, and meet him in Lancashire, where that nobleman had great interest; but, events did not answer his expectation. The rigid presbyterians in his army deserted in great numbers, from a conscientious dislike to the service. The militia of England overawed the royalists, so that they could not rise in the king's behalf. The committee of the kirk, which followed the army, ordered Maffey to publish a declaration, importing, that the king was a zealous friend to the covenant; and that such as refused to sign it would not be received in his army. Though the king forbade Maffey to publish this declaration, the purport of it was so well known, that many cavaliers were deterred from joining their sovereign. The English presbyterians were extremely averse to the king's being established, until he should have previously confirmed the concessions made by his father in the treaty of Newport. The earl of Derby having assembled twelve hundred men for the king's service in Lancashire, was encountered by colonel Lilburne, on his march with a reinforcement to Cromwell; and defeated, after an obstinate engagement, in which lord Withrington lost his life.

§ XXVI. The king's army, instead of being augmented, was daily diminished by desertion and disease; so that he laid aside his design of marching to London, and directed his route to Worcester, where he thought he should be able to refresh and recruit his fatigued army, without running great risque from the efforts of the enemy. He met with a cordial reception from the magistrates of the place, where he was solemnly proclaimed; and he quartered his troops in the neighbourhood. Mean while, Cromwell being strongly reinforced, called in his detachments, and advanced towards Worcester, with an army greatly superior in number to the royalists, who were encamped within a mile of the city, and waited the attack without flinching. Cromwell, resolving to make a diversion on the other side of the Severne, detached Lambert to pass the river at the bridge of Upton, guarded by Maffey, who defended it with great vigour, until he was severely wounded and carried off; then the bridge was abandoned, and the enemy passed without further opposition, under the command of Fleetwood. Thus, the king was obliged to weaken his army, by sending a detachment to the same side of the river.

§ XXVII. On the third day of September, the anniversary of the battle at Dunbar, Cromwell attacked the royalists at both ends of the town; and the engagement lasted several hours, during which, the brigade commanded by the duke of Hamilton and general Middleton, fought with great gallantry, until Middleton was dangerously hurt, the duke mortally wounded, and the greatest part of his officers and soldiers disabled or slain. No other part of the royalists made the least resistance. The cavalry were immediately driven back into the town, which was filled with confusion and dismay. In vain did the king endeavour to rally and lead them back to the charge. They fled at full gallop; and being pursued by the enemy's horse, were killed, taken, or dispersed. The Clarendon. infantry, thus abandoned, were seized with consternation, and stood tamely to Whitelock. be butchered by the victors. Two thousand perished by the sword; and four times that number being taken, were sold as slaves to the American planters. The earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, Kelly, Derby, Cleveland, and general David Lesley, fell into the enemy's hands; and the duke of Hamilton died of his wounds, sincerely regretted by all good men, as a nobleman of unblemished worth and integrity.

§ XXVIII. The king retired from the field with Lesley, and a good body of horse; but, seeing them overwhelmed with consternation, and believing they could not possibly reach their own country, he withdrew himself from them in the night, with two or three servants, whom he likewise dismissed, after they had cut off his hair, that he might have the better chance for remaining unknown. By the direction of the earl of Derby, he went to Boscobel in Shropshire, where he was for some days entertained by four brothers of the name of Pendrell; three of these acted as scouts, while the fourth accompanied the king, who being disguised in the habit of a peasant, worked for some days at wood-cutting. Then Charles made an attempt to retire into Wales under the conduct of his companion; but, the passes of the Severne were guarded in such a manner, that he returned to Boscobel, where he met with colonel Careless, who had, like himself, escaped from the battle of Worcester. It was during his residence in this place, that they were obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the thick branches of which, they passed that day together, beholding, and overhearing the conversation of several persons, who went thither on purpose to search for their unhappy sovereign, that they might deliver him into the hands of his enemies. In the dusk of the evening, Careless conducted the king over hedges and ditches, for about eight miles, till they arrived at a cottage belonging to a poor Roman catholic peasant, known to the colonel, who was himself of that religion. Their host being told that the stranger was a cavalier who had escaped from Worcester, conveyed him to a little barn almost filled with hay, among which the king enjoyed a profound sleep, after the fatigue he had undergone in this last pilgrimage, which he had performed in his boots. But, before he went to rest, it was thought proper that Careless should retire, as the danger was the greater while they travelled together; and send some person in whom he could confide, to conduct the king to another place of security. Mean while he was entertained with coarse bread and butter-milk, the best fare his landlord could provide, without incurring the suspicion of his neighbours.

§ XXIX. After he had rested two nights upon the hay-mow, a man came from Careless with directions to guide him to another house, more out of the way of visitation, and, at the distance of twelve miles. Before he set out on this nocturnal excursion, he exchanged apparel with his host, who, in lieu of his boots, procured an old pair of shoes; but they were so uneasy to his feet, that, after he had travelled in them a few miles, he threw them away and walked in his stockings, and these were soon torn with the hedges over which he passed. His feet were so wounded with thorns and sharp stones, and he was so exhausted with the fatigue of this dismal journey, that he several times threw himself on the ground in despair, chusing rather to be taken by his adversaries, than to proceed in such torture. His guide, however, used such remonstrances as encouraged him to repeat his efforts, and before morning he reached the place of his destination, where he was again lodged in a barn among straw, fed with the most homely fare, and supplied with shoes and stockings. From thence he was conveyed to a third house; and thus, for some days, he passed from one to another, through the habitations of poor Roman catholics, who concealed him with great fidelity. He received great assistance from one Mr. Huddleston, a Benedictine monk, who provided him occasionally with a horse, and more decent apparel than the wretched garb he had hitherto worn.

§ XXX. This

§ XXX. This man effected an interview between his majesty and lord Wilmot, who was likewise concealed in that neighbourhood. Wilmot introduced him to Mr. Lane, a worthy gentleman, in the county of Stafford, in whose house he was conveniently accommodated. There he read the proclamation, by which a price of a thousand pounds was set upon his head, and the penalty of high-treason denounced against those who should harbour or conceal the person of Charles Stuart. He now deliberated with Mr. Lane about the means of escaping to France; and the son, who had been a colonel in his service, was admitted to the council. They agreed that, as the king wished to be in the western parts of the kingdom bordering upon the sea, he should ride before Mr. Lane's daughter to the neighbourhood of Bristol, on a visit to one Mrs. Norton, a friend and kinswoman of this young lady. The journey could not be performed in less than four or five days; and there was a necessity for passing through many market-towns, where he might run the risque of being known: nevertheless he resolved to hazard the adventure. He was equipped with cloaths and boots for the service; and, Mrs. Lane riding on the same horse behind him, was attended by a servant in livery; while the colonel accompanied them at a distance, with a hawk and spaniels, on pretence of taking his diversion. In this manner they set out in the month of October; and, at the house in which they lodged the first night, they were met by lord Wilmot, with whom they adjusted the stages, in such a manner that he was seldom seen in their company. On the morning of the fourth day colonel Lane returned towards his father's house; and the king, with his conductress, arrived in safety at Mr. Norton's habitation. During this journey, it was her constant practice, when she reached their lodgings for the night, to represent the king as a neighbour's son, who, at the desire of his father, rode before her, that he might the sooner recover of a quartan ague, with which he had been afflicted: on this pretence she always provided a convenient bedchamber, to which he retired, and thither she herself carried his supper. He every day met people whose persons he knew; and when he passed through Bristol, he could not help turning out of his way, from an emotion of curiosity, and riding round the place where the castle formerly stood. When they arrived at the house of Mr. Norton, the first person he saw was Dr. Gorges, one of his own chaplains, sitting at the door, amusing himself with seeing people play at bowls. Mrs. Lane, after the compliments of salutation had passed between her and Mrs. Norton, desired that a chamber might be provided for William, who was newly recovered of an ague. This being immediately prepared, the king, who had retired to the stable, on pretence of superintending his horse, was conducted to his apartment. The butler, being sent to him with a mess of broth, no sooner beheld his countenance, than he fell on his knees; and, while the tears ran down his cheeks, exclaimed, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." He had been falconer to Sir Thomas Jermyn, and was well acquainted with the physiognomy of Charles, who enjoined him secrecy even from Mr. Norton and his wife. He assured him of his fidelity, and scrupulously kept his word. After supper he was visited by Dr. Gorges, who now practised medicine, and came to offer his assistance in quality of physician. The king retired to the dark side of the room, where the doctor felt his pulse, asked divers questions

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concerning his health, bade him be of good cheer, as the fever had left him, and withdrew.

§ XXXI. Having stayed some days in this place, he and lord Wilmot, who lodged in the neighbourhood, repaired to the house of colonel Francis Wyndham, where he was cordially received, and introduced to that gentleman's mother, a venerable matron, who had lost three sons and a grandson in the service of his majesty's father. While he remained in this agreeable retreat, one Mr. Ellison, a friend of the colonel, bespoke a bark at Lyme in Dorsetshire, to convey two passengers into France. The ship-master appointed a place in the neighbourhood of that town, where they should come aboard. The king, lord Wilmot, and the colonel, rode to a small inn near the beach, but no vessel appeared; and, after they had waited all night in vain, they returned to Ellison's house, which they had left the preceding day. This disappointment was owing to the fear of the ship-master's wife, who suspected her husband of having engaged in some dangerous design, and declared she would inform the magistrate against him, should he attempt to leave his house before morning. The king made a very providential escape from the little inn at which he had lodged: it chanced to be a solemn fast; and a fanatic weaver, who had served in the parliament's army, was preaching against Charles Stuart in a chapel that fronted the house, where he actually sat among other strangers. A farrier, employed to inspect the shoes of the horses belonging to some of the passengers, took the liberty to examine that on which the king had travelled from the house of colonel Lane, in hope of finding further employment. He told the inn-keeper, that one of those horses had come from the north country; a circumstance he pretended to know from the fashion of the shoes. Then he repaired to the chapel; and, after the sermon, communicated this particular to divers persons of his acquaintance; at length it reached the ears of the preacher, who declared the rider could be no other than Charles Stuart.

§ XXXII. He went immediately with a constable to the house; and, finding the strangers were gone, hired horses to go in pursuit of them. Charles returned to the house of colonel Wyndham, from whence he was conducted to a place of greater security, in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, prepared for his reception. He passed through a regiment of horse, and met Desborough walking down a hill, with several officers. While he stayed in the house of serjeant Hyde, at Heale near Salisbury, a vessel was provided by means of Dr. Hinchman, a prebend of that cathedral. Colonel Gunter, a gentleman of Sussex procured the bark at Bournemouth, to which the king and lord Wilmot were conducted by Philips: there he embarked, and was safely landed in November at Fescamp in Normandy, after having undergone an amazing variety of danger and distresses, and experienced the unshaken fidelity of forty different persons of all ranks, to whom the preservation of his life was intrusted*.

§ XXXIII. While Charles led this fugitive life, his adversaries triumphed in the success of their usurpation. In Scotland Monk reduced Stirling, where he found the records of that kingdom, which he sent to London, from whence they never returned. Then he besieged Dundee; which, after an obstinate resistance, he took by assault, massacred the garrison and inhabitants, and abandoned the town to pillage. Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, and many other

* This account of the king's escape, chiefly taken from Clarendon, who had it from the king himself, is different in some particulars from that which Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty, afterwards wrote from his majesty's own mouth.

places, surrendered on capitulation; and, in a little time, he subdued all the Low Countries of Scotland. The republic of England had now acquired such reputation in foreign countries, that all the princes in Europe courted their friendship, and were afraid of giving any countenance or relief to the king, who lived in a wretched manner at Paris, by means of his mother's pension, utterly neglected by the French king and the cardinal, whose scheme was to ingratiate themselves with the parliament of England. Cromwell's interest and reputation had, by this time, risen to such a pitch, that he directed all the resolutions of the house, and was in effect chief of the republic, as well as general of the forces. He returned to London in triumph, and was met at Acton by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor and magistrates of London, in their formalities. General Massey was committed to the Tower, from whence he made his escape: the earl of Derby, being tried by a court-martial, was convicted of high treason, and beheaded at Boston, where he died with great magnanimity: many other persons of distinction were put to death by the same authority. The parliament sent a body of forces to the Isle of Man, which they subdued; and the countess of Derby was reduced to extreme indigence, after she had, with great gallantry, defended her lord's castle. This was the same lady who so bravely defended the house of Latham. She was of the noble house of Tremouille in France; a woman of a masculine spirit, and had the honour of being the last British subject who submitted to the victorious commonwealth. Jersey was taken by admiral Blake and colonel Hayne for the parliament. Sir George Ayscue subdued Barbadoes, of which lord Willoughby was governor for the king; and the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's submitted at the first summons.

Whitelock.

§ XXXIV. The parliament now passed an act, abolishing the royalty of Scotland, and incorporating that country with the English commonwealth: empowering it however to send a certain number of representatives to the British parliament. Commissioners were sent thither to regulate this union, in which the whole nation voluntarily acquiesced, except a few royalists who had retired to the mountains under the earl of Glencairn and lord Balcarras, and the clergy, who protested against the incorporation, because it would produce a subordination of the church to the state, in the things of Christ. All causes were determined by a mixture of English and Scottish judges. Justice was impartially administered: peace and order were maintained by the prudent and upright conduct of general Monk, who commanded the forces in that kingdom. The people, secured in their property, exercised themselves in the arts of industry; and, under this usurpation, they enjoyed infinitely more plenty and satisfaction than ever was known to their ancestors.

Burnet.

§ XXXV. Prince Rupert, with his fleet, being obliged to quit Kinsale, steered to Portugal, and anchored in the river Tagus. Thither he was pursued by Blake, who could hardly be prevented, by the remonstrances of his Portuguese majesty, from attacking him in sight of Lisbon. The prince at length escaped, by the favour of that prince, and directed his course to the West-Indies, where his brother prince Maurice was shipwrecked in a hurricane. There he committed depredations on the ships of Spain and those of the republic; and, at last, returned to France, where he sold his prizes, together with the remains of his navy. Mean while Blake, in revenge for the partiality manifested by the king of Portugal, made prize of twenty Portuguese ships.

ships richly laden, and intimidated that monarch with menaces of further vengeance; so that he was fain to make submissions to the republic, and they consented to a removal of the alliance between England and Portugal. The conquest of Ireland was finished by Ireton the new deputy, who punished with great rigour all the prisoners who had been concerned in the massacre; and, among these, Sir Phelim O'neale suffered an ignominious death upon the gallows, which was a just judgment upon him for the unparalleled cruelties he had committed. After Limeric was reduced, Ireton died of the plague in that city: Cromwell expressed great sorrow, and the republicans were inconsolable at the death of this officer, who was a man of an inflexible, savage disposition, and an inveterate enemy to kingly government. His command devolved upon lieutenant-general Ludlow, who finished the war with uninterrupted success. Clánrickard submitted to the parliament, and the civil government of the island was vested in commissioners.

Whitelocke.

§ XXXVI. The republic having now reduced the British dominions to obedience, resolved to chastise the Dutch, against whom they had very slender causes of complaint. The prince of Orange had died in the course of the preceding year, leaving the princess far advanced in her pregnancy. Immediately after his death, the parliament sent over Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, as ambassadors, to propose a close defensive alliance with the States-general. St. John's real aim was to effect a strict union between the two commonwealths, and he dropped some hints on the subject; but he found the states averse to such a near connexion with an unsettled government, which was odious to all the states in Christendom. He was even affronted by the friends of the young prince of Orange born since his father's death, and exposed to the insults of the populace, who were generally well affected to the family of Stuart. Incensed at this treatment, he endeavoured, at his return, to excite a war against Holland, and even prevailed upon Cromwell to concur with his endeavours. Perhaps that politician thought it might be necessary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people from considering the scheme of empire which he had now projected; and employ those hands, which might become troublesome from want of exercise. Some of those who suspected his designs upon the commonwealth, imagined that a war with the Dutch might diminish his influence, as the operations would be chiefly by sea, and the expence of the navy oblige the parliament to disband the army, which was altogether at Cromwell's devotion.

§ XXXVII. The parliament, having resolved to humble the Dutch, passed the act of navigation, prohibiting all nations to import any merchandise into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ships belonged. This stroke was directly levelled against the traffic of the Dutch, which consisted wholly in transporting foreign commodities from one country to another. The commonwealth granted letters of marque to divers merchants, who complained that their ships had been unjustly confiscated in Holland; and they ripped up the old wound, occasioned by the cruelties which had been perpetrated upon the English subjects, thirty years before, by the Hollanders at Amboyna. The States-general, alarmed at these measures, sent ambassadors to London to solicit a repeal of the act of navigation: but the parliament, far from complying with their request, demanded satisfaction for the massacre at Amboyna, the murder of Dorislaus, the correspondence, which, during the civil war, the Dutch ambassadors

ambassadors had maintained with the late king; and they claimed about two millions of money for the losses they had sustained by the Dutch in the East-Indies, Persia, Muscovy, Greenland, and the Isle of Poleron. The Dutch perceived, by these demands, that the English were resolved upon war; and they began to put themselves in a posture of defence, with all possible expedition.

§ XXXVIII. They soon equipped one hundred and fifty ships of war; and Martin Van Tromp, their admiral, was sent into the channel with two and forty, to convoy their homeward-bound trading vessels. On the seventeenth day of May he fell in with the English fleet, in the road of Dover, consisting of six and twenty ships, commanded by Blake, who ordered several cannon, without shot to be fired, as a signal for the Dutch to pay the usual compliment of lowering their topsails to the English flag. Tromp paid no regard to these warnings; and Blake no sooner fired a ball at him, than he returned a whole broadside. The battle immediately began with great fury; Blake being reinforced by captain Bourne with eight ships during the engagement, maintained the fight from four in the afternoon till night, when Tromp retired to the back of the Goodwin-sands, after having lost two ships, one of which was sunk, and the other taken. The English historians say, that none of Blake's ships were much damaged: whereas the Dutch pretend that six of them were actually sunk; and that, had not day-light failed, the English fleet would have been destroyed. If that was the case, Tromp ought to have kept his station, and next day renewed the engagement.

§ XXXIX. The populace of London were so exasperated by the news of this battle, that they insulted the Dutch ambassadors; so that the parliament appointed a guard for their protection. These envoys, in an audience demanded for that purpose, affirmed, that Blake was the aggressor; and Adrian Paw arriving at London as an extraordinary ambassador, confirmed their allegation, by laying before the house Tromp's narrative of the action. He conjured them to inquire into the particulars of the affair; and if it should appear, that their admiral had actually refused to compliment the English flag, and been the occasion of the battle, the states-general would punish him for his presumption. He intreated them, by the common ties of their religion and liberties, to listen to terms of accommodation; and appoint commissioners to renew the alliance between the two republics. They paid no regard to his remonstrances; and, notwithstanding all his pretences, Tromp certainly sailed with a view to quarrel with the English fleet, which he hoped to crush by dint of his superiority in number; for, it is not to be supposed, that Blake would have chosen to fight against such odds, without cause or provocation. The parliament having rejected the advances of the Dutch, and renewing their claims of satisfaction, the states-general recalled their ambassadors, and published a manifesto, declaring, they had been attacked without cause by the parliament of England. An answer was made to this declaration, denying the charge; and specifying the injuries the English had sustained from the republic of Holland: among these they mentioned Tromp's refusing to acknowledge the flag of England; and to this article the Dutch replied, that although they had been willing, in the infancy of their commonwealth, to pay that mark of deference to the monarch of England, they did not think themselves obliged to observe such ceremony towards a people who were no longer ruled by a kingly government.

Clarendon.
Whitelock.

§ XL. They

§ XL. They sent Van Galen with a squadron to the Mediterranean, against captain Badily, the English commodore in that sea. Tromp sailed towards the Downs, in order to engage rear-admiral Ayscue, who lay at anchor in that road with part of the English fleet; but, hearing that Blake had sailed northward with forty ships, to destroy the Dutch fishers and their convoy, on the coast of Shetland, he followed him with a very numerous armament. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Newcastle; but, when they were just ready to engage, a violent storm arose, and scattered the Dutch navy in such a manner, that not above forty ships returned with Tromp to Holland; though, in a few weeks, the rest arrived at the Texel. Mean while Blake proceeded to the northward, destroyed a great number of Dutch herring buffes; and took all their convoy. On the sixteenth of August, admiral De Ruyter, with four and thirty ships of war, and a large fleet of merchant ships under his convoy, fell in with Sir George Ayscue near Plymouth, who, though inferior in number to the enemy, engaged and fought them with great valour until night put an end to the engagement. The English admiral retired into Plymouth; and De Ruyter conducted his fleet in safety to Holland. Van Galen had before this time attacked and defeated commodore Badily in the Mediterranean, though the victor lost his life in the action. Blake, on his return to the southward, met with another Dutch fleet on the coast of Kent, commanded by De Witte and De Ruyter. A battle ensued, in which the rear-admiral of the enemy was boarded and taken, two of their ships were sunk, one was blown up; and their fleet retired in the night, in a shattered condition. The English now equipped such a formidable fleet, that the Dutch durst not appear in the channel: so that a great number of their trading vessels fell into the hands of the enemy; among these a fleet of forty sail from Portugal, and six ships from the East-Indies, richly laden.

§ XLI. The states, in order to prevent such losses for the future, gave notice to their merchants that the homeward-bound trade should repair to the Isle of Rhé, where they would find a convoy in waiting. Tromp set sail for this rendezvous, with seventy-seven ships of war, including the squadron of De Ruyter; and, on the twenty-ninth day of November, was encountered by Blake with an inferior fleet, near the Goodwin-sands, where a desperate battle was fought from eight in the morning till night. Blake was wounded, two of his ships were taken, as many burned, one was sunk; and the darkness opportunely interposed to save him from destruction. He took that opportunity of retiring to the Downs; and Tromp, elated with his victory, continued his voyage with a broom fixed to his maintop-mast, as a signal that he would sweep the channel clear of the enemy.

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§ XLII. The English, in order to retrieve the laurels they had lost in this engagement, equipped a fleet of eighty sail; and the parliament, at the desire of Blake, sent for Monk from Scotland, to join him in the command, Dean acting as rear-admiral. They sailed down the channel, in order to intercept Tromp and De Ruyter, on their return from the Isle of Rhé with a fleet of seventy-six sail, having above three hundred merchant ships under their convoy. The English descried them by break of day, on the eighteenth of February, steering along the coast of France; and immediately bore down to give them battle. The Dutch admirals lay by to receive them, and they soon joined in a most furious battle, during which the commanders on both sides exerted equal skill,

skill, conduct, and intrepidity; the sailors of each nation fighting with surprising courage and perseverance. The engagement was renewed for three days successively; and at last, Tromp, though overpowered with numbers, and superior weight of metal, made a very honourable retreat with his whole convoy, excepting thirty vessels which fell into the hands of the English. He lost, however, eleven ships of war; two thousand of his men were slain, and fourteen hundred taken; but the English fleet was so shattered in the battle, that they could not pretend to chase him up the channel; and the victory cost them a good number of men and officers. The states-general had incurred such an enormous expence in the maintenance of this war, and their trade had suffered so severely by the English cruisers, that all Holland was filled with complaint and consternation; and they thought proper to make new concessions to the haughty republic, which seemed bent on their destruction. The states of Holland wrote a letter to Lenthall the speaker, proposing an accommodation; and this being favourably answered, the states-general, in a formal address to the parliament, desired they would please to appoint a place where they might treat of a pacification: but before this negotiation could be set on foot, a strange revolution happened in England.

Whitelock:
Clarendon.

§ XLIII. Cromwell by this time perceived that the parliament dreaded his ambition; and that, under pretence of maintaining a sea-war, they aimed at a dissolution of the land-army. He knew that they had rendered themselves odious to the nation by their arbitrary proceedings and extortion. There was no occasion for his employing much reflection with respect to his own conduct on this occasion. He consulted with his officers, who were staunch to his interest; and they presented a petition to the house, demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming, that the public revenue, if rightly and honestly managed, would be sufficient for the regular subsistence of the army, as well as for all the other necessary expences of the government. The parliament ordered the officers to be reprimanded for this insolent address; and forbid to intermeddle in the administration. Then the petitioners produced another remonstrance, importing, that the members had not performed their promise of dissolving their assembly, that there might be a regular succession of parliaments: they therefore desired they would put an end to their administration, after having convoked another parliament; and named a council of state to administer affairs in the mean time. This proposal was seconded by all the members who enjoyed employments in the army, as well as by the presbyterians who had been admitted into the house, in consequence of having sworn to the engagement; but the majority was of a different opinion. They resolved, That it was not a proper time to dissolve the parliament while the nation had a war, and a great variety of important affairs upon its hands; but, that the vacant seats should be filled by new elections. At the same time, they appointed a committee to prepare a bill for an act, prohibiting all persons to present such petitions, on pain of being deemed guilty of high treason.

§ XLIV. Cromwell was sitting in council with his officers, when Ingoldsby entering the apartment, made him acquainted with the subject of the parliament's deliberations. He forthwith started up, with marks of violent indignation in his countenance; and hastened to the house with a detachment of three hundred soldiers, whom he posted at the door, and in the lobby. Then he entered,

tered, and addressing himself to his friend St. John, told him, he was come to do that, which, to his great grief of soul, the Lord had imposed upon him. After having sat some time to hear the debates, when the speaker was about to put the question, he suddenly rose up, and, in the most opprobrious terms, reviled them for their ambition, tyranny, extortion, and robbery of the public. After this torrent of general obloquy, he stamped upon the floor, and the soldiers entered the house; then addressing himself to the members, "Get you gone, (said he) give place to honest men; you are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Henry Vane rising up, to remonstrate against this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed, "O, Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" He took hold of Martin by the cloak, saying, "Thou art a whoremaster." Another he reproached as an adulter; a third as a drunkard; and a fourth as an extortioner. "It is you (added he) that have forced me upon this. I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon this work." Pointing to the mace, he bade a soldier "take away that bauble." He turned out all the members, ordered the door to be locked; and putting the key in his pocket, retired to his lodgings in Whitehall. Thus, by one daring exploit, which he achieved without bloodshed or clamour, the new republic was abolished; and the whole power of three kingdoms, civil and military, united in his own person.

Clarendon.
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Ludlow.

§ XLV. Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, tho' he inherited but a small estate from his father. Far from making any proficiency in his studies at the university, he distinguished himself by his dissolute course of life, consuming his time and fortune in gaming, riot, and debauchery. At length, he was suddenly seized with a spirit of religious enthusiasm. He professed a reformation of manners; his deportment became serious and sedate; he chose for himself a sober helpmate; and seemed to vie in holiness with the wildest zealots of the puritanical party. His house was converted into a conventicle; and his fortune was soon wasted by his hospitality to the brethren. Then he commenced farmer at St. Ives; but neglected his temporal affairs, by indulging his religious reveries and illuminations. Inspired by these visions, and prompted by the necessity of his affairs, he resolved to transport himself into New-England with his friend John Hambden, that they might, in that land of revelation, enjoy unmolested their spiritual transports; but, after they had actualled embarked, they were obliged to land again by an order of council. His obstinacy and resolution first appeared in opposing the earl of Bedford, who, by a patent from the crown, drained part of the fen-country near the Isle of Ely. When his circumstances were extremely low, he found means to be elected member of the long-parliament for the town of Cambridge; and though the spirit frequently moved him to speak in the house, his elocution was so harsh, vulgar, confused, tedious, and obscure, that he was not, for two years, heard with any attention, but overlooked among the herd of ignorant zealots; tho' John Hambden had sounded the depth of his genius; and foretold his future greatness. On the day after the famous remonstrance had been carried by a very small majority, he told lord Falkland, that if they had not gained their point, he and many other honest gentlemen would have sold their effects, and quitted

quitted the kingdom. He was certainly at that time a zealous republican; and acted against the king from principle. In the forty-third year of his age, he raised a troop of horse, and soon signalized himself by his prowess and military conduct. This troop he augmented to a regiment; and, by means of discipline, example, prayer, and exhortation, infused his own spirit into every individual under his command. Instead of broken tapsters, decayed serving-men, and the very lowest class of the people, that composed the forces first raised by the parliament, he enlisted freeholders, and farmers sons, who fought from principle. Among these, he intermingled some of the most zealous fanatics in England, who in a little time propagated the contagion through the whole regiment, while Oliver himself preached, prayed, and punished alternately, so as to establish a surprising system of discipline and enthusiasm. He was now exalted to that sphere in which his talents shone to the greatest advantage. In courage and conduct he equalled the most renowned of his contemporaries; but he excelled them all in fraud and dissimulation. By these qualities he gained the ascendancy over Fairfax, while he was no more than the second officer in the army. His views were expanded by success: his first principles of republican equality shrunk before the flame of his ambition; and, having tasted the sweets of unlimited command, he now aspired at the sovereign authority.

§ XLVI. The people expressed little or no resentment at the dissolution of the parliament. On the contrary, he received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the army, the chief corporations and counties, and from divers congregations of the saints in different parts of the kingdom. The royalists and presbyterians were pleased at the subjection of a party which had ruined the king's friends, and expelled the others from parliament. The independent faction at this time included two sects, which, though concurring in republican principles, differed widely in every other sentiment. These were the millenarians or fifth monarchy-men, and the deists. The first, which was the most numerous party, affirmed that dominion was founded on grace: that all distinction of magistracy ought to be abolished, except the authority acquired by superior piety and holiness: they expected Christ's second coming; and that, in the mean time, the saints should govern upon earth. The deists were the assertors of unbounded liberty, both in religion and government: at least they claimed more freedom than they could expect to enjoy under any regular administration. Martin, Harrington, and Sidney, were the leaders of this class, which Cromwell hated, because, being free of fanaticism, they were not within the sphere of his operation. These he reproached as heathens; but attached himself to Hume. the millenarians, upon whose enthusiasm he could work with the utmost facility.

§ XLVII. Though he had already assumed the supreme authority, he thought proper to amuse them with the appearance of a commonwealth. He first of all justified his conduct in dissolving the parliament, by a declaration signed by all the principal officers of the fleet and army. Then he resolved, with their concurrence, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and forty-four persons, under the denomination of a parliament. Nothing could be more dextrous than Cromwell's choice of these members, who were wretches of the lowest birth, and meanest intellects, so entirely devoid of knowledge and experience in affairs, that he foresaw they would soon be

obliged to resign the reins they were so ill qualified to manage. He sent a written order to each in particular, requiring him to repair to Whitehall on the fourth day of July, when, after having harrangued them in a tedious confused discourse, he delivered to them an instrument on parchment, signed by himself, and the principal officers of the army, importing, That the whole, or any forty of them, should be vested with sovereign power to govern the nation: That all the subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be bound to obey them till the third day of November, in the following year: That, before the expiration of this term, they should elect a like number of representatives to succeed them in the sovereign authority for one year; and that, for the future, there should be an annual rotation of parliaments. Thus authorised, they voted themselves a parliament, chose Mr. Rouse for their speaker; and, being chiefly composed of fifth-monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, and independents, they chose eight gifted members to seek the Lord in prayer. They began the exercise of their function, by deliberating upon the abolition of the clergy, the tythes, the universities, the court of chancery, and the common law, in lieu of which they intended to establish the Mosaical institution. The fanatics of this age seemed particularly attached to the Old Testament, from which they borrowed the names they commonly bestowed upon their children: the appellations of James, John, Peter, and Andrew, were now rejected for those of Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joshua, and Zerobabel. Whole sentences were sometimes used as christian names, such as "Stand fast on high, Stringer; Fight the good fight of faith, White; God reward, Smart;" the ten commandments were included in the prenomens of one person; and one of the most remarkable members of this parliament was a praying leatherfeller, called "Praise God, Barebones."

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§ XLVIII. The provinces of Holland and Zealand finding themselves grievously distressed by the war, and the progress they had made towards a negotiation being frustrated by the dissolution of the parliament, the states-general now appointed four ambassadors to treat with the new legislature of England. While they were employed in drawing up instructions for these envoys, admiral Tromp, with an hundred ships, fell in with the English fleet commanded by Monk, Dean, Pen, and Lawfon. They engaged on the third day of June, near the coast of Flanders, and fought with equal courage, until night parted them. Dean was killed in the action; nevertheless, the English renewed the battle next day; and the Dutch were obliged to retire with great loss: for, towards the latter end of the engagement, the English were reinforced by Blake, with eighteen sail of fresh ships. The victors pursued him to the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the Dutch commerce, until the gallant Tromp had refitted his ships, and thought himself in a condition to face the enemies of his country.

§ XLIX. Though still inferior in strength to the English, he hoisted sail, and bore down upon them as they lay off the Texel. On the twenty-ninth of July, the two fleets attacked each other with uncommon impetuosity; and the battle raged from morning till night, without any sensible advantage to either side. Next day Tromp being joined by seven and twenty ships, engaged anew; and, during that whole day, the victory continued in suspense. Tromp being resolved to conquer or die, renewed the battle on the third day, and was
shot

shot through the heart with a musket-ball, while he stood upon the deck, with his sword drawn, encouraging his men with the most heroic ardour. The death of this great man discouraged his officers from continuing the engagement; and vice-admiral De Witzen bore away, after having lost thirty ships, that were either sunk or taken. Among the prisoners was vice-admiral Evert-Whitelock. The English purchased this victory with the loss of two ships, and about five hundred men, including some officers of distinction.

§ L. Cromwell ordered the fleet to be repaired with incredible dispatch, that he might take advantage of the consternation produced among the Dutch by the death of Tromp, and the ruin of their navy. But his armament was dispersed and shattered by a violent storm; and, rather than load the people with new impositions, which might have excited a dangerous clamour at such a juncture, he determined to conclude a peace with the states-general. The negotiation was accordingly begun, and continued during the whole winter. The Dutch ambassadors at first met with a very disagreeable reception from the new parliament, which considered the Hollanders as worldly-minded men, whom the saints were under the necessity of eradicating from the face of the earth, before they could begin the work of subduing antichrist. This assembly of fanatics had now sat five months, without doing any thing of importance; and, during that time, they became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation. The people exclaimed against such a foolish legislature; and Cromwell was the better pleased at these expressions of discontent, as the parliament, forgetting that they had derived all their authority from him alone, began to pretend a power from the Lord, and to insist upon their divine commission. He had taken the precaution to mingle his own creatures among the other members of this assembly; and these were ever ready to obey his secret injunctions.

§ LI. On the twelfth day of December, Rouse the speaker, and the rest of Oliver's dependents, meeting at the house earlier than they used to assemble, one of them rose up and proposed, that, as they were unable to bear the burden that was laid upon them, they should dissolve the parliament, and resign their authority to those from whom it had been received. This proposal being approved by the majority, they forthwith repaired to Cromwell and his council of officers, and resigned the instrument of government, declaring themselves unequal to the task which they had unwarily undertaken. General Harrison, with about twenty other enthusiasts, remaining in the house, placed one Moyer in the chair, that the reign of the saints might not be interrupted, and began to draw up protests against the proceedings of their brethren. Colonel White entering the house with a detachment of soldiers, "Asked what they did there?" And, when they answered, "We are seeking the Lord:" "Then you may go elsewhere (said he) for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these several years."

§ LII. The council of officers, by virtue of the authority which the parliament had resigned into their hands, declared that the power of the government should be vested in the person of Oliver Cromwell, with the title of Protector; and that he should be assisted by a council of one and twenty persons. On the sixteenth day of December, they assembled the commissioners for the great seal, with the mayor and aldermen of London; and, after having informed them of Cromwell's being chosen protector, they recited, in their hearing,

ing, a writing, intituled, The Act of Government. It imported, That the protector should convoke a parliament once in three years: That no parliament should be dissolved, till after it had sat five months: That the protector should approve all the acts of parliament within twenty days after their being presented, otherwise they should be passed without his assent: That his council should not exceed the number of one and twenty persons; and that, immediately after his death, the council should chuse a new protector: That no succeeding protector should be general of the army; but that he should have the power of peace and war; and that he should be authorized to enact laws, by the advice of his council, during the intervals of parliament. This act being rehearsed, Oliver took an oath to observe it; then he was conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him. He was honoured with the epithets of "Your Highness," and "My Lord Protector;" and he was proclaimed in London, as well as in other parts of the three kingdoms, which were now united under his government.

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CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

§ I. *Peace with Holland.* The brother of the Portuguese ambassador is beheaded for murder. § II. *The king retires to Cologne.* § III. *Misery of the native Irish.* § IV. *Cromwell convenes a new parliament, which is quickly dissolved.* § V. *Insurrection of the royalists in the West, under Sir Joseph Wagstaff.* § VI. *Cromwell resolves to wage war with the Spaniards.* § VII. *Penn and Venables make an unsuccessful attempt upon St. Domingo; but take the island of Jamaica.* § VIII. *Oliver engages in a league with France.* § IX. *Blake destroys the Spanish galleons at the bay of Santa Cruz, and dies in his return to England.* § X. *The nature of Cromwell's administration.* § XI. *He calls another parliament. Is in danger of being assassinated by Syndercomb.* § XII. *The parliament make him a tender of the crown, which he refuses.* § XIII. *They confirm the protectorship, and augment the powers of that office.* § XIV. *He sends a reinforcement of troops to the French army. The king concludes a treaty with Spain. Richard Cromwell appears at his father's court.* § XVI. *The protector establishes another house of parliament, which is disagreeable to the commons.* § XVII. *The parliament is dissolved.* § XVIII. *A conspiracy in favour of the king, by Mordaunt, Slingsby, and Hewit, quelled by the protector.* § XIX. *The Spaniards are defeated in the battle of the Dunes, and Dunkirk is delivered to the English.* § XX. *Cromwell is seized with a tertian ague.* § XXI. *His death and character.* § XXII. *His son Richard is declared his successor in the protectorship.* § XXIII. *He convokes a parliament.* § XXIV. *Which is dissolved.* § XXV. *Restoration of the rump.* § XXVI. *Richard Cromwell resigns his protectorship.* § XXVII. *The parliament take the administration into their own hands.* § XXVIII. *Insurrection in favour of the king, under colonel Mordaunt and Sir George Booth, which last is routed and taken.* § XXIX. *Monk's reserve and mysterious conduct.* § XXX. *Petition by the officers at Derby.* § XXXI. *The parliament dismissed by the army.* § XXXII. *The council of officers appoint a committee of safety.* § XXXIII. *Negotiation between Monk and the committee of safety.* § XXXIV. *The parliament is restored.* § XXXV. *Monk marches into England.* § XXXVI. *He enters London. His speech to the parliament.* § XXXVII. *Demolishes the city-gates.* § XXXVIII. *He reconciles himself to the common council.* § XXXIX. *He restores the secluded members of parliament.* § XL. *Writs issued for a new parliament.* § XLI. *Efforts of the republicans to prevent the restoration.* § XLII. *Lambert escapes from the Tower; but is retaken by Ingoldsby.* § XLIII. *King's letters to the new parliament.* § XLIV. *Restoration of Charles II.*

§. I. **T**HE negotiation for a treaty with Holland was at length brought An. Ch. 1654. to a period; and Cromwell did not fail to take advantage of the eagerness with which the enemy desired an accommodation: By the treaty they consented to pay the compliment to the British flag: They abandoned the interest of Charles: They engaged to pay eighty five thousand pounds, as indemnification for losses, and restore the Isle of Polorone to the English East India.

India company. Among the first acts of Cromwell's sovereignty, was the execution of Mr. Vowel and colonel Gerard, two cavaliers who had hatched a conspiracy against his life: they were tried and found guilty by an high-commission court, which now took the place of juries. Vowel was hanged and Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill. The same scaffold served for the execution of Don Pantaleon Sa, knight of Malta, and brother to the Portuguese ambassador. He had come upon the New-Exchange with armed attendants, in quest of this very Gerard, by whom he had been affronted on the preceding day. He mistook another man for the colonel, and assassinated him on the spot. Several persons were wounded in the scuffle, by his attendants. He retired to his brother's house, which was immediately surrounded by the populace, who demanded the murderer, and threatened to drag him out by violence. Cromwell being informed of the transaction, sent a party of soldiers for the same purpose; and the ambassador was obliged to deliver up his brother, with all his associates. He was forthwith committed to the Tower; and the protector lent a deaf ear to all the remonstrances and intreaties of the ambassador. Don Pantaleon suffered decapitation, and all his accomplices were hanged at Tyburn. John IV. king of Portugal complained of this outrage upon the law of nations; but he received no satisfaction, and yet forbore to recal his ambassador.

§ II. Charles II. had offered to serve on board the Dutch fleet during the war; but the states declined the proposal. He still remained at Paris, subsisting on a miserable pension from the court of France, which was very ill payed; and now he had the mortification to see monsieur Bordeaux appointed ambassador to the protector of England. From this circumstance he concluded, that he should be obliged to quit France; and, in order to save himself the disgrace of a formal dismissal, he gave notice to Mazarine that he intended to retire from the French dominions. The cardinal was glad to find himself thus anticipated: he promised to pay up the arrears, and continue his pension; and the king received at that time another small supply which enabled him to remove himself with decency. Prince Rupert had just arrived at Nantz, and his fleet being sold to the cardinal, Charles touched the money. The prince retired to Germany, and the king fixed his residence at Cologne.

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§ III. Thither he was followed by the marquis of Ormond, who had left Clanrickard as his deputy in Ireland. The Irish of Ulster refused to obey this nobleman, although he was a catholic. They chose a council, which they vested with the administration of their affairs; and sent deputies to the duke of Lorraine, with an offer to put him in possession of Ireland: but this he declined, because he looked upon their affairs as desperate. Clanrickard finding it impossible to do any thing for the king's service, obtained his majesty's permission to quit that kingdom; and left the Irish catholics exposed to all the severity of the English commanders, who retaliated the cruelties they had exercised upon the protestants. Many died by the hands of the common executioner; a great number perished by famine; above one hundred thousand were permitted to go and serve foreign princes. The families that remained were chiefly transported into the province of Connaught, where a small pittance of land was allotted for their subsistence; while their estates were either divided among the soldiers and adventurers who had contributed to the

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the expence of the war, or confiscated and sold for the benefit of the English republic. Fleetwood, who married Ireton's widow, was promoted to the government of the island; but, he was afterwards succeeded in that command by Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector.

Bate.

§ IV. Cromwell, according to the act of government, issued out writs for a new parliament, excluding however all those who had carried arms for the king. They met on the third day of September, and the protector harangued them in the Painted-chamber. He informed them of the steps he had taken for modelling the new government; assured them of his upright intentions; recapitulated what he had done for the nation; told them he had convoked a free parliament; and that he did not pretend to be their master, but their fellow-labourer. Notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to procure a favourable parliament, he soon found himself disappointed in his endeavours. They chose Lenthall their speaker, at his recommendation; but, their first deliberations were employed in examining the nature of that authority by which they had been convoked. Cromwell had too many friends in the house, to believe this inquiry would be brought to any determination; nevertheless, he would not tamely suffer his power to become the subject of dispute. He therefore summoned them to the Painted-chamber, where he talked to them in a stile quite different from that which he had used in his first harangue. He said, they assumed too much liberty in questioning the established government, from whence they derived all their authority; for, if they were not lawfully assembled, they had no power to deliberate. At their return to the house, they found a guard at the door, which would not suffer any member to enter, until he had signed a recognition, by which he promised to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and, that he would never consent to a change in the government, established under a protector and parliament. A good number who refused to subscribe this engagement, were excluded from the house; and, many signed it with no other view than that of having opportunities to thwart his measures. Several members engaged in a conspiracy, formed chiefly by the cavaliers, to take arms in different parts of the kingdom. Cromwell having received intelligence of this scheme from his spies, anticipated the purpose of his enemies, by dissolving the parliament eleven days before the expiration of the term fixed by the act of government; and he gave them to understand, at parting, that he knew several members were engaged in a plot against the administration.

§ V. In two days after their dissolution, he ordered major Wildman to be arrested, and found upon him a declaration, containing the reasons that ought to induce the English people to take arms against the usurper Cromwell. Some other persons, republicans as well as royalists, were apprehended on the same account. The king had received frequent intimations from his friends in England, that the government of the protector was odious to the whole nation; and he concluded, that all the enemies of Cromwell were well-wishers to him and his family; though this was a very false conclusion. The royalists, on the supposition that they would be joined by the presbyterians for the king's restoration, and in all probability by the army, which was now discontented with Cromwell, formed the plan of two insurrections. This was communicated to Charles, who approved the scheme, ordered the necessary commissions to be

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expedited; and the day being fixed, repaired incognito to Zealand, that he might be at hand, in case the enterprize should be crowned with success. Wil-mot now created earl of Rochester, and Sir Joseph Wagstaff came over privately to London. In a consultation with the royalists, it was agreed, that the earl should conduct the undertaking in the North; and that Wagstaff should command the insurrection in the West. He accordingly set out for Sarum; and having joined Mr. Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, who had assembled about two hundred horse, entered Salisbury in time of the assize. They took possession of the gates and the market-place, seized the judges and sheriff; and proclaimed king Charles: but finding themselves disappointed in their expectation of being joined by the inhabitants, they quitted the town, and retreated to the westward. Being pursued by a troop of horse that happened to be quartered in that neighbourhood, they were seized with such a panic, that they threw down their arms and surrendered. Wagstaff escaped; but, Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, were taken and executed. The earl of Rochester finding nothing prepared for a rising in Yorkshire, thought proper to postpone the attempt; and found means to retire to the continent. Charles about this time discovered, that all his measures had been for some time betrayed by one of his own domestics, called Manning, who maintained a correspondence with Thurloe the protector's secretary; and this traitor was shot in the castle belonging to the duke of Newburgh. All opposition was now at an end, in Scotland as well as in England. The earl of Glencairn, who commanded the Highlanders that stood out for the king, had made his peace with the government; and Middleton, who succeeded him in that command, was in the course of the last year totally defeated by a detachment of Monk's army under Morgan.

§ VI. Oliver, at length, found leisure to convert his attention to the affairs of the continent. The famous war of Germany, which had raged for thirty years, in consequence of the palatine's having rashly accepted the crown of Bohemia, was now terminated by the peace of Westphalia. The young palatine was restored to part of his dominions; and the rights and privileges of the members that compose the Germanic body, were fixed and ascertained. Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, to whose valour the protestant interest in the empire had been so much indebted, was succeeded on the throne by his daughter Christina; and that princess, tired of the fatigues of royalty, had resigned the crown to her kinsman Charles Gustavus, who trod in the steps of the great Adolphus; and extended his conquests to the south side of the Baltic. In France, cardinal Richelieu had fomented the troubles against Charles I. of England, that he might not interfere with the cardinal's design of humbling the house of Austria. His successor Mazarine pursued the same plan of politics too far; for, instead of supporting the ballance between the king and parliament, he suffered Charles to be depressed, and a much more formidable power to rise from his ruins. He sacrificed the interests of Charles II. to his fear of disobliging the commonwealth, by which he was so little regarded, that their fleet attacked the French navy on their way to the relief of Dunkirk, which was besieged by the Spaniards. The cardinal digested the insult; and sent an ambassador to London, to solicit the friendship of the republic. With respect to Charles I. the court of Spain had manifested the same inglorious indifference, or rather countenanced the ambassador Cardenas in a scandalous partiality for the parliament.

Since

Clarendon.
Whitelock.

Since the martyrdom of that unhappy prince, they had indeed received lord Cottington and chancellor Hyde, as ambassadors from young Charles; but, they received them coldly, and disappointed them in the purport of their embassy, which was to obtain some assistance for their necessitous prince. Ascham, sent thither by the parliament, as their envoy, was assassinated by some Irish officers at Madrid; and the court of Spain, either could not or would not deliver up the perpetrators of this outrage, though one of them actually suffered by the hands of justice. Perhaps this incident might irritate the resentment of the protector. He ought, according to the dictates of sound policy, to have supported the declining fortunes of Spain against the victorious house of Bourbon; but, he had concluded a treaty with Charles X. of Sweden, who was nearly connected with France; and he was unwilling to take any step which might disoblige his new ally, whose friendship he had eagerly courted. Besides, Cromwell was influenced by religious motives. He thought his alliance with France would enable him to procure some indulgence for the protestants of that kingdom. He looked upon the Spaniards as a people bigotted to the superstitions of popery, and slaves to the inquisition, which he abhorred. Those religious prejudices form a strong contrast in the character of this great usurper. He thought it necessary to gild the morning of his protectorship with some signal exploit. He thirsted after the wealth of the Spanish West-Indies; he was importuned and flattered by the subtle Mazarine: and, on these considerations, he determined to wage war with the Spanish branch of the house of Austria.

§ VII. Immediately after his elevation to the protectorship, he sent Blake with a fleet into the Mediterranean, to chastise the corsairs of Algier, who had committed depredations on the English traders. Another, having on board Venables with five thousand soldiers, set sail for the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, to whom Cromwell delivered his orders sealed up, that he should not know their purport until he had reached a certain latitude. By these he was directed to make a descent upon the island of Hispaniola; and attack the capital St. Domingo. In April they descried the island; and at sight of their fleet the Spaniards abandoned their town; but, when they saw Venables landing his soldiers at a considerable distance from the place, they recovered their spirits, returned to their habitations, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The English were so fatigued by a long march in a hot climate, without water to quench their thirst, that when they arrived at St. Domingo, they could hardly stand under their arms. They were immediately repulsed, and obliged to reembark with precipitation, leaving on the island a considerable number of their men killed and wounded. After this miscarriage, the fleet steered to Jamaica, which they conquered, almost without opposition. Having left some troops in this island, they returned to England; and the protector was so exasperated at their having failed in the attempt upon Hispaniola, that he ordered Penn and Venables to be sent prisoners to the Tower. Nevertheless, he took care to reinforce the garrison at Jamaica; and that island soon became a flourishing colony.

Baker.
Clarendon.
Thurloe.

§ VIII. The king of Spain was no sooner informed of these hostilities, than he issued orders for confiscating all the effects belonging to the English in his dominions; and the Spanish trade fell into the hands of the Hollanders: so that they were soon indemnified for the losses they had sustained in the war with

England. On the twenty-third day of October, Oliver published the peace with France, which was no other than a renewal of antient treaties. Knowing how much he was hated by the royalists, presbyterians, independents, and even by some officers of distinction in the army; he thought he could not be too much on his guard against insurrection, and took his precautions accordingly. On pretence of keeping the cavaliers in awe, he divided England into eleven provinces; and each of these he assigned to a major-general, who governed without controul. These officers, vested with unlimited powers, became real tyrants; and oppressed the people in such a manner, that the protector was obliged to abridge their authority.

An.Ch. 1656.

§ IX. In the mean time, Blake being joined by Montague, cruised for some time off Cadiz, in hope of intercepting the plate-fleet from the West-Indies; but they were obliged by want of water to steer for Portugal, leaving captain Stayner with seven ships on the station. This officer in a few days descried the galleons, to which he gave chase. The Spanish admiral and two of his captains ran their vessels ashore; but two ships richly laden fell into the hands of the English, and two were set on fire. In one of these the marquis of Bajadox perished with his wife and daughter. When the prizes arrived at Portsmouth, the protector gave order, that the treasure should be conveyed to London in waggons, which proceeded through the streets in triumph. Blake having received intelligence that the fleet from Peru had taken shelter among the Canaries, sailed thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very formidable posture of defence. The bay was fortified by a castle and seven forts, united by a line of communication. Don Diego Diagues the Spanish admiral had moored his smaller vessels close to the shore, and the larger galleons farther out, with their broadsides to the sea. Blake, far from being discouraged by this warlike disposition, took the opportunity of a wind blowing into the bay; and attacked them with irresistible impetuosity. After an obstinate dispute, the enemy abandoned their galleons, which were set on fire and destroyed; and the wind shifting, so as to blow from the shore, enabled the English admiral to weather the bay, where otherwise he must have been exposed to such a severe fire from the forts, as in all probability would have made him repent of his rash enterprize. This great officer, in his return to England, died of the dropsy, to the unspeakable regret of Cromwell, who honoured his corpse with a very magnificent funeral. Blake had distinguished himself by his valour and conduct, as a general in the service of the parliament, and was turned of fifty before he commenced sea-officer. He was an inflexible republican, of honour and probity: he disapproved of Cromwell's usurpation, though he continued in the service of his country, whose battles he fought with astonishing valour and success.

Clarendon.
Thurloe.
Whitelock.

§ X. Cromwell seemed desirous of conciliating the affection of the people by an upright administration. The benches were filled with judges of integrity, who did justice without respect of persons. The nature of his government obliged him to act arbitrarily in some particular instances, such as the cases of Vane and Lilburn, whose great credit with the republicans required that he should for some time confine them in prison. For his own safety he likewise found it necessary to deprive Harrison, Overton, Rich, and Okey, of their commissions, because they had great influence in the army, and declared themselves

his

his implacable enemies, when he assumed the office of protector. Strict discipline was maintained among the troops. That a regular church might be maintained, he established commissioners, partly ecclesiastics, partly laymen, who, under the name of Tryers, examined the morals and qualifications of those who were candidates for the ministry; and such as were admitted they presented occasionally to the livings that were formerly in the gift of the crown. Full liberty of conscience he allowed to all but papists and prelatists; and even the clergy of the English church were less restrained under his government, than they had been by the republican parliament. He bridled the royalists by his army and spies, who insinuated themselves into all their secret councils. He was likewise well acquainted with every transaction in the court of Charles; for, after the execution of Manning, he found means to corrupt Sir Richard Willis, who was in the confidence of the chancellor of the exchequer, and knew the secret designs of the king and all his adherents. He seemed to be apprehensive of assassination. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had written a pamphlet, intitled, "Killing no murder," on purpose to instigate some person to destroy the tyrant in this manner. Cromwell took occasion to declare that such assassinations were base and unmanly; and therefore he would not be the first to practise them upon his enemies: but, should the cavaliers make any such attempt upon his life, he would find instruments to exterminate the whole royal family. The administration of Scotland was vested in a council, consisting chiefly of English members, and lord Broghill was appointed president. In order to curb the nobility, the protector abolished vassalage, and revived the office of justice of peace, which king James had introduced. He supported a long line of forts and garrisons, from one end of the kingdom to the other: he maintained an army of ten thousand men to prevent insurrection and disturbance. He favoured the presbyterian clergy, though they took great freedoms with his person and government; but his emissaries carefully fomented the animosity that prevailed between the resolutioners and protesters. At this juncture, the enemies of Cromwell had well nigh obtained the completion of all their wishes, by an accident. The count of Oldenburg having presented him with six fine Friesland coach-horses, he, for his amusement, attempted to drive his own equipage round Hyde Park, while his secretary Thurloe sat in the coach. The horses taking fright, galloped off with such violence of speed, that he could neither manage the reins, direct their course, nor keep his seat; but falling upon the pole, was dragged along the ground; and a pistol, which he always kept in his pocket, went off in the course of his career: yet he escaped from all these perils, almost unhurt.

Ludlow.

§ XI. The protector thought he had now established his authority on such a firm basis, that it wanted nothing but the confirmation of a parliament composed of members from the three kingdoms; and this he accordingly convoked for the seventh day of September: but he managed the elections with such dexterity, that a great majority of his friends was returned; and above one hundred members were excluded, because they refused to sign the recognition. By the first act that was passed, they renounced Charles Stuart; by another, they decreed the penalty of high treason against any person who should make an attempt upon the life of the protector. They liberally granted the necessary supplies for the support of the war, and approved themselves, in all their

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An. Ch. 1657. proceedings, a parliament according to Cromwell's own heart. In the month of February, he discovered a conspiracy hatched against his life, by one Syndercomb, a disbanded trooper, who had served in his own guards. This resolute soldier had several times attempted to assassinate the protector, and very narrowly missed his aim. He behaved at his trial with undaunted resolution, declaring that many other persons were engaged in the same design; and spoke as if he had received undoubted assurance of being screened from the stroke of justice: he was convicted of treason, and condemned to death; but, on the day appointed for his execution, he was found dead in prison. A like scheme was afterwards formed by some anabaptists, but discovered and frustrated. Major-general Harrison, vice-admiral Lawson, colonel Rich, major Danvers, and others of the anabaptist persuasion, were apprehended and confined, on suspicion of being concerned in this conspiracy.

Clarendon.

§ XII. Mean while the parliament continued to exhibit daily proofs of their complaisance to the protector, who, on his side, seemed to have changed his nature, in order to solicit popularity. He caressed the independents, professed a particular affection for the presbyterians, and pretended to have laid aside all enmity to the nobility and royalists. Colonel Jephson, in order to found the inclinations of the parliament, moved that they should make a tender of the crown to the protector; and the members expressed no surprize at the proposal: but when a more formal motion to the same purpose was made by alderman Pack, the whole house was filled with commotion. Lambert, on pretence of conscientious motives, started every civil and religious objection that occurred against the kingly government, and opposed the motion at the head of a strong party: he had entertained the hope of succeeding Cromwell in the protectorship. In spite of his opposition, the motion was approved by a great majority; the bill brought in, and a committee appointed to confer with his highness, to remove the scruples which might otherwise hinder him from accepting the offer. The conferences on this subject lasted for several days. The committee urged him with arguments and importunities, to which he replied in such a confused, unintelligible manner, as plainly indicates that he did not desire to be understood. He was certainly ambitious of the crown; and, in all probability, the motion was made with his privity and concurrence: but he was staggered and perplexed by the violent opposition of Lambert and other officers. He dreaded the army, which he himself had trained to principles diametrically opposite to monarchy, and even wrought up to the most desperate enthusiasm against the kingly name: he could not even gain over his brother-in-law Desborough, and Fleetwood who had married his daughter. They plainly told him, they would resign their commissions, should he accept of the crown; and desired he would no longer depend upon their service and attachment. A petition against the office of king, signed by colonel Pride and a great number of officers, was presented to parliament. He was given to understand, that several persons had engaged in an association to cut him off, immediately after his elevation to the royal dignity: he dreaded a mutiny among the troops; and he is said to have been influenced by a pretended prophecy, importing that he should be very near the throne, but never wear the diadem. He had desired time to deliberate, and appointed the eighth day of May for his answer. In this interval, while he fluctuated between fear and ambition,

bition, he is said to have undergone a vicissitude of the most anxious doubts and apprehensions: at length his answer implied an absolute refusal.

§ XIII. The parliament acknowledged this instance of moderation, in confirming his dignity of protector, and augmenting his power, by a solemn act, intitled, "The humble petition and advice." This empowered him to name Whitelocke. his successor; to convoke a yearly parliament composed of two houses: it Clarendon. provided that no member should be excluded from parliament, except with the consent of the whole house; that an annual revenue of thirteen hundred thousand pounds should be levied for the maintenance of the army and navy, and the ordinary purposes of the civil government, exclusive of what sums the parliament should raise on extraordinary occasions. Cromwell swore to the punctual execution of all these articles; and appointed the twenty-sixth day of June for his inauguration, which was celebrated for the second time with great pomp and magnificence, on the supposition that the first was defective in point of validity: then the parliament adjourned itself to the twentieth day of January.

§ XIV. In the course of this year, the protector concluded with France a league offensive and defensive, by which he obliged himself to send a reinforcement of six thousand English to the French army. He likewise stipulated that Mardyke and Dunkirk should be besieged, and, when taken, delivered to Cromwell. King Charles, when he received the first hint of this negotiation, sent a private envoy to the archduke Leopold, governor of the Low Countries, with proposals of engaging in a league with Spain; and that prince embraced the offer, in hope that the king of England would influence the Irish troops in France to quit that service and enlist in the army of his catholic majesty. They soon concluded the treaty, by which the king was allowed to reside privately at Brussels, with a pension of six thousand livres a month, and half as much for his brother the duke of Gloucester, who, after his father's death, had been sent to Holland by order of the parliament: besides, the court of Spain engaged to furnish Charles with six thousand men, as soon as he should be possessed of a good port in England. This treaty being ratified, the King quitted Cologne, and repaired to the Low Countries, at the time when Leopold resigned that government to Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV. Lord Muskerry, who commanded an Irish regiment in France, abandoned that service at his majesty's desire, and joined the Spanish army; and four other regiments, consisting of English, Scots, and Irish, followed his example. When the league between France and England was signed, cardinal Mazarine gave the duke of York to understand, that he must retire to another country: at the same time he dismissed all the cavaliers who had entered into the French service, and, among the rest, the lord Digby; who, by the death of his father, was become earl of Bristol, and had by this time embraced the Roman catholic religion. Cromwell sent six thousand veterans into France, under the command of Reynolds, who had acted as his plenipotentiary at Paris. In this first campaign, several places were taken from the Spaniards; and, among these Mardyke, of which the English troops were put in immediate possession. Reynolds being drowned in his passage to England, was succeeded in command by Lockhart, a native of Scotland, who resided as ambassador at Paris.

Clarendon.

§ XV.

§ XV. After the adjournment, Cromwell deprived Lambert of his commission of lieutenant-general, which was bestowed upon Fleetwood; but he indulged him with a pension of two thousand pounds, on condition of his living quietly, without disturbing the government: other officers were also dismissed from the service, because the protector could not depend upon their attachment. He now produced his eldest son Richard at court, as his heir apparent. He was a man of an inoffensive, unambitious character, who had been married some years, and lived in the country on a small estate, which he possessed in right of his wife: he spent his time in acts of benevolence. Far from approving his father's conduct, he had, at the time of the late king's trial, fallen on his knees, and conjured him in the most pathetic manner to spare the life of his sovereign. His brother Henry was by this time promoted to the government of Ireland. His eldest sister had been married to Mr. Claypole, and was the darling of her father; another he bestowed upon the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick; a third married lord viscount Falconbridge; and a fourth lived in celibacy.

§ XVI. Cromwell, in order to form a sort of ballance to the commons, and restore in some shape the form of the antient constitution, had, in the interval of the session, issued writs, summoning sixty members to compose another house equivalent to the house of peers. This step he was authorized to take by the "Humble petition and advice." These writs were directed to four or five of the antient nobility, who rejected the invitation, to some gentlemen of fortune, and a number of officers who had raised themselves from the meanest employments. He indulged them with the privileges which the peers had formerly enjoyed; and distinguished them by the name of "The other house," until he and the parliament should agree to honour them with a more dignified appellation. The commons meeting on the twentieth day of January, a motion was made for admitting those members who had been excluded, because they refused to sign the recognition. It was approved so suddenly, that Cromwell had not time to find a pretence for disputing a power they enjoyed by a solemn act, which he himself had sworn to observe; so that above an hundred of his most bitter enemies were admitted into parliament, forming a great majority in the opposition. They began with questioning the authority of the other chamber, which they said could not pretend to have a power equal to the house of commons, from which it derived its origin and existence.

§ XVII. The protector, incensed at their presumption, summoned them to Whitehall, and supported the authority of the other house with such vehemence of expression, that the commons, fearing immediate dissolution, thought proper to acknowledge the other house as an essential part of parliament. Nevertheless, they afterwards presumed to debate upon the petition and advice; and several members affirmed, that it was null and of no effect, because enacted under compulsion, at a time when a great number of members was excluded from the house, without any legal cause. Cromwell, perceiving that these speeches tended to a repeal of the act upon which his whole authority was founded, immediately repaired to the other house, and sent for the commons. He told them, that the petition and advice was a measure of their own: that, for his part, far from aspiring to the honour of being protector, he would rather

rather have lived in a cottage, and kept a flock of sheep, than have burthened himself with such an employment; but, as it was their desire, he did not doubt that they would have supported the work of their own hands. He said there was a predominating humour among them, disposing them to find every thing too high or too low; and therefore it was impossible to content them, while they neglected virtue, honesty, piety, and justice. He said, by their connivance, endeavours had been used to form conspiracies in the army against the present establishment; that their design was to divide the nation, and advance the interest of the king of Scotland; that some of them had actually enlisted soldiers for that prince, who was then employed in making preparations for England. "Since that is your purpose (added he) and such are your proceedings, I think it is high time to put an end to your sitting: I therefore declare this parliament dissolved; and God be judge between you and me." Several members answered "Amen."

§ XVIII. It was not without reason that Cromwell talked of conspiracies in favour of the king. A plot was actually formed by Mr. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough; Sir Henry Slingsby, a wealthy knight of Yorkshire; and doctor Hewet, a clergyman of the church of England. They had communicated to the king such a feasible account of this combination, that he had really made some preparations in the Low Countries, and intended to send over those four regiments which afterwards joined the Spaniards. Cromwell, having received intimation that one of his majesty's commissions was accepted by a gentleman of the name of Stapley, whose father had been one of the late king's judges, and was intimate with the protector, sent for him to Whitehall; and, by dint of private remonstrances, prevailed upon him to discover all he knew of the conspiracy. He likewise gave Oliver to understand, that the marquis of Ormond had been in England, and resided three weeks in London. That nobleman had been sent over by the king to learn the true state of the combination; and, finding matters not yet ripe for action, returned to the continent, without the knowledge of Cromwell. Mordaunt, Slingsby, and Hewit, together with a great number of their accomplices, were apprehended; and a high court of justice was erected to try these conspirators. Mordaunt was saved by means of An. Ch. 1658. his wife, who bribed the principal evidences to absent themselves from the trial: but the other two were condemned and executed. Ashton, Stacy, and Bellesley, suffered on the same account, and many others received sentence of death: but the protector spared their lives, rather than run the risque of augmenting the number of his enemies, which were already numerous and formidable. The king, about this time, received a petition, signed by several independents, quakers, and anabaptists, professing their detestation of Cromwell, and offering to risque their lives and fortunes in his majesty's service, provided he would assent to some propositions joined to their address. In these they demanded, that he would restore the long parliament, confirm the concessions which his father had made in the treaty of Newport; and allow every man to worship God in his own way. Charles, who did not relish their demands, and had no great opinion of their interest, returned a general answer, importing, that he was not of a humour to persecute any person on account of his religion; and that those who were disposed to serve him effectually, might always depend upon his favour.

§ XIX. In the month of June, marechal Turenne, who commanded the French army, undertook the siege of Dunkirk, which was but indifferently provided for defence. He had no sooner invested the place, than Don John of Austria marched to its relief, resolving to give battle to the besiegers. The prince of Condé, who commanded a body of his own troops as an ally of the Spaniards, advised Don John and the marquis of Caracena to alter the disposition they had made, and explained his reasons for advising that alteration: but, his counsel being rejected, he repaired to his post, and told the duke of York, who, with his brother, served as a volunteer in the Spanish army, that he would presently see them lose a battle. Lockhart, who commanded the English troops, charged the Spanish infantry with such vigour, that they were soon broken; while their horse suffered in the same manner from the French cavalry. In a word, they were totally routed: though the prince of Condé, with his division, made a masterly retreat to Ypres and Furnes; whither likewise the Spaniards retired in great confusion. Turenne proceeded with the siege of Dunkirk, and the gallant marquis de Leyde, the governor, being mortally wounded, the place was surrendered by capitulation. The French king entered the town in triumph, and afterwards delivered it to Lockhart, whom the protector had appointed governor for the English. Many reciprocal compliments passed upon this occasion between the protector and the cardinal.

Clarendon.

§ XX. Cromwell, notwithstanding such an uninterrupted series of successes, was by this time become truly miserable. He saw himself detested by all the different parties in England; and that his whole power rested upon a standing army in which his enemies had considerable influence. Plots and conspiracies had been formed against his life and government; he knew the desperate temper of those fanatics whom he himself had so often practised upon, and was incessantly haunted by the terrors of assassination. He wore defensive armour under his cloaths, and always kept a loaded pistol in his pocket. His aspect became cloudy, and when a stranger appeared at his court, he fixed his eyes upon him with all the eagerness of suspicion. When he made excursions to Hampton-court, his coach was always filled with armed domestics, closely surrounded with guards, and he travelled with hurry and precipitation. He never slept three nights successively in the same chamber: he shifted his lodging-room without communicating his purpose to the family; and, at the back-door of the apartment in which he lay, he ever posted centinels, in whose attachment he could confide. He was also exposed to family-disquiets that preyed upon his spirits. Fleetwood was averse to his power from principle, and had converted his wife to his opinion. His favourite daughter Claypole had lately died of a languishing disorder, during which she, in divers conferences, had awakened the horrors of his guilty conscience. All these circumstances concurring with the continual agitation of his spirits from the multiplicity of affairs in which he was engaged, had a violent effect on his constitution. In the month of August he was seized with a tertian ague at Hampton-Court; and, the symptoms increasing, he was removed to Whitehall, where he began to reflect upon his past life, and prepare for his dissolution. When his chaplain, Goodwin, told him the elect would never fall into reprobation, he replied, "Then I am safe; for I am sure I was once in a state of grace." He was so much encouraged by the visions and pretended revelations of his fanatical preachers,

Whitelocke.

Ludlow.

chers, that he believed he should certainly recover, even when the physicians despaired of his life. "I tell you (cried he) with emotion, I shall not die of this distemper: favourable answers have been returned by heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord." Upon a fast-day, appointed on account of his distemper, the ministers thanked God for the undoubted pledges they had received of the protector's recovery.

§ XXI. Notwithstanding these assurances his symptoms became more and more violent, and the physicians declared the next fit would put a period to his life. Then the council sent a deputation to know his pleasure with regard to the succession. He was almost insensible, when they asked if it was his pleasure that his eldest son Richard should succeed him in the protectorship; and all the answer he could make was a simple affirmative. He expired on the third day of September, the anniversary of the victories he had obtained at Dunbar and Worcester; and his death was rendered remarkable by one of the most violent tempests which had blown in the memory of man, as if nature had intended to celebrate the fate of such an extraordinary person. Cromwell died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, leaving all Europe in astonishment at the incidents of his fortune. We have already observed that he was descended of a good family in Huntingdonshire. His father died while he was young; but his mother survived his elevation to the protectorship. She was a virtuous woman, of the name of Stuart, and said to be related to the royal family. Oliver was of a robust make and constitution, and his aspect was manly though clownish. His education extended no farther than a superficial knowledge of the Latin tongue: but he inherited great talents from nature; though they were such as he could not have exerted to advantage at any other juncture than that of a civil war inflamed by religious contests. His character was formed from an amazing conjunction of enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and ambition. He was possessed of courage and resolution that overlooked all danger, and saw no difficulty. He dived into the characters of mankind with wonderful sagacity; while he concealed his own purposes under the impenetrable shield of dissimulation. He reconciled the most atrocious crimes to the most rigid notions of religious obligation. From the severest exercise of devotion he relaxed into the most ludicrous and idle buffoonery. He preserved the dignity and distance of his character in the midst of the coarsest familiarity*. He was cruel and tyrannical from policy; just and tem-

* When he had a point to carry in the army, he condescended to take corporals and serjeants to his bed, where he plied them with religious exercise and discourse. Among his friends he jested and composed doggrel rhimes. At a meeting of the republican chiefs, and the general officers, to concert the model of a free government, Cromwell, by way of joke, threw a cushion at the head of Ludlow, who returned the compliment, and chased him down stairs. In signing the king's sentence, he in a frolic besmeared the face of Harry Martin with ink, and Martin bedaubed him in the same manner. He frequently invited his inferior officers to entertain-

ments, and when the dishes were set upon the table, a number of soldiers would rush in and carry off the victuals. There was no splendour or magnificence in his court, which the nobility disdained to honour with their presence: but his oeconomy was well regulated: all the persons he employed at home and abroad, were men of uncommon ability, and acted with surprising spirit for the honour of the nation. He interposed so effectually in favour of the protestants in the valley of Lucerne, and those of Nismes and Languedoc, who were in actual rebellion against their princes, and in imminent danger of being extirpated, at the instigation of the pope, that

temperate from inclination: perplexed and despicable in his discourse; clear and consummate in his designs: ridiculous in his reveries; respectable in his conduct: in a word, the strangest compound of villainy and virtue, baseness and magnanimity, absurdity and good sense, that we find upon record in the annals of mankind.

§ XXII. Immediately after the decease of Cromwell the council assembled; and, in consequence of his last will, elected his son Richard protector of the commonwealth. This election was notified to the mayor of London, and next day he was proclaimed in that city and in Westminster. Far from meeting with opposition, he in a little time received addresses from the different counties and corporations of England, congratulating him upon his succession, which they promised to support with life and fortune. After having been installed, and taken the oath, he, in order to secure the attachment of general Monk, who had rendered himself absolute in Scotland, sent thither that offi-

they were pardoned and restored to all their privileges; while his holiness trembled at the menaces of the protector, who gave him to understand, that his fleet should visit Civita Vecchia, in such a manner that Rome would resound with the noise of the British cannon. Cromwell was not altogether insensible to literary merit. He granted a pension to archbishop Usher, though of the opposite party: he retained Andrew Marvel in his service; he caressed Waller, to whom he was related. He gave one hundred pounds a year to the professor of divinity at Oxford; and the celebrated John Milton was his secretary for the Latin tongue; though his immense genius was but little known even to his employers; for he is mentioned by Whitelocke as an obscure blind man, very unfit for his office.

Clarendon, Whitelocke, Ludlow, Bates.

This age likewise produced Sir William Davenant, Sir John Denham, and Cowley, who, though indifferent poets, acquired a good share of reputation. The republican spirit of the times gave birth to the Oceana of Harrington, containing the plan of an ideal commonwealth; and the controversies and absurdities that deformed religion, encouraged Hobbes to write and publish his Leviathan.

Among the sects produced in the reign of Charles, one of the most remarkable was that of the quakers, which was founded by George Fox, the son of a weaver at Drayton in Lancashire. This enthusiast was bound apprentice to a shoemaker; but, having a turn to spiritual contemplations, he quitted this mechanical profession, and strolled about the country in a leathern doublet. That he might not be interrupted in his sublime meditations, he wandered in woods, lodged in hollow trees, and read the Bible without ceasing. At length he believed himself inspired, and began to disregard the scripture as a dead letter. He now assumed the character of an apostle; and, returning to the world, exerted

his talents in making proselytes. The fanaticism of the times assisted his endeavours, in which he met with extraordinary success. He and his disciples were seized with such violent transports of enthusiasm, as threw them into contortions, and universal trepidation, from whence they derived the name of quakers. Their peculiarities in manners and doctrine are so well known as to need no description. They were severely persecuted, confined in prisons and mad houses, reviled, scourged, and set in the pillory; but they suffered with such patience and equanimity, as excited the admiration of mankind. They renounced all rites and ceremonies of religion; and pretended to be directed by the immediate illumination of the spirit. One of this sect perished in attempting to fast forty days, as Christ fasted in the wilderness. A female quaker appeared naked in a church before Cromwell the protector, saying, she was moved by the spirit to appear as a sign to the people. A good number believing that the renovation of all things had commenced, threw away their cloaths as superfluities. James Naylor fancied himself the saviour of the world: he pretended to raise a person from the dead: he made a public entry into Bristol, mounted on a horse, while his disciples spread their garments before him, crying, "Hosanna to the highest! holy, holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth." When examined by the magistrate, he made no other answer to all questions, but this, "Thou hast said it." They condemned him to be set on the pillory; he was scourged, branded in the face, and a red hot iron thrust through his tongue. These inflictions he bore with patience, nay, even with exultation; but, when he was confined to Bridewell, kept to hard labour, fed upon bread and water, and debarred the company of his disciples, his illusions vanished; and, being dismissed as an ordinary man, he returned to his original occupation.

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cer's brother-in-law Clarges, with assurances of friendship and regard. Monk received them with professions of acknowledgment and submission. As Richard had condescended to ask his advice, he counselled him to employ none but pious and moderate ministers in the church; to hinder the officers from caballing together; and exert his endeavours to make himself master of the army. He had no reason to doubt the affection of the troops, inasmuch as every regiment in the service had, in addresses, assured him of their inviolable attachment. Mean while he expended a considerable sum of money on the funeral of his father, who was magnificently interred in the chapel of Henry VII. among the kings and princes of England. The parties were grown so restless and headstrong before the protector's death, that he himself, with all his power and capacity, could hardly keep them in subjection. Much less could they be governed by Richard, who had nothing active in his disposition, no talents for business, no knowledge of government, no acquaintance with the army, no ambition of power, no importance of character. The general assent to his succession was no other than a temporary acquiescence, until each party could concert its measures, and act effectually for its own interest.

§ XXIII. The new protector, that his power might have the proper sanction, convoked a parliament for the three kingdoms, consisting, like the last, of two houses; and in the mean time consulted with his particular friends, about means for keeping his council and army in dependence upon his authority. His confederates were men in civil employments, who, without considering the change of circumstances, advised him to support to its full extent, the authority which he inherited from his father, and the plan of government he had established. His uncle Desborough was a republican, and his brother Fleetwood an enthusiastic millenarian, consequently both averse to the government of a single person. Fleetwood was the idol of the army, which Richard disoblged by the promotion of some officers against whom they entertained a dislike. Lambert and Ludlow, with many other officers whom Oliver had laid aside, came forth from their retreats, and began to cabal against the protector. Some of his disguised enemies persuaded him that it would be his interest to assemble a good number of officers at London, to overawe the deliberations of the parliament, in case it should prove refractory. He fell into the snare, and ordered all the officers that could be spared from their regiments to repair to London. These constituted a numerous assembly, which met frequently, and assumed the name of "The great council of the army." Being actuated by Desborough and his associates, they presented a petition to the protector, demanding that no member of the army should be subject to the civil magistrate; and that the officers should enjoy the privilege of choosing their own general. Richard, shocked at their presumption, rejected their requests, and even threatened to dismiss them from the service, should they make such extravagant proposals for the future. Their directors encouraged this petition, on purpose that the officers might suffer a repulse, which would provoke their resentment; and they were not disappointed in their expectation.

§ XXIV. When the parliament met on the twenty-seventh day of January, they called in question the right which the Scots and Irish arrogated, in sending members to the house; and, like their predecessors, they began to examine the

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the authority of the other house. After tedious debates, it was agreed by a majority of votes, that the other house should subsist; and the Scottish and Irish members sit in parliament. Then they passed an act, confirming Richard's title of protector. In the mean time the council of officers presented another petition, demanding that Fleetwood should be appointed general of the army. The protector answered this with uncommon acrimony, and ordered them to return to their quarters. The commons, dreading their designs, voted that no council of officers should be held during the session of parliament; and that no person should be permitted to exercise an employment in the army, until after he should have taken an oath that he would not interrupt the deliberations of the commons. But these votes were rejected by the other house, composed chiefly of officers; and the council were continued, without any regard to the orders of the protector, who had now lost all authority, and brought his administration into contempt. On the twenty-second day of April, he was beleaguered in Whitehall by a body of officers; and Desborough penetrating to his apartment with an armed retinue, demanded, in the name of the army, that he would dissolve the parliament. He was obliged to comply with their desire; and, as the commons had adjourned the house for three days, he dissolved them by proclamation.

§ XXV. The officers resolved to settle the government, without taking the least notice of Richard, who was now considered as a private person. They elected Fleetwood for their general; restored Lambert, Ludlow, and the other officers whom Oliver had dismissed; and broke five colonels, who had advised Richard to support the parliament. These were Ingoldsby, Goffe, Whalley, lord Falconbridge, and Howard afterwards earl of Carlisle. The council of officers always met at Wallingford-house, which belonged to Fleetwood, whom they seemed desirous of raising to the protectorship: but Lambert, who was a man of deep design and aspiring ambition, resolved to counterwork the interest of Fleetwood by private cabals, while he cajoled him to his face with the most flattering expressions of friendship and veneration. For this purpose he employed colonel Lilburne to intrigue among the independents of the army, who abhorred the protectorship. A great number of these being inferior officers, assembled at St. James's, to consult about the regulation of the government; there they began to extol the administration of the independent parliament, which had brought their king to the scaffold, and destroyed the constitution of their country. They were joined by Ludlow, countenanced by Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and all the tribe of republicans, anabaptists, millenarians, and other fanatics that swarmed in the army. In a word, they became so powerful, that the council of Wallingford-house thought proper to join them in "the good old cause:" so they termed the re-establishment of that remnant which Oliver had so disgracefully dismissed. Before this union of the officers took effect, those of Wallingford-house, in a conference with Vane, Haslerig, Scot, Solway, and other members of the old parliament, had insisted upon their being secured by an act of indemnity; but were obliged to rest contented with a verbal promise, by which those members engaged to use their endeavours for that purpose. All these steps being taken, Lambert, accompanied by a great number of officers, repaired to the house of Lenthall, who had been speaker in the long parliament, and presented him with a declaration
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of the military council, by which he and the other members were invited to re-assemble. Accordingly, on the eighth day of May, they met in the house, to the number of two and forty; and the presbyterian members, who had been formerly excluded, attempted to resume their seats; but they would not admit of such troublesome associates; and the army supported them in the renunciation of those members. This assembly was so hated for their former tyranny, that the people in general could not help deriding them under the denomination of "the rump;" in allusion to their being the most inconsiderable and ignoble part of the parliament.

§ XXVI. The first step taken by them, was to tamper with the officers under Monk in Scotland, while they sent thither Clarges to persuade him to acknowledge the new government. They knew he hated them in his heart; but such was his influence among the troops, and the whole Scottish people, by whom he was generally beloved for his impartial and mild administration, that the parliament would not venture to deprive him of his office. The change of government was so sudden and unexpected, that Monk had not time to regulate his conduct; and when he began to found his officers, he found them already prepossessed by letters from their friends in London. He therefore acquiesced in the authority of his new masters. Immediately after the parliament reassembled, Lambert presented an address in the name of the general council of officers, petitioning, That they would pass an act of indemnity in favour of those who had been instrumental in the late changes of government: That all christians should be indulged with liberty of conscience, except papists, prelatists, and libertines: That all cavaliers should be for ever excluded from the magistracy or public employments of any kind: That measures should be taken to prevent the danger from the power's being too long vested in one parliament: That they would confirm lord Charles Fleetwood in the office of general in chief of all the land-forces belonging to the commonwealth: That the legislative power should reside in a representative of the people; and the executive part of government be intrusted to a council of state, composed of able, pious, and faithful members: That they would discharge the debts of his highness Richard Cromwell; and grant suitable pensions for him and his mother, that posterity might see the great respect they payed to the memory of their renowned general Oliver Cromwell, to which the state had owed such signal obligations. The parliament thanked the officers for their affection to the public; though they did not at all relish some articles of their address. They detested the family of Cromwell; but they were afraid of disobliging their constituents. A deputation from their house waited upon Richard, to know whether or not he acquiesced in the change of government; and he signified his submission in writing. Nevertheless, they refused to pay the debt which he had contracted for his father's funeral; but they accommodated him with two thousand pounds, and ordered him to leave Whitehall in six days.

§ XXVII. They appointed Fleetwood commander in chief; but, limited his commission to one year; they ordained, that all commissions should be signed by the speaker of the house; they voted, That Ireland should be governed by commissioners appointed in parliament; and recalled Henry Cromwell to London. He obeyed the order with a good grace, though he might have given them abundance of trouble; for, he had great influence among the troops;

troops in that kingdom; and was beloved by the people for his mild and upright administration. The parliament dreading the power of the superior officers, a good number of whom they knew were averse to their government, began to new-model the army. The committee for examining commissions, cashiered many officers whom they suspected; and filled their places with others, in whom they could confide. They would have practised the same method with the troops under Monk; but, he was no sooner apprised of their intention, than he wrote letters to the parliament, complaining of their design to sap his authority; and hinting, that it would not be for their interest to drive him to extremity. They did not think it prudent to quarrel with an officer of his ability, at the head of twelve thousand veterans, supported by the whole Scottish nation; and therefore, they recalled the commissions they had granted. They continued the tax of five and thirty thousand pounds a-month, which had been imposed by the parliament during Oliver's protectorship. They appointed commissioners for the civil government of Ireland; and bestowed the chief command of the forces in that kingdom upon Edmund Ludlow, an experienced officer and rigid republican.

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§ XXVIII. Having received intimation of a design in favour of the king, they ordered all cavaliers to quit London. This step was not unnecessary. Charles had impowered commissioners to treat with those, who, though they had acted against his father or himself, were now willing to return to their duty. These agents had met with extraordinary success. The people were sick of a tyranny established by two and forty independents, the despicable remnant of those who had enslaved their country; and they were as much disgusted with an army of fanatics and hypocrites, who, on pretence of extending the kingdom of Christ, had prosecuted their own selfish purposes, and committed the most flagrant acts of insolence, cruelty, and oppression. The presbyterians were no friends to monarchy, unless curtailed of almost all its prerogatives; but, they were still more averse to the independents, and eagerly sought the ruin of that detested party, even though at the expence of seeing the royal family restored. They therefore resolved to co-operate with the cavaliers. Colonel Mordaunt resolved to hazard his life once more for the service of his sovereign. He projected a plan for surprising at one time Gloucester, Lyme, Plymouth, Exeter, and Chester. The scheme was approved by the king, who repaired in secret to St. Malo, that he might be at hand, in case the enterprize should succeed. But, the whole design was defeated by the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, who imparted it to Thurloe, by whom it was communicated to the council of state. The militia of the different counties was immediately put into the hands of officers upon whom the parliament could depend; and such other precautions taken as rendered the execution of the scheme altogether impracticable. Massey was taken in attempting to surprise Gloucester; but he escaped from his keepers: lord Willoughby and Horatio Townshend were arrested on the road to the western counties. Sir George Booth, with five hundred men, actually took possession of Chester, and published a declaration against the tyranny of the parliament, without mentioning the king's name. He was joined by Sir Thomas Middleton; but, Lambert marching against them with a detachment of the army, by order of the commons, they were quickly routed. Sir George Booth

Booth escaped from the field; but he was afterwards discovered in woman's attire, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

§ XXIX. This victory inspired the parliament with such extraordinary courage, that they ventured to confirm the alterations they had formerly made in Monk's army: and this officer was so much offended, that in a letter to the speaker he demanded his dismissal; but, his brother-in-law Dr. Clarges used such arguments with Lenthall, that it was never communicated to the parliament. The conduct of Monk was so mysterious at this juncture, that one would be apt to think he had not yet determined in what manner he should act. The partisans of the king took it for granted, that he secretly favoured the royal cause; and, upon that supposition, sent his own brother, who was a clergyman and royalist, with proposals in favour of his sovereign: but, he declined treating on the subject, and behaved towards his brother with impenetrable reserve and seeming indifference.

§ XXX. The principal officers at London perceiving that the intention of the parliament was to enslave the army, held several conferences, to concert measures for preventing the execution of this design; and their deliberations were still influenced by Lambert, though he was then quartered in the north of England. Knowing that the inferior officers of the troops about London were devoted to the parliament, he tampered with those under his command so successfully, that they were prevailed upon to sign a petition to parliament, demanding, That they would comply with the contents of the address formerly presented by the council of Wallingford-house: That they would establish general Fleetwood in his command, which, according to his present commission, would expire in a few months: That Lambert should be appointed lieutenant-general, Desborough general of the cavalry, and Monk general of the infantry: That they would take vengeance on those communities which had assisted the enemy in the late insurrections; and regulate the corporations in such a manner, as to exclude from the magistracy all but such as had expressed their affection for a commonwealth. This petition, dated at Derby, was communicated to Fleetwood for his approbation, before it should be presented to parliament; but, Sir Arthur Haslerig having received intimation of their scheme, communicated his intelligence to the house. Fleetwood being interrogated upon this subject, owned the design; and three officers who brought it to town, delivered a copy of the petition to the speaker. The house having taken the substance of it into deliberation, voted, That to have other officers than those appointed by parliament, would be useless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth.

§ XXXI. Notwithstanding this mark of disapprobation, the officers drew up another address, which was presented to Desborough. In this, though they professed adherence to the parliament, they complained of misrepresentations; and in many articles supported the petition from Derby. They also demanded, That the arrears of the army should be paid; That provision should be made for maimed soldiers, widows, and orphans: That no officer should be cashiered but by the sentence of a court-martial, except in case of reduction: and, That none should be admitted but such as were examined and found duly qualified. The house was extremely dissatisfied at the nature of this address; but, being in no condition to act with a high hand, they thanked the petitioners for this

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expression of their affection and fidelity; and gave them to understand, that the parliament had already begun to take measures for the satisfaction of the army. Nevertheless, having received letters from Monk, filled with professions of attachment and submission, they ventured to answer every distinct article of the petition, in a different stile. They declared, That the officers had complained without cause; and, That the parliament did not think themselves obliged to give an account of their conduct. The officers now thought they could not recede with safety; and they resolved either to subdue or dissolve the parliament. For this purpose Lambert approached London with his brigade; and the house passed an act, declaring all those guilty of high-treason who should raise money on the subject, without the consent of parliament. Having received assurances from Monk, that he would support them, and was already on his march from Scotland, they cashiered Lambert, Desborough, and some other officers who had signed the petition; revoked Fleetwood's commission, and appointed commissioners to govern the army for a limited time: but, the army paid no regard to these resolutions. The council of state sent for two regiments, commanded by officers in whom they could confide, to take up their quarters in Westminster, and guard the parliament; but Lambert entering London with four regiments, took possession of all the avenues to the parliament, on the thirteenth day of October, reconducted the speaker to his own house, and excluded the members. At night, the two regiments that were well affected to the parliament, retired from their posts, which were immediately occupied by Fleetwood: next day the malecontents cashiered the officers of those two regiments, and filled up their places with others, whom the soldiers received without hesitation.

§ XXXII. Having thus seized the administration into their own hands, they formed a council of ten, to provide for the most pressing occasions of the commonwealth. They chose Fleetwood for their general, Lambert for their lieutenant, and Desborough for general of the cavalry. A council of seven was empowered to distribute commissions; and the severest discipline was observed. They sent colonel Cobbet to Monk, that he might endeavour to engage that officer in their party; but, should his remonstrances prove ineffectual, he had instructions to seduce his troops, and, if possible, arrest his person. Dr. Clarges did not fail to make Monk previously acquainted with Cobbet's commission. During this anarchy that prevailed in England, the king set out for Fontarabia, that he might be present at the treaty which was now brought upon the carpet, for a pacification between France and Spain; but, before he reached St. John de Luz, the peace of the Pyrenees was concluded. Don Lewis de Haro prime-minister of Spain, received him with great hospitality: he even presented him with a sum of money; but, cardinal Mazarine refused to see him, that he might give no umbrage to the parliament of England; and Charles returned to Brussels. On the twenty-sixth day of October, the council of officers appointed a committee of safety, in which they vested the power of the administration. The principal members were Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Ludlow, and Sir Henry Vane, who though a member of parliament, had lately espoused the cause of the army. At the same time, the officers published a declaration, annulling the late orders of parliament; and declaring, that far from setting up a military government, they had established a committee of safety,

safety, which was enjoined to deliberate and propose a form of legislature, that should be proper to maintain the liberties of the subject, and the happiness of the commonwealth, without king, single governor, or house of peers.

§ XXXIII. Monk had by this time, in all probability, resolved to follow the dictates of his affection to the royal family. He expected to be joined by the presbyterians, who had been severely oppressed by the independents: he was assured of the cavaliers; and did not doubt of being able to gain over part of the army in England; but, he found it necessary to act with secrecy and circumspection, and proceed for some time under colour of re-establishing the parliament. He assembled his troops from the different parts of Scotland; dismissed some officers whom he knew averse to his designs; imprisoned Cobbet in the castle of Edinburgh; found means to secure the town of Berwick in his interest; and demanded of the Scots an extraordinary supply for the purposes of his expedition. During these preparations, Clarges arrived in Scotland with proposals for a treaty between him and the committee of safety. By the advice of this gentleman, he consented to a negotiation, in order to gain time; and sent three of his officers, namely, Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, as commissioners to treat with the committee, though they were expressly ordered to start such obstacles as would protract the negotiation. They found Lambert at York with a body of forces, to oppose the progress of Monk, whom he hated as a rival in military fame and preferment. He said, he was sufficiently authorised to treat with them; but, when they demanded the restoration of the parliament, he owned he had no instructions on that article; and they proceeded to London, where the committee immediately assented to all their proposals. The treaty was accordingly signed on the fifteenth day of November; both sides engaging to act vigorously in opposition to Charles Stuart.

§ XXXIV. Monk was chagrined at the precipitation of his deputies, and delayed ratifying the treaty, on pretence that they had deviated from their instructions. From this circumstance the committee suspected his design. The members of the parliament who had composed the council of state, assembling privately, expedited a commission, appointing Monk commander in chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The governor of Portsmouth admitted into the place, Haslerig, Morley, and Walton; and declared for the parliament. A detachment of the army sent thither by the committee to block up the town, abandoned their officers, and joined the governor. Their example was followed by another body of troops, detached on the same service: while vice-admiral Lawson publicly espoused the parliament's interest; and sailed into the river Thames to overawe the committee and their adherents. Lambert informed of these transactions, sent a regiment to the assistance of his friends in London; but when they arrived at St. Alban's, they revolted to the parliament: Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, began their march for London, at the head of those very troops which had abandoned their leaders. Such a concurrence of disasters, intirely broke the spirit of the committee. They durst not assemble the army, for fear of seeing more dangerous instances of defection; and they took no precautions for their own defence. Whitelocke advised Fleetwood either to put himself at the head of the army, or effect an accommodation with the king. He seemed to relish this last part of the alternative; but

he afterwards changed his opinion, and remained inactive. At length, he and his colleagues consented to the restoration of the parliament; and resigned the authority they had usurped. On the twenty-sixth day of December, the members assembling, appointed a committee for governing the army in their name and under their direction: then they sent express orders to Lambert, to distribute his forces into quarters; but, they had already, upon the news of the revolution at London, confined their general, who was sent prisoner to the Tower of London: Sir Harry Vane and some other members, who joined the army, were likewise confined to their own houses.

§ XXXV. Monk having received a supply of thirty thousand pounds from the Scots, and taken proper precautions for maintaining the peace of that kingdom, entered England on the second day of January. In a few days he received a letter from the speaker, informing him of the parliament's being restored, thanking him for his good intentions, and giving him to understand that he might save himself the trouble of coming to London, as they were already in quiet possession of their authority. Notwithstanding this intimation, he proceeded on his march, pretending that he would reduce the mutinous army to obedience under the legislative power. Lord Fairfax, who had taken possession of York, that it might not fall into the hands of the committee of safety, admitted Monk without hesitation, and they frequently conferred together; so that, in all probability, Monk acted in concert with the presbyterian party, of which Fairfax was the chief. Notwithstanding Monk's dissimulation, the members of the rump were too sagacious not to perceive that he certainly had some secret design which he industriously concealed from their knowledge: but, whether it was to follow the footsteps of Oliver Cromwell, or to restore the king, they could not yet determine. They established a council of state, composed of nine and twenty members, of which Monk was one. They ordered each to take an oath, renouncing the title of Charles Stuart, professing fidelity to the parliament and commonwealth, and engaging to oppose the re-establishment of a single governor and house of peers. Then they sent Scot and Robinson, as their deputies, under pretence of doing honour to Monk, though, in effect, they were intended as spies upon his conduct. They met him at Leicester, where he, that very day, in their presence, received an address from the city of London, exhorting him to restore the members whom the independents had expelled from parliament before the late king's trial. Scot interrupted the deputy from London, while he recited this petition, and said, it tended to the destruction of a republican parliament. Nevertheless, Monk received it graciously: and many other addresses to the same purpose were presented to him, in his march from Scotland. To these he made no other answer, than that he would communicate their contents to the parliament: he was still under an indispensable necessity of dissembling, lest the commons and army should unite for his destruction.

§ XXXVI. When he reached St. Alban's, he sent a letter to the house, desiring they would order the regiments that were in London to quit that city, and make way for his troops, as he could not think it proper for those men who had been so lately in rebellion, to reside in the same place with his soldiers, who were devoted to the service of the parliament: at the same time he forwarded a plan for the disposition of his own troops in London, and assigned quarters in the neigh-

neighbourhood for those which should march out at his approach. This demand increased the suspicion of the house; but they were fain to comply with his directions. On the third day of February he entered London in triumph, at the head of his army, and repaired to the council of state, where the oath of abjuration being tendered to him, he desired time to consider; observing that strong objections had been made to it in parliament. They refused to admit him as a member on any other terms, and he withdrew. On the sixth, he was introduced into the house of commons by Scot and Robinson, a chair of velvet being placed within the bar; the speaker solemnly thanked him, in the name of the parliament, for his great services, and desired him to be seated. He declined the compliment; and, standing behind the chair, made a short harangue. He said, the peaceable restoration of the parliament was not one of the smallest blessings which God had conferred upon this poor nation. He expressed his joy that God had been pleased to make him, in some measure, an instrument to bring about that blessed event. He acknowledged his own unworthiness and their generosity. He told them, that he had received a great number of addresses, expressing the desire of a free parliament: that the excluded members should be restored without the imposition of oaths; and the time fixed for another general election. He observed, that the fewer oaths they imposed, they would the sooner bring their work to perfection. He exhorted them to be upon their guard against cavaliers and fanatics. He recommended the settlement of Ireland and Scotland to their particular care; and, with respect to this last kingdom, presented them with a list of judges and commissioners of approved talents and fidelity.

§ XXXVII. The common-council of London, supposing themselves perfectly well acquainted with the real design of Monk, resolved to pay no taxes, until the excluded members should be replaced. The parliament forthwith ordered the general to march into the city, arrest eleven members of the common-council, carry off their chains, and demolish their gates and portcullices. Monk, in obedience to this order, entered the city with his troops, apprehended the eleven common-council-men, and began to destroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, informing them of what he had done, and begging they would moderate the severity of their order. The house, whether from resentment to the city, or with a view to prove the sincerity of his professions, commanded him to execute punctually the order he had received; and he forthwith obeyed their mandate. After having deprived the city of its chains, gates, and portcullices, he marched back to Whitehall, of his own accord, leaving the Londoners equally astonished and incensed at his proceedings. On that very day, Praisegod Barebones presented to parliament a petition, signed by a great number of persons, desiring that every individual of the kingdom should be compelled to take the oath of abjuration. He met with a gracious reception, and was thanked for his affection to the commonwealth.

§ XXXVIII. Monk began to think he had extended his dissimulation too far. He sent his brother Clarges to assure the mayor, that he would make ample reparation for what he had done, and to propose a conference with him and the common-council. The mayor, afraid of being ensnared by his deceit, rejected the proposal; nevertheless he resolved to visit the city once more, at the

head of his troops. Just as he began his march, he, with the concurrence of his officers, sent a letter to the parliament, complaining that they had employed him in the most unpopular service they could devise; that they payed too much regard to Lambert, Vane, and some other friends to the committee of safety; that they allowed Ludlow to sit in parliament, although he stood accused of high treason by the officers in Ireland; and that they had thanked Barebones for having presented a seditious petition. He then positively demanded that, by Friday next, they would issue writs for filling the vacant places, and make way for the meeting of a free parliament. The house could no longer doubt of his design; yet they voted that he should be thanked for his care and concern; and that they should begin without delay to take measures for his satisfaction. Scot and Robinson were sent to make him acquainted with this resolution; but he had already marched into the city, and prevailed with the mayor to assemble the common-council. He told these two deputies, that every thing would be well, provided they would observe the contents of his letter. When this answer was reported to the house, they voted that the command of the army should be vested in five commissioners; and they nominated Monk as one of them, though in such a manner, that his presence was not necessary to a quorum. Mean while he had effectually excused himself to the magistrates of London, by declaring his inviolable regard for the city, and communicating the letter he had sent to the parliament. Nothing was now heard but ringing of bells and shouts of joy: the populace made bonfires in every street, and roasted rumps of poultry in derision of the parliament.

§ XXXIX. When Monk was summoned to take his place in the council of state, he declined going thither, on pretence that his presence was necessary in the city, to keep the inhabitants quiet. He now again received petitions from all quarters, for the restoration of the secluded members; and, after some fruitless conferences between some of these and the sitting members, he resolved to re-establish them by force of arms. Having secured the consent of his officers, and exacted a new promise from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he, on the twenty-first day of February, accompanied them to Whitehall; from whence they were conducted, with a sufficient guard, to the parliament-house, which they entered, without having sent any previous intimation of their purpose. Their number was so superior to that of the rump, that the chiefs of this last party, seeing no possibility of making head against such opposition, thought proper to withdraw, and leave the field free to their antagonists. Monk sent circular letters to the commanders of all the regiments, informing them of this revolution: he assured them, that the restored members were zealous for the interest of the army; and desired them to exert all their vigilance in defeating the designs which the malignants might hatch in favour of Charles Stuart. He concealed from them his real design, because they were generally anabaptists and republicans, not yet sufficiently prepared for the restoration of the royal family.

§ XL. The parliament annulled all the resolutions and ordinances which had passed against the excluded members: they released Sir George Booth, and all the royalists, who were in prison; they appointed Monk general in chief of all the forces in the three kingdoms; they repealed the oath of abjuration,

and

and that of fidelity to the established government without king and house of peers; so that the lords were restored to their right of sitting in parliament. They made great alterations in the militia all over the kingdom: constituted a council of state, composed of one and twenty members, the majority of whom were royalists; and dissolved their own assembly on the seventeenth day of March, after having issued writs for a free parliament, to meet on the twenty-fifth day of April. But, before their separation, they voted that no person should be employed in a military capacity, until after he should have acknowledged upon oath the justice of the war, which the parliament had waged against the late king; and that none of those who had carried arms for Charles should be returned as members of the ensuing parliament.

Clarendon.
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Whitelock.

§ XLI. The republicans seeing through this disguise, endeavoured to persuade Monk to assume the sovereign power, in imitation of Cromwell, chusing to submit to a single chief, rather than expose themselves to the vengeance of injured majesty; but he rejected all their remonstrances on this subject. Then they instigated a good number of officers, who professed their own principles, to draw up a declaration, in which they engaged to maintain the republican government. This was presented to the general, with a desire that it might be subscribed by the whole army. But he first excused himself, alledging that it was unnecessary; and, when they repeated their importunities, he, in an absolute tone, forbade them to assemble for the future, without his permission. Cardinal Mazarine having received intimation that Monk had formed some great design, ordered Bordeaux, the French ambassador, to make a tender of his services to the general, who civilly declined his offers. Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, Sir John Greenville, sent over by the king, had a private audience of Monk, who dismissed him to his master, with assurances of zeal and fidelity to his majesty's service, as well as with some salutary advice, which Charles followed with great punctuality. Mean while the general new-modelled his army. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the different regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

§ XLII. In the midst of these transactions, his endeavours had well nigh been defeated by an accident: Lambert escaped from the Tower, and began to assemble forces. He was a very active officer, and had acquired great influence in the army. Monk knew that a great number of the soldiers were republicans, and would take the first opportunity of opposing his measures in favour of the king. He therefore dispatched colonel Ingoldsby, with his own regiment, against Lambert, before he should have time to assemble his dependents. That officer had taken possession of Daventry, with four troops of horse; but the greater part of them joined Ingoldsby, to whom he himself surrendered, not without exhibiting marks of pusillanimity, that ill agreed with his reputation. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, and Crede, were likewise taken without opposition. The republicans made another effort before the meeting of the parliament: they circulated copies of a feigned letter, dated at Brussels, importing that the king desired his restoration for nothing so much as an opportunity

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portunity of being revenged upon his enemies. In opposition to this stratagem, which began to produce some effect, the nobility and other royalists, to the number of seventy, signed a declaration disavowing such principles, and protesting their desire of living peaceably, without seeking revenge against the authors of their misfortunes.

§ XLIII. On the twenty-fifth day of April, the new parliament met in two houses, according to the antient constitution; and in both the interest of the royalists predominated, notwithstanding the votes of limitation, to which the electors paid no regard. On the second day of their sitting, Sir John Greenville returned from Brussels, with the king's commission, constituting Monk general of all the forces; and a letter from his majesty, to be communicated to the council of state and the officers of the army: but the general excused himself from opening this letter, without the permission of parliament. The house of commons being adjourned for a few days, Sir John Greenville presented to the lords a letter from the king, expressing his hope that, as they were now restored to their privileges, they would use their endeavours to appease the troubles of the kingdom, re-establish his majesty in the possession of his just prerogatives, restore to the parliament its privileges, and to the people their liberties. Together with this letter, Greenville delivered a declaration, in which the king promised to govern according to the laws of the realm, and maintain the rights of his subjects: To pass an act of indemnity, in favour of all those who had acted against him or his father, except such as the parliament should deem unworthy of pardon: To indulge tender and scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion: To leave to the examination of parliament the claims of those officers, soldiers, and others, who possessed lands to which their titles might be contested: To confirm all these articles by act of parliament; To satisfy the army under general Monk, with respect to their arrears; and receive the officers and soldiers into his service, in the same rank and with the same appointments, which they then enjoyed.

§ XLIV. This declaration was no sooner read, than the lords voted that, according to the antient constitution of England, the government ought to be vested in a king, lords, and commons. The same declaration, with another letter, being delivered to the lower house after their adjournment, they concurred with the vote of the lords; and resolved to present the king with fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York with ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester with half that sum. Then the two houses erased from their records all the acts which had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, and the city of London, prepared addresses, congratulating his majesty on his restoration, and vowing inviolable fidelity; and these were delivered to Charles by the hands of Clarges. On the eighth day of May, the king was proclaimed in London; and the deputies of the parliament and city set out on the eleventh for the Hague, where Charles waited their arrival. Some presbyterian ministers repaired to the same place, to testify the zeal of that sect for his restoration, and sound his real sentiments with respect to religion. He confirmed to them, by word of mouth, the promise of liberty of conscience, inserted in his declaration; but when they exhorted him to abolish the use of the common-prayer and the surplice in his own chapel, he frankly
told

told them, that as he did not intend to restrict any person in point of religion, so neither would he be restricted. He gave audience to the deputies of the parliament on the sixteenth day of May; and, at the same time, admiral Montague payed his respects to his majesty, accompanied by the principal officers of the fleet, who waited his orders at Scheveling: he afterwards received the compliments of congratulation from the states-general, and embarked on the twenty-third day of the month. On the twenty-sixth he arrived at Dover, where he was met by general Monk, whom he embraced with the warmest affection, honouring him with the appellation of Father. He proceeded directly to Canterbury, where he bestowed the order of the garter upon his restorer; and, on the twenty-ninth, which was his birth-day, reached Whitehall, through an innumerable multitude of people, who rent the air with shouts and acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies which threatened national anarchy and destruction, that they could not, without extravagant emotions of joy, behold their constitution restored without bloodshed; while the king remounted the throne of his ancestors, and law, order, and subordination, began to flow quietly in their antient channels.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. SEVENTH BOOK.

From the Restoration of Charles II. to the Revolution.

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§ I. **C**HARLES II. was in the thirtieth year of his age when he took possession of the throne with those advantages. He had taken pains in cultivating his understanding. He understood mechanics and ship-building; was well acquainted with the history and politics of the most remarkable states in Europe: he possessed a natural fund of humour and vivacity, together with the most insinuating address, and the power of pleasing in conversation. He was a latitudinarian in religion, careless, indolent, and extremely addicted to pleasure. The people, partly in imitation of the king's jovial disposition, and partly from the nature of the human mind, so apt to be hurried from one extreme to another, gave a loose to intemperance, and the whole kingdom was filled with riot and excess. The first object that ingrossed the attention of Charles after his restoration, was the choice of his council, into which (though it chiefly consisted of zealous royalists) he, from political views, admitted some chiefs of the presbyterian party, such as the earl of Manchester, appointed lord chamberlain; lord Say, privy seal; Annesley, created earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper, and Denzil Hollis, preferred to the dignity of barons. The dukedom of Albemarle was conferred upon Monk; and admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich. The king shifted the burthen of affairs in a good measure from his own shoulders on those of his brother the duke of York, who excelled Charles in application, as much as he fell short of him in capacity. He was proud, vindictive, arbitrary, and bigotted to the Roman catholic religion, which he had embraced in his exile. The king himself is said to have been a convert to that persuasion; though this was a circumstance he carefully concealed; and indeed he seemed to laugh at all forms of religion. His first minister was Sir Edward Hyde, lately created earl of Clarendon, and high chancellor of England, who had adhered to him in all his fortunes, was an upright and excellent judge; and served him with equal integrity and attachment. He understood the temper and disposition of the different parties, which he managed with discretion, though he seems to have been rather too inflexible with regard

to the presbyterians. His daughter Anne admitted the duke of York to the privilege of a husband, on promise of marriage; and, her pregnancy being the consequence of their secret correspondence, Charles insisted upon his performing his promise, rather than fix a stain upon the family of such a faithful servant. He accordingly espoused her, though not without reluctance; and this marriage was extremely disagreeable to the queen mother, who had been always averse to the chancellor. The marquis of Ormond was now created duke, and appointed lord steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, high treasurer; and Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state.

§ II. The assembly of lords and commons was now called "The convention," until the king, on the third day after his arrival, went to the upper house; and, sending for the commons, passed an act, by which it was declared a parliament. Then they proceeded on the bill of indemnity, which met with some obstacles in the lower house, on account of the clauses to be inserted. Some members proposed to make examples of all those who had remarkably exerted themselves in favour of the late usurpation, without paying any regard to the king's declaration from Breda. Many persons imagined that this proposal was dictated by Charles himself, actuated by the desire of revenge; and divers libels were privately circulated, in order to inspire the public with a distrust of his sincerity. With a view to dissipate these suspicions, the king sent a message to the parliament, pressing them to dispatch the act of indemnity, conformable to his declaration from Breda: and, in a few days, it was sent to the lords for their concurrence. The commons had excepted from the benefit of this pardon a very few of the most notorious regicides; but the peers, having received a number of petitions from the widows and orphans of those who had been executed by sentences of high-courts erected during the usurpation, insisted upon excepting all who had sat as judges on such trials. Charles, fearing that this difference between the houses might be productive of delay, repaired to the house of lords, and persuaded them to pass the bill, in a pathetic speech; representing that his honour was concerned; that he intended to except none but the immediate murderers of his father; and that the tranquillity of the kingdom depended upon the performance of his promise. The lords, thus solicited, concurred with the commons in the material articles of the bill; but they would not consent to a clause relating to nineteen of those who sat as judges on the late king. They had surrendered themselves in consequence of a proclamation, in which Charles declared, that none but such as should surrender themselves within a certain time, could be entitled to his majesty's mercy. The commons had inserted a clause to deprive them of every thing but their lives; and the lords insisted upon their enjoying the full benefit of the indemnity, as they had manifested such confidence in the king's clemency. After several conferences the two houses agreed, that in case those nineteen should be condemned by the judges, the king should respite them until the pleasure of his majesty and the parliament should be more particularly known. At length the act passed, excepting nine and forty who had sat in judgment upon their sovereign.

§ III. Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, Pride, and one and twenty other members of that court, already dead, were confiscated, and subjected to such other penalties as the king and parliament should think proper to inflict. Philips and Haslerig underwent the same fate: Hutchinson and Laffels were condemned

demned in a fine, and declared incapable of exercising any employment. Oliver St. John, and seventeen other persons nominated in the act, were forbid to accept any civil, ecclesiastical, or military office, on pain of being deemed excepted from the benefit of the indemnity. All who had pronounced sentence of death as judges during the usurpation were declared incapable of being elected members of parliament, or of exercising any employment, excepting Ingoldsby and Tomlinson. The first had been very instrumental in effecting the restoration; the other had been recommended to the favour of Charles in a message from his father, who had been treated with great humanity by Tomlinson; and even made a convert of that officer, by whom he was attended on the scaffold. Sir Henry Vane and general Lambert were likewise excepted from the act, though they had not been concerned in the king's murder.

§ IV. When Charles gave his assent to this act, he passed another, confirming all the judiciary proceedings since the beginning of the civil war, notwithstanding their illegality; a third for levying a capitation tax to pay the fleet and army; a fourth, fixing the interest of money at six per cent; and a fifth, ordaining that the anniversary of his restoration should be observed as a perpetual holiday. Charles took this opportunity to cajole the parliament with a flattering speech, in which he hinted his own necessities. The commons presented his two brothers with a sum of money; and resolved to settle the king's yearly revenue at the rate of twelve hundred thousand pounds: but, before they could settle the funds, he ordered them to adjourn to the sixth day of November, after having passed an act for raising by a land-tax, within the space of one month, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, to answer the present occasions of his majesty. They likewise continued for some time longer the tax of seventy thousand pounds per month, which they had imposed in the beginning of the session. At this juncture the duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, in the twentieth year of his age: he was a prince of an amiable character, and tenderly beloved by the king, who seemed more afflicted by his death than by any other incident of his whole life.

§ V. During the adjournment of parliament, Charles appointed commissioners to proceed upon the trials of the regicides; the number of whom, including the officers of the court, and others immediately concerned in that tragedy, amounted originally to fourscore. Of these, five and twenty were dead; nine and twenty had escaped from the kingdom; seven were deemed proper objects of the king's mercy; nine and twenty received sentence of death; but nineteen were reprieved during the king's pleasure, because they had surrendered themselves according to the proclamation. The ten, devoted to immediate execution, were Harrison, Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel. These were all enthusiasts, either millenarians or republicans; and bore their fate, not simply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty. Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their execution. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown into the fire before he had expired: his head was fixed on the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner, having mangled Coke, approached Peters, besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked, how he liked that work? Peters eyed him with disdain, saying, "You have butchered a servant of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty."

§ VI.

§ VI. After the parliament adjourned, the king had published a proclamation on the subject of religion, directing the bishops how to exercise their spiritual jurisdiction; ordaining that a certain number of theologists should be chosen to review and alter the liturgy; and that no person should, in the mean time, be obliged to conform. Nine of the old bishops, still living, were restored to their dioceses. Bishoprics and benefices were offered to the most distinguished presbyterian ministers; but they were refused by all except Reynolds, who became bishop of Norwich. In the month of October, the princess dowager of Orange arrived in London; and the king was afterwards visited by his mother, accompanied by the princess Henrietta, and Edward prince palatine, brother to prince Rupert. It was at this juncture, that the queen-mother proposed the match between her daughter Henrietta and the duke of Orleans; to which Charles consented without hesitation.

§ VII. The parliament, meeting on the sixth day of November, sent a solemn deputation to congratulate the queen upon her happy return; and the commons presented ten thousand pounds to each of her daughters: then they took measures for enabling the king to disband the army, which was gradually reduced; Charles reserving only a regiment of horse, and another of infantry, as a guard to his person. In settling the king's revenue, the commons abolished the court of wards and liveries, in lieu of which he received one hundred thousand pounds a year, arising from one half of the excise, established as a fund in perpetuity for that purpose; and the other half of the excise, together with the duty of tonnage and poundage, were granted to the king for his life. This affair being dispatched, the parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the streets to Tyburn, where they continued hanging a whole day, and then were interred under the gallows. On a vague report of a conspiracy against the life of the king and queen-mother, Desborough, Overton, Morgan, and some other officers were taken into custody; but, upon inquiry, the report was found to be without foundation. On the twenty-ninth day of December, the king, going to the house of peers, thanked the two houses for their affection, in the warmest expressions of gratitude: the chancellor expatiated on the same subject, and then his majesty dissolved the parliament. The earl of Clarendon, in his speech, touched upon the militia; saying, he wished they had found time to settle it to the mutual satisfaction of king and people: he likewise mentioned a conspiracy for surprizing Windsor, Whitehall, and the Tower of London. He affirmed, that many disbanded officers and republicans were concerned in this design; and that they had planned an insurrection in the West, to be headed by general Ludlow.

§ VIII. In the beginning of January, while the king accompanied his mother to Dover, one Venner, a desperate enthusiast, and fifth monarchy-man, appeared in the streets of London at the head of threescore fanatics completely armed, and proclaimed king Jesus. They slew a man because he declared himself for God and king Charles. They believed themselves invulnerable, made a desperate resistance against a body of the trained-bands sent to disperse them, and retreated to Kane-wood near Hampstead. Being dislodged from thence in the morning by a detachment of soldiers, they returned to London, and took possession of a house, in which they defended themselves against a body of troops, until

Kennet.
Burnet.
Ludlow.
Ralph.

until the majority was killed. The few survivors were taken, tried, condemned, and executed; and affirmed to the last, that, if they had been deceived, the Lord himself was their deceiver. The king used great expedition in dissolving the convention-parliament, because a great number of presbyterians had been returned among the commons, and they were a check on the condescending temper of the other members. They had granted the supplies scantily, and with the appearance of distrust; they were averse to the king's being vested with the whole power of the militia; nor would they have tamely suffered the bishops to resume their seats in parliament. This mad attempt was looked upon as a confirmation of the conspiracy; and it furnished the ministry with a handle to publish a proclamation against all religious conventicles, ordaining that the oaths of allegiance and supremacy should be exacted from all persons suspected of disaffection to the government: so that the presbyterians were confounded with the enemies of the state, under the general appellation of Dissenters.

§ IX. The king had not been long restored when he converted his attention to the affairs of Scotland. Some members of the council proposed, that the Scots should be retained in subjection by means of a standing army and the forts which had been erected from one end of the kingdom to the other. The earl of Lauderdale, who had been taken at the battle of Worcester, and continued a prisoner from that event to the restoration, was now admitted to the council, and strenuously opposed this proposition. He observed that the Scots had been reduced to slavery, in consequence of the efforts they made in behalf of his majesty; and though they were not mentioned in the declaration from Breda, the king could not, without incurring the imputation of ingratitude, allow them to remain in a state of misery and oppression. He said they were so humbled, that they would comply with any terms of submission to the crown, provided their independency should be restored: that the attachment of the Scots to their native prince was very warm, and would be a good resource against the turbulent spirit of the English. Charles was satisfied with these arguments. He ordered the troops in Scotland to be disbanded, the forts to be razed, the English judges in that country to discontinue their functions, and a convention of the estates to be assembled. Those who had distinguished themselves for their loyalty, were nominated to the great offices of the state. He appointed the earl of Glencairn, chancellor; the earl of Crawford, treasurer; the earl of Cassils, lord justice general; the earl of Lauderdale, secretary of state; and Middleton, now created an earl, was sent down to represent his majesty in the office of lord high commissioner. At the same time the council determined to intimidate that nation by some examples of severity. The marquis of Argyle had made a journey to London, in hope of being admitted to pay his respects to the king in person: but he was arrested at Whitehall, committed to the Tower, and afterwards sent down to Scotland to be tried for high treason. The other victim devoted to death, was one Guthrie, a four pedantic presbyterian minister, who had taken indecent freedoms with the king, while he resided among that people†.

§ X.

† The king appointed the earls of Orrery and Montrath, in conjunction with Sir Maurice Eustace, chancellor of Ireland, to govern that kingdom as justices, until he should have leisure to name a lord-lieutenant.

In the course of this year, Charles, by his letters patent, established the royal society, for the improvement of mechanics, mathematics, and natural philosophy.

§ X. Some presbyterian ministers finding themselves confounded with other sectaries whom they abhorred, intreated the king to give order for a conference between them and the bishops, that both sides might candidly examine their objections to the English liturgy. Charles complied with their request: one and twenty ecclesiastics were nominated on each side; and the conferences were begun in the house of the bishop of London, who lived in the Savoy. The bishops would not offer such an indignity to the church as to make the least concession to this stubborn sect; and the presbyterians exclaimed against the liturgy, and the surplice, as relics of the church of Rome. After obstinate dispute and virulent altercation, they parted more than ever irritated against each other. On the twenty-third day of April, being the festival of St. George, the king's coronation was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence.

§ XI. Writs had been issued for a new parliament to meet on the eighth day of May; and the court had influenced the elections so successfully, that the majority of the members returned were strongly attached to the hierarchy and the royal prerogative. The king, in his first speech to both houses, recommended two bills for confirming the act of indemnity, and made them acquainted with his intention to espouse the infant of Portugal; a match already concluded, with the advice of his council. Sir Edward Turner, solicitor-general to the duke of York, being chosen speaker, the two houses voted that thanks should be returned to his majesty, for this instance of his confidence, in communicating his purposed marriage to his parliament; and that they should go in a body and congratulate him upon that event. Then they ordered, that upon a certain day, every member should receive the communion, according to the liturgy of the English church, on pain of being expelled. They afterwards ordained, that the solemn league and covenant, the acts for erecting the high court of justice to try the late king, for subscribing the engagement against a king and house of lords, for declaring England a commonwealth, for renouncing the title of his present majesty, and for the safety of the lord protector, should be burned by the hands of the common executioner.

§ XII. The republicans thinking themselves insecure from the zeal of this parliament, petitioned the king that the act of indemnity might be confirmed; and he wrote to the two houses for this purpose, giving them to understand, that this should be the first bill he would pass. They forthwith complied with his desire; and, on the tenth day of June, he gave his assent to an act to confirm the act of indemnity passed in the preceding parliament; and to another, authorising the king to receive a free and voluntary contribution from his subjects. The next business on which the commons proceeded, was a bill for confiscating the estates of the regicides who were dead; and for the punishment of lord Monson, Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop, who, though the king spared their lives, were reserved for other pains and penalties. In consequence of this act, they were dragged on a hurdle to Tyburn, with ropes about their necks, and then doomed to perpetual imprisonment. This complaisant parliament, in an act for the preservation of his majesty's person and government, extended the penalties of high treason to all who should devise the death of the king, or any injury to his person; who should plot to arrest, imprison,

imprison, depose, or wage war against him; who should instigate any foreign power to invade his dominions, or manifest this evil intention by word or writing. They decreed, that whoever should affirm the king was a papist or heretic, or excite the hatred of the people against his government or person, should be rendered incapable of exercising any employment in church or state. They annulled the act for excluding bishops from the house of lords; they declared that the power of the militia belonged to the king alone; and they empowered him to dispose of the land forces. He thanked them for these marks of their confidence and affection; and, having passed the bills, ordered them to adjourn till the twentieth day of November. The convocation which sat during this session, did nothing of any consequence, but grant a benevolence to his majesty, according to the act passed for that purpose.

§ XIII. In Scotland the tide of loyalty ran with extraordinary violence. The parliament of that kingdom carried their complaisance to such extravagance, as to annul by a rescissory act all the laws that had passed since the beginning of their disputes with the late king; so that episcopacy was of course restored. They declared the covenant unlawful, and voted an additional revenue to the king, of forty thousand pounds, to be levied by the way of excise, for the maintenance of a small force, which might prevent future disturbances. The marquis of Argyle was tried for his compliance with the late usurpation; and made such a vigorous defence, that the parliament, though bent upon his destruction, must have acquitted him of the charge, had not the commissioner produced letters which he had written to Monk, while he commanded in Scotland, expressing his hearty concurrence with the government at that time established. Being thus basely betrayed by his former friend, he was found guilty, and condemned to lose his head, which was ordered to be fixed upon the place from whence the head of Montrose had been lately taken down, and solemnly interred with the other parts of his body. The marquis behaved at his execution with great composure; declared himself innocent of the late king's death; exhorted the people to adhere to the covenant, which he called the work of God, and died in peace with all mankind. Guthry confessed all that was laid to his charge, and seemed to glory in his sufferings. On the ladder, he made a kind of sermon to the people, in which he justified all he had done, and extolled the covenant as the most meritorious obligation. Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, who had been one of Cromwell's lords, was now attainted; but escaped into France, where he was afterwards seized, brought over, and executed. Sharp, who had been agent for the Scottish presbyterians, now deserted his party, and being consecrated by the bishop of London, was created archbishop of St. Andrew's. Hamilton, Fairfoul, and Leighton, received the same consecration, and were appointed to different sees in Scotland. They obtained from the king a declaration re-establishing episcopacy in that kingdom. The council suppressed all synods and presbyteries, but such as should be authorized by the bishops. The parliament confirmed this restoration; prohibited all sorts of conventicles; re-established the right of patronage; and ordained that all persons in public employments should not only renounce the two covenants, but also declare in writing, that it was unlawful for subjects, on any pretence

whatsoever, to engage in such associations, or to take arms against their sovereign.

§ XIV. In England the cavaliers loudly complained of the king's ingratitude, in neglecting and leaving them to starve, while their persecutors, by the act of indemnity, enjoyed the immense wealth they had acquired by the most unlawful methods. The ministry, on the other hand, filled the city with rumours of plots and conspiracies against the king and the government. Their aim was partly to amuse the public, and partly to animate the people and parliament against the nonconformists, who were said to be the authors of all those combinations. The king himself, the members of both houses, and especially the earl of Clarendon, hated the presbyterians, and wanted an opportunity to humble them, under the general term of Nonconformists. The parliament meeting in November, petitioned the king to issue a proclamation, commanding all reduced officers and soldiers to retire to the distance of twenty miles from London: then the commons voted twelve hundred thousand pounds for his majesty's present occasions.

§ XV. The earl of Clarendon, in a conference between the two houses, positively affirmed that a conspiracy had been formed since the month of March, to interrupt the peace of the nation. He named several persons concerned in this plot, the particular circumstances of which he explained; and said, that although it had been defeated at London, by the precaution taken with regard to the disbanded officers and soldiers, it would, nevertheless, be prosecuted in different counties of England. The two houses immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the affair, that measures might be taken to secure the peace of the kingdom. This pretended discovery was the foundation of the corporation-act, which was now passed in parliament, ordaining all mayors, aldermen, counsellors, or officers of corporations, to take an oath, importing, that they did not think it lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king; and that they abhorred the detestable maxim of arming against the king's person, under the shadow of his authority; or even of opposing such as acted by virtue of his commission. This was a most scandalous concession, by which the liberties of England were left at the mercy of regal power. The committee of both houses proceeded on their enquiry into the nature of the conspiracy; and the earl of Clarendon made an alarming report of a design to surprise Shrewsbury, Coventry, and Bristol: but this plot seems to have been no other than a fiction of the ministry, to pave the way for the act of uniformity; for that was no sooner passed than the inquiry was laid aside.

§ XVI. On the first day of March, the king sending for the commons to Whitehall, gently reproached them for the little care they had taken to settle his revenue; mentioned a republican party that still subsisted in the kingdom; expressed uncommon zeal for the church of England; gave them to understand that he had sent the book of Common Prayer to the lords, with his approbation of some changes which the convocation had thought proper to make in it, that it might be more suitable to an act of uniformity, which he desired the lower house would prepare, without passion or precipitation. The commons were resolved to manifest their obedience in every particular. They brought in a bill to persecute the quakers for refusing to take oaths in courts of judicature.

On

On the nineteenth of May, the king gave his assent to the act for establishing uniformity in public worship, and in the administration of the sacraments. By this statute, which began to be in force on St. Bartholomew's day, every minister was obliged to conform to the worship of the English church, according to the book of Common Prayer lately revised, and to sign a declaration approving of that ritual; to take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and acknowledge his detestation of the principle of taking up arms against the king, or those acting by his commission, on any pretence whatsoever. He was likewise restrained from administering the sacraments, unless he had been previously ordained by a bishop. By an act regulating the militia, all lords lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with officers and soldiers, were obliged to declare, upon oath, that they held it unlawful to take arms against the king, or those acting by his commission. As another instance of the parliament's devotion to the king, the commons voted an annual tax of two shillings upon every hearth, to his majesty and his successors: this imposition, joined to the tonnage and poundage, the excise, and duty upon merchandize, augmented his revenue to a much greater sum than had ever been paid to any of his predecessors.

§ XVII. On the twenty-first day of May, the king's marriage with Catherine infant of Portugal, was celebrated with great magnificence. Though a virtuous princess, she possessed no personal attractions; but Charles was captivated by her portion, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortresses of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies. Notwithstanding all these supplies, the king dealt out his treasure with such a lavish hand, that his coffers were quickly exhausted; and he was obliged to devise extraordinary means to recruit his finances. His difficulties were considerably increased by the expence of maintaining Dunkirk; and therefore he resolved to sell it for a sum of money to the French ministry. Clarendon and Southampton, though virtuous ministers, were both concerned in this transaction; but, in all probability, the expedient was first proposed by Charles himself. The chancellor invited D'Estrades, the French minister at the Hague, to come over to London, where he managed this negotiation; and the French king purchased Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for the consideration of four hundred thousand pounds.

§ XVIII. While this affair was in agitation, Berkstead, Cobbet, and Okey, three of the regicides, who had escaped to the continent, were discovered, and arrested in Holland by Downing the English resident at the Hague, who had formerly served the commonwealth, and been chaplain to the regiment commanded by Okey. He now seized and conveyed them on board of an English ship, without giving them time to claim the protection of the states; and they were executed at Tyburn, where they behaved with equal moderation and decorum. Their trial was soon followed by that of Sir Henry Vane and general Lambert, who had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as principal authors of the troubles, though they were not in the number of those who sat in judgment upon the king. Their execution had been suspended, at the intercession of the convention-parliament; but this, out of its great zeal, petitioned for their trial. Vane was indicted for his conduct after the king's death; and defended himself with great ability. He said, that he had acted in obedience to an established

authority; and if an acknowledgment of that authority was criminal, the whole nation was guilty: he pleaded the statute of the seventh Henry, enacting, That no man should be questioned for adhering to the established prince: he disclaimed all the cruelties that had been practised upon the parliament and the king: he reminded them of the persecution he had undergone for opposing the usurpation of Cromwell; and observed, that although he could have escaped from his enemies, at the restoration, he chose rather to stay, and give testimony with his blood, to the cause of liberty which he had espoused. The law was strained for his conviction; and he fell, in all probability, a sacrifice to the manes of the earl of Strafford, against whom he had acted with the most rancorous enmity. Though naturally fearful, he was so animated by his enthusiasm, as to bear his fate with fortitude and composure. When he was brought to the scaffold to suffer decapitation, he spoke to the multitude in justification of the cause in which he had embarked; but, he was silenced by the noise of drums and trumpets. Lambert was likewise found guilty and condemned; but, in consequence of his submissive behaviour at his trial, he obtained a reprieve, and was confined to the island of Guernsey, where he lived twenty years in oblivion.

§ XIX. When the act of uniformity took place, so contrary to the king's declaration from Breda, and so much to the dishonour of Charles, two thousand presbyterian ministers chose rather to resign their benefices, and embrace beggary, than subscribe the articles. They thought that the bishops would not venture to expel such a number of popular preachers; and, that the king, who was indifferent to all forms of religion, would not suffer his promise to be violated, on account of any religious dispute. Charles was wholly passive on this occasion. He did, indeed, hate the manners of the presbyterians; but, he was now directed by the earl of Clarendon, who thought it reasonable that the church should be purged of those intruders, who had deformed her beauties, persecuted her ministers, and taken possession of her wealth. In order to mitigate in some measure the severity of this act, the king issued a declaration, promising to use his influence with the parliament, to concur in passing a law by which he might be enabled more fully to exert his dispensing power in favour of those who, from conscientious motives, could not comply with the act of uniformity. This was intended as a preliminary to a general toleration, the benefit of which might extend to the catholics, to whom the king had a secret propensity. They had supported the rights of the crown during the late troubles. There was a splendor and magnificence in their mode of worship that captivated the fancy of Charles. The importunities of his mother, and the persuasions of those with whom he lived in exile, are said to have prevailed upon him to embrace that religion; and his brother the duke of York, who had great influence over his conduct, was superstitiously addicted to popery.

§ XX. The commissioners appointed by parliament to see the corporation-act put in execution, used their authority with such rigour, that there was not an officer left in any community, who did not warmly espouse the principles of the parliament. They moreover demolished the walls of Gloucester, Coventry, Northampton, and Leicester, because these places in the civil war had distinguished themselves by their zeal against monarchy. About the latter end of the year, six fanatics were executed for having engaged in a conspiracy to murder

der the king, his brother, the duke of Albermale, and to surprise the Tower of London and the castle of Windsor. Though no person of consequence was concerned in this design, it was represented as a very serious affair by the ministry, who pretended that Ludlow, and all the republican officers, were ready to appear in open rebellion. Ludlow had made his escape into Switzerland, immediately after the restoration; and there he lived without making the least attempt to retrieve the fortune of himself and his associates. In the course of this year, admiral Lawson sailing with a squadron to the coast of Barbary, compelled the dey of Algiers to conclude a peace with England: then the king made Tangier a free-port, and favoured it with particular privileges.

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.
Hume.

§ XXI. The presbyterians thinking themselves unjustly oppressed, petitioned the king and council, that they might be exempted from the penalties specified in the act of uniformity; and his majesty published a proclamation, declaring, that although he adhered with all his heart to that act; nevertheless, out of regard to some of his subjects, he was willing to dispense with their observing certain articles therein contained. This indulgence was planned on purpose to favour the catholics, and therefore transacted without the privity and concurrence of the chancellor, whose credit with the king now began to decline. He was a violent enemy to the papists, and therefore hated by the queen-mother, the duke of York, and the earl of Bristol who had turned Roman catholic during his exile. He now employed all his wit, humour, and vivacity, in ridiculing the earl of Clarendon, and rendering that faithful minister disagreeable in the eyes of his sovereign. The chancellor was likewise detested by Mrs. Palmer, the king's favourite concubine, who was afterwards created dutchess of Cleveland. She was a woman abandoned by every sentiment of virtue and decorum; proud, revengeful, profligate, and rapacious. Clarendon disdained to flatter her vanity, or gratify her avarice; therefore all her influence upon Charles was used to his prejudice. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's intimate friend, was deprived of his office, which the king conferred upon his professed enemy Sir Henry Bennet, a reputed papist, who was afterwards created lord Arlington.

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§ XXII. Charles has left very few instances of his gratitude upon record. He granted pensions to the Pendrells, to Mrs. Lane and some other persons, who had contributed to his preservation after the battle of Worcester; but, he neglected the poor cavaliers who had been ruined by their zeal for him and his father's house. A sum of money had been once raised by the parliament for their relief; but, this was by no means proportioned to their merits and necessities. Charles was so prodigal in the articles of his common expence, that he could not supply them from his own revenue; and he found it convenient to employ another sort of people, whose affection it was necessary to conciliate: so that the unfortunate royalists being disappointed in their sanguine hopes, loudly complained of his ingratitude; but, he fled from their clamours to scenes of mirth, jollity, and sensual pleasure.

§ XXIII. The commons, alarmed at the declaration for indulgence, in which the king assumed a dispensing power, and that too, in order to weaken the force of the law which they had enacted, presented an address, in which they took the liberty to differ in opinion from his majesty, touching the performance of his promise at Breda. They alledged, that this was no more than a gracious declaration,

declaration, that he would exert his influence with the parliament in favour of tender consciences: they observed, that as the parliament did not think proper to advise or countenance such indulgence, his majesty was acquitted of all obligation towards nonconformists. They enumerated the inconveniences which might arise from a toleration; and proposed, as the most effectual method to prevent schisms, troubles, and divisions, that the laws should be executed for the support of the established religion, according to the act of uniformity. Charles finding his design so disagreeable to the commons, thought proper to postpone it to a more favourable opportunity; but, the two houses petitioned him, in another address, to issue a proclamation, commanding all Roman catholic priests and jesuits to quit the kingdom, except such as were in the service of the two queens, or belonged to foreign ambassadors. The king assured them of his zeal for the protestant religion; and the proclamation was published, though it produced very little effect.

§ XXIV. While the commons were employed in settling the funds for the king's revenue, Charles being reduced to great necessity, assembled them in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall; and, in the close of a flattering speech, replete with professions of eternal gratitude, and the warmest affection, begged a supply for his present occasions, which he said were extremely pressing. They could not resist his pathetic address; and therefore granted him four entire subsidies: and the convocation of the clergy followed their example. Although the king's affection was by this time in a great measure alienated from the earl of Clarendon, he could not forget his faithful services and attachment; and therefore that nobleman still retained his office and a certain degree of favour: so that the catholic party began to fear he would retrieve the credit he had lost. This consideration, in all probability, induced the earl of Bristol to impeach the chancellor of high treason. In this strange inconsistent charge, he was accused of having endeavoured to fix the imputation of popery upon the king: of having promised to use his influence in abolishing the penal laws against papists: of having consented to some articles disgraceful to the protestant religion, in the treaty for the king's marriage: of having scandalized his majesty: advised the sale of Dunkirk: reviled both houses of parliament: enriched himself by selling employments; and embezzled the public money. This impeachment appeared so void of all foundation and probability, that it was rejected by the lords; and the earl of Bristol was so much ashamed of his conduct, that for some time he did not appear in public.

§ XXV. In this session the commons granted to the duke of York, the profits arising from the post and wine-licence offices: so that he was enabled to keep a separate court, and live altogether independent of his brother. The parliament being prorogued to the sixteenth day of March, the king and queen made a progress into the western counties; and were entertained with great magnificence by the university of Oxford. During their absence from London, the ministry discovered another conspiracy formed by the independents and republicans, to surprise several towns in the North, and excite a general insurrection: it was an idle scheme of some inconsiderable fanatics and disbanded soldiers; thirty of whom were taken and executed. The king made a handle of this despicable attempt, to demand in his speech, at the next meeting of the two houses, that the act for triennial parliaments should be repealed; and they complied

complied with his request, in consequence of his affirming, that the kingdom was exposed to continual troubles from the suggestions of a set of men, who pretended that this parliament was dissolved by virtue of that act; and arrogated to themselves the right of meeting for a new election.

§ XXVI. In the month of April, the commons having examined the obstacles to the trade of the nation, voted, That the wrongs, affronts, and indignities, offered by the Dutch, in the Indies, Africa, and elsewhere, to the subjects of England, had in a great measure, obstructed the trade of the nation: That his majesty should be intreated to procure reparation for these wrongs, and take measures for preventing such injuries for the future; for which purposes the two houses would assist him to their utmost power against all opposers. This was the prelude of a war with Holland, upon which the king had been for some time determined. Nothing more frivolous could be assigned for engaging in this enterprize. In specifying particulars, the Dutch were charged with having taken two English ships in the East-Indies; but, they alledged, that those ships had been employed in carrying on an illicit commerce, and the states had actually deposited a sum of money exceeding the value of them, until the English court of admiralty could determine the merit of the cause. The war owed its origin to other motives. Charles, whose prodigality kept him always necessitous, foresaw that he should be able to convert to his private use part of the supplies granted for the maintenance of the war: he delighted in ship-building; and was ambitious of equipping a navy that should give law to all the maritime states in Europe: his brother longed for an opportunity to signalize his courage and power as high-admiral, against a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but also as one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant religion: the trading part of the nation looked upon the Dutch as the most dangerous rivals in commerce; and the royal African company, in particular, had been thwarted by the Dutch in fixing their settlements on the coast of Guiney.

§ XXVII. The two houses having presented an address to the king on the subject of their vote, he expressed his satisfaction at this instance of their zeal for the advancement of commerce; said, he would examine the particular complaints which had been made against the subjects of the states-general, and order his minister at the Hague to demand immediate reparation. Instructions were sent to Downing for this purpose; but, in the mean time, the duke of York, as governor of the royal African company, sent Sir Robert Holmes with a squadron to distress the Dutch settlements on the coast of Guiney. He drove them from Cape de Verd; built a fort at the mouth of the river Gambia; made himself master of Cape-corse castle, and took a great number of their trading vessels. From thence he sailed to America, and took possession of Nova Belgia, which changed its name to that of New-York. At this very juncture, admiral de Ruyter and Sir John Lawton had sailed with combined squadrons against the corsairs of Algiers. The states were no sooner informed of the hostilities committed upon their subjects by Holmes, than they dispatched private orders to De Ruyter, importing, that he should sail to the coast of Guiney, and make reprisals on the English. He accordingly undertook the voyage, re-established the Dutch in all their possessions, expelled the English from some of their old settlements, and made prize of all the ships that fell into his hands.

Then

Then he failed to the West Indies, where he was repulsed in an attack upon Barbadoes; and afterwards made attempts upon some of the English colonies in North America.

§ XXVIII. Downing, the English minister at the Hague, presented a memorial to the states, demanding satisfaction for the damages done to the English, which, he said, amounted to seven or eight hundred thousand pounds; and they being willing to avoid a war, sent over Van Goch, as an ambassador extraordinary to London, to compromise the differences between the two nations. When he complained of the hostilities committed by Holmes, Charles pretended this was a private difference between two companies, of which he would not pretend to take cognizance; and he excused his having prohibited the importation of merchandize from Holland, on account of the plague, which had been introduced into that country. Nevertheless he continued to make preparations for war with surprising industry. He borrowed one hundred thousand pounds of the citizens of London, who were pleased with the prospect of a war that threatened destruction to their rivals; and he visited all the docks in person, that his presence might quicken the diligence of the workmen. In the month of November, the duke of York set sail with a squadron, and falling in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ships, took one hundred and thirty vessels, which were detained as lawful prize, though war was not yet declared. The French king offered his mediation, which was accepted by the states-general: but Charles refused to enter into any negotiation, until he should have received entire satisfaction for the losses and insults which his subjects had sustained.

§ XXIX. The parliament, before its last prorogation, had passed an act against conventicles, ordaining that every person convicted of having been present at a religious meeting of dissenters, should be fined in five pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and for the third be transported to the plantations: by this law the presbyterians were excluded from all benefit of the declaration from Breda. When the two houses met on the twenty-fourth day of November, the king gave them to understand, that upon his own credit, he had equipped the strongest fleet that ever England owned; and that as he had expended eight hundred thousand pounds on this armament, he hoped the commons would indulge him with proportionable supplies. He said the states had, by numberless artifices, eluded every reasonable proposal for a pacification; and he assured them, that, should he be compelled to engage in hostilities, he would never listen to any overtures of peace, until after having obtained those ends for which the war should be undertaken. The commons were so well disposed to concur with his desires, that they forthwith voted a supply of two millions five hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of this just and necessary war: and then Charles issued a declaration, enjoining all his subjects to make reprisals on the ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the states-general. Mean while the Dutch did not neglect to put themselves in a posture of defence. When the news of De Ruyter's progress on the coast of Guiney, and in the West Indies, arrived in England, the king published a solemn declaration of war against the United Provinces, with the unanimous consent of all the privy counsellors, except the earls of South-

Southampton and Clarendon, who had opposed this rupture from the beginning of the disputes. *

§ XXX. Lewis XIV. being importuned by the Dutch to declare against England, in consequence of the last treaty which he had concluded with the states-general, and solicited by Charles to observe a neutrality, was for some time divided in his sentiments. He was loth to disoblige Charles, lest he should throw himself into the arms of Spain, whither he had lately sent an embassy; and, on the other hand, it was his interest to support De Wit and the Lovestein party in Holland against the prince of Orange, who naturally claimed the assistance of his uncle the king of England. In order to gain time, he sent the duke de Vernueil, at the head of a splendid embassy, to London, with offers of mediating a peace between England and the United Provinces; and there they continued till the latter end of the succeeding year, though their endeavours did not meet with success. The duke of York putting to sea in the month of May, before the Dutch fleet was assembled, sailed towards the coast of Holland, and cruized near the Texel fifteen days, during which he took a great number of their ships homeward-bound; then he retired to Harwich road. After his departure, the fleets of Holland and Zealand joined, to the number of one hundred and twenty one, exclusive of fireships, under the command of admiral Opdam, Cortenaer, Evertzen, and Cornelius Van Tromp, son of the celebrated Martin Van Tromp, who lost his life in the late war. This armament was fitted out by the advice, vigilance, and activity of John De Wit, pensionary of Holland, a man of very extensive talents, who possessed the spirit of an old Greek republican. He had always opposed the growing power of the house of Orange, lest it should one day enslave his country. His interest now predominated in the commonwealth; and he resolved to hazard a general engagement with the English, because, even if the Dutch navy should be defeated, that event would induce the French king to declare for the republic.

§ XXXI. Opdam therefore sailed in quest of the English fleet, and descried it near Colchester; but the wind changing so as to blow from the south-west, he bore away for the mouth of the Meuse, rather than engage the enemy, while they had the advantage of the weather-gage. He received a fresh order from the states, commanding him, upon pain of death, to fight the English, whatever might be the state of the weather. He forthwith weighed anchor on the third day of June; and in a few hours fell in with the English fleet, consisting of one hundred and fourteen sail, exclusive of fireships and ketches, under the command of the duke of York, assisted by prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich, with Penn, Lawson, Sir George Ayscue, and some other inferior admirals. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the battle, and behaved with great spirit and composure, even when the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle were killed at his side by one cannon-ball, which covered him with the blood and brains of

* The parliament was prorogued to August, and afterwards to October. In this session, the clergy resigned the right of taxing themselves in convocation; so that henceforth they were taxed

by the commons, like the rest of the community. By this resignation, they parted with their importance, and have been very little considered since that period.

these three gallant gentlemen. He was closely engaged with Opdam, while that officer perished by his ship's blowing up; his flag was hoisted by Cortenaer, who likewise fell in the battle: a good number of the Dutch captains had been promoted in the service by the interest of the prevailing faction, without any regard to merit, and some of these were deficient in point of courage. In a word, the enemy was defeated, with the loss of nineteen ships either burned or sunk in the action, and about six thousand men. The victory cost the English three or four ships, and fifteen hundred men, among whom was vice-admiral Lawson, an officer of great valour and experience: the Dutch fleet were chased to the coast of Holland, Van Tromp securing their retreat with equal valour and discretion*. The duke of York sailing back to England, left the fleet at anchor, and repaired to London, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people. The king ordered a day of thanksgiving to be observed all over England for this victory: and medals were struck in honour of the duke of York, who now became the idol of the nation, and began to be respected as the presumptive heir of the crown; for the queen was supposed barren, and almost totally neglected by her husband. The king and council would not suffer the duke to expose his person to the danger of a second engagement; and therefore the command of the fleet devolved upon the earl of Sandwich.

§ XXXII. The Dutch fleet of merchant ships, from Turkey and the East Indies, having sailed north about, in order to avoid the English cruizers, anchored in the port of Berghen in Norway, where they lay until De Ruyter should come and conduct them to Holland. Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy at Copenhagen, proposed to the king of Denmark, that he should seize all those ships, which were richly laden, by way of revenge upon the Dutch, who, he said, had involved him in a troublesome war with Sweden. The Danish king was tempted by the richness of the prize; but observed, he was not in a condition to execute such a design. Talbot promised to procure the assistance of the English fleet, provided he would recompence the captors with one half of what they should take: the bargain was struck between the two monarchs; and Charles ordered the earl of Sandwich to set sail immediately for Berghen. The earl detached Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with part of the fleet, on that service, and he attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity: but the governor of Berghen, who had not yet received orders to remain passive, joined the Hollanders in giving him such a warm reception, that he was obliged to quit the enterprize, after having received considerable damage. Charles was not a little chagrined at the disappointment; and so displeased

* This victory might have been much more compleat, had not Brouncker, a gentleman of the duke's bedchamber, desired Penn, in his master's name, to slacken sail, while they were in pursuit of the enemy. The duke had retired to rest, after having given order to carry all their sail, and wake him when they should be up with the chase. When he awoke, and saw they had shortened sail, he expressed equal surprize and displeasure; and Brouncker was turned out of his service. Some people imagined this man had

made use of the duke's name without his authority, in consequence of an injunction of the dutchess, who had directed him to take all opportunities of consulting his master's personal safety. Others alledge that the duke's courage was exhausted; and that he was affected by an expression of Penn, who, at a council of war, said, they must prepare for a hotter engagement; for, the courage of the Dutch was never so high as when they were reduced to despair.

Burnet.

with

with the earl of Sandwich, for having omitted to sail thither in person, that he was deprived of his command, and sent on an embassy to Madrid. De Ruyter having returned from America with a good number of English prizes, was promoted to the office of lieutenant-admiral-general, and immediately vested with the command of a fleet of ninety-three sail, in excellent order. The pensionary De Wit, Huygens, and Boreel, embarked as commissioners from the states. They, with great difficulty, sailed from the Texel through a new passage which De Wit now discovered by sounding. They arrived at Berghen, and took their trade under convoy; but they were dispersed by a storm, and some of them fell into the hands of the English; the rest of the fleet returned to Holland, in a shattered condition.

§ XXXIII. At this period, the plague made terrible havoc in London, where it swept off above one hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The king, in order to avoid the contagion, retired to Hampton-court, from whence he removed his household to Salisbury; but, this city being soon infected, he chose his residence at Oxford. Charles had excited the famous Bernard Van Ghalen bishop of Munster, to take arms against the states-general, in consideration of receiving a large subsidy from England. This turbulent prelate assembled a body of twenty thousand men, with which he invaded the province of Overijssel, and reduced several places: but the French king and the dukes of Lunenburg sending a considerable reinforcement to the Dutch army, and the subsidy from England being ill payed, he was glad to listen to terms of accommodation.

§ XXXIV. The parliament meeting at Oxford in the beginning of October, granted twelve hundred thousand pounds to the king for the support of the war, and one hundred thousand to the duke of York, in acknowledgment of his signal services. Then they passed the famous "Five mile act," by which every nonconforming preacher was banished five miles from the place where he had been minister, after the act of indemnity, unless he would take the oath of non-resistance. They were treated in this manner, on pretence that they had endeavoured to poison the minds of the people, by instilling into them the principles of schism and rebellion. Though this persecution was set on foot by the chancellor, who was the implacable enemy of the presbyterians, the bill met with great opposition in the upper house, from his intimate friend the earl of Southampton. The same sect was persecuted with equal severity in Scotland, though the majority of that nation were presbyterians. The nonjuring ministers were commanded by a proclamation to remove, with their families, to the distance of twenty miles from the places where they used to reside, on pain of incurring the penalty annexed to seditious practices. These people would have been reduced to a deplorable situation, had not the charity of their friends increased, in proportion to the severity of the government.

§ XXXV. The king of France, importuned by the states-general, at length recalled his ambassadors, and, in January, declared war against England, though he did not enter heartily into the quarrel of his allies; and, indeed, this declaration was necessary to maintain the credit of the pensionary, whom it was certainly his interest to support. The states likewise found means to engage the king of Denmark in their cause, by virtue of a large subsidy, in con-

sideration of which he obliged himself to maintain a fleet of thirty sail for their service: at the same time they raised up such a number of enemies against the bishop of Munster, that he was fain to sue for peace, which was concluded at Cleves in the month of April. In the beginning of February, the king returned to London, and war was proclaimed against France. In the course of the same month, the queen, by miscarrying, disproved the common opinion of her being barren from some constitutional impediment.

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§ XXXVI. The command of the fleet being bestowed upon prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, the former, with forty ships, sailed in quest of the duke of Beaufort, who was said to be at Belleisle, with a squadron of six and thirty ships, ready to enter the channel and join the Dutch fleet. After he had failed on this expedition, De Ruyter appeared between Newport and Dunkirk, with seventy-one ships of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire-ships, and eight yachts; Evertzen and Tromp acting as inferior admirals. The duke of Albemarle, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, bore down upon them without hesitation, on the first day of June; and the Dutch captains were so eager to engage, that they ordered their cables to be cut, that they might be the sooner able to close with the English. The battle began with incredible fury: Tromp, and afterwards De Ruyter, were obliged to shift their flags, because their ships had sustained such damage that they were in danger of sinking; one of their fleet was blown up, and admiral Evertzen killed with a cannon-ball. On the other hand, Sir William Berkeley, who led the van of the English, steered into the midst of the enemy, where his ship was overpowered and taken, after a gallant resistance, in which he lost his life: one or two English ships were sunk, notwithstanding the valour and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, fought with all the ardour and vivacity of a youthful warrior. Night parted the combatants; but next day, the weather being more moderate, the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. Van Tromp having engaged himself too far among the English, would have been taken, had not De Ruyter come to his assistance, and brought him off. These two admirals were of opposite factions, and rivals for glory: they were inspired with emulation, and fought with equal conduct and resolution. The Dutch being joined with a reinforcement of sixteen ships, and the English fleet shattered in such a manner, that not above eight and twenty sail remained fit for service, the duke of Albemarle was obliged to sheer off and retreat towards the coast of England, followed by the victorious enemy, who had come up with him towards the evening, when a calm prevented them from beginning a fresh attack. In the morning of the third day, Albemarle having made a previous disposition, sent the disabled ships a-head, while he himself remained in the rear with those that were still capable of service, so as to form a line a-stern occasionally for the reception of the pursuers. About two o'clock, when the Dutch were almost within gun-shot, the duke descried prince Rupert and his squadron to the southward, crowding all their sails to come up with him, and immediately hauled upon a wind to join this reinforcement. Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galloper sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The two English fleets having joined, prepared for another engagement, and in the morning bore down upon the Dutch, who waited for them without flinching. A fourth battle

battle was now begun with equal rage and resolution on both sides, and continued until it was interrupted by a thick fog, when the English found themselves so maltreated, that they took this opportunity to retire, with the loss of divers large ships that were sunk or taken by the enemy. Both sides claimed the victory; but the Dutch had certainly obtained the advantage, though there was no glory lost by either nation.

§ XXXVII. Both fleets were soon refitted; and De Ruyter was ordered to put to sea, to join the duke de Beaufort with the French squadron. On the twenty-fourth day of July, he fell in with the English fleet, commanded by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle: it amounted to above one hundred sail, while that of the states did not exceed eighty-eight ships of war and nineteen fireships. The battle began near the mouth of the Thames, and was fought with equal rage and emulation. Sir Thomas Allen, vice-admiral of the white, defeated the van of the enemy, and three of their inferior admirals were slain. In the mean time Sir Jeremy Smith, vice-admiral of the blue, was worsted by Van Tromp, who followed the chase so far that he was entirely separated from the center. De Ruyter being overpowered by numbers, sustained the engagement till night with difficulty; and was next day attacked by the whole force of the English navy. He bore the shock with unshaken resolution, and gained more glory by his retreat than the English acquired by their victory. They followed him to the coast of Flushing, and then sailed in quest of Tromp, whom they descried near Harwich; but, in spite of all their efforts, he retreated with very little loss, to the Texel. He was of the Orange faction, and supposed to have deserted De Ruyter from motives of animosity. This admiral having complained of his conduct, he was put under arrest, and his commission bestowed upon another officer. The duke of Albemarle detached Holmes, with a squadron, to insult the coast of Holland. In the road of Vlissingen he burned a great number of vessels, and two ships of war appointed for their convoy: then he made a descent upon the island of Schelling, and reduced the town of Brandaris to ashes. After this expedition, the English fleet took their station near the Isle of Wight, to hinder the junction of the French and Dutch squadrons, while De Ruyter anchored in the road of St. John, near Boulogne. There he was taken dangerously ill of a contagious distemper, which had made terrible havock among the seamen; and the states thought proper to recall him to Holland. The duke of Beaufort, thinking they were still in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, sailed up the channel as far as Dieppe, and then directed his course to the coast of Brittany, without suffering the least molestation from the English.

§ XXXVIII. About this period, London was exposed to a terrible disaster from a conflagration which broke out on the third day of September, in the house of a baker that lived on Fish-street Hill, near the Bridge. The flames, augmented by a strong easterly wind, raged with surprising violence. They destroyed six hundred streets, including eighty-nine churches, many hospitals and public edifices, and thirteen thousand two hundred private houses. The ruins, comprehending four hundred and thirty-six acres of ground, extended from the Tower along the river to the Temple church, and north-easterly along the city-walls as far as Holborn bridge. The conflagration continued three days, notwithstanding all the endeavours that could be used to stop its progress,

progress, the king and the duke assisting personally on horseback, from the first alarm to its total cessation. At length, when all hope had vanished, and the wretched inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation and despair, it suddenly ceased, and was entirely extinguished, after having reduced many thousand families from affluence to misery, and the most flourishing city in Europe to a deplorable heap of rubbish. Nevertheless the spirit of the people did not sink under this calamity. London soon rose more beautiful from its ashes. The king, by a stretch of the prerogative, regulated the plans of the new streets, so as to render them more spacious and convenient than those which had been burned; and he prohibited the use of lath and timber, as materials for the construction of the houses. The narrowness of the streets had not only subjected them to casualties of this nature, but also prevented a free circulation of air, which, being impregnated with animal vapours, was apt to putrify, and produce infectious distempers, inasmuch that London was scarce ever free from a contagion; whereas no such distemper has appeared since the city was rebuilt.

§ XXXIX. The fire of London was supposed to be the effect of malicious design, and variously imputed to the Roman catholics and the republicans, as the stream of prejudice happened to run; though it does not appear how such a scheme could contribute to the interest of either party. The populace generally exclaimed against the catholics as the authors of this conflagration. The parliament appointed a committee to make a severe scrutiny on this subject, but nothing appeared to the prejudice of the papists; yet the mischief is charged upon them in the inscription engraved on the pillar that was erected as a monument of this calamity. A French Huguenot was apprehended, and convicted on his own confession: he appeared to be lunatic, and the ship-master, in whose vessel he had been conveyed from Rouen, declared that he did not arrive in London till the conflagration was begun; nevertheless he was condemned and executed. When the parliament met in September, they voted the sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds for the support of the war: but as the nation in general imputed the conflagration to the catholics, and the king was observed to countenance some persons of that persuasion, they petitioned that the laws might be put in execution against Romish priests and jesuits. He forthwith issued a proclamation for this purpose; yet the delinquents were so favourably dealt with, that the people, and even the parliament, began to take umbrage at the administration.

§ XL. The rigour exercised against the presbyterians in Scotland, under the direction of archbishop Sharp, produced some violent disorders in that kingdom. In the month of November, the people of the western shires ran to arms, and surprised Turner, who was quartered at Dumfries with an inconsiderable number of soldiers. At Lanerk in Cliddefdale they held a solemn fast, renewed the covenant, and published a declaration. They declared that they had taken arms against the king; they complained of the oppression under which they groaned; they demanded that episcopacy should be abolished; and that presbytery, with the covenant and their ministers, should be restored. Dalziel, with some troops of horse, was sent against those insurgents; and, by proclamation, offered pardon to all those who should, in four and twenty hours, return to their houses. They marched towards Edinburgh, in hope of being joined by the inhabitants

bitants of that city; but, being disappointed in their expectation, they began to be discouraged, and dropped off so fast, that their number was reduced from two thousand to nine hundred. They resolved to retreat to the West, where they knew the people were well affected to their cause; but, Dalziel charging them at Pentland hills, they were immediately routed and dispersed. Forty were killed on the spot, about one hundred and thirty taken; and the rest escaped by the darkness of the night. They were poor, innocent enthusiasts; the objects of compassion rather than of resentment; they had injured no person in their march, but payed regularly for their provision, and spent their time in sermons, psalm-singing, and prayer. Forty of these poor wretches chose to be hanged rather than renounce the covenant; and bore their fate like martyrs. One Maccaill, a preacher, who was supposed to know their correspondents who had encouraged them to take up arms, was put to the torture, which he endured without flinching, and expired in a rapture of religious joy; exclaiming, in a clear, distinct voice, "Farewell sun, moon, and stars! farewell kindred and friends! farewell world and time! farewell weak and frail body! welcome eternity! welcome angels and saints! welcome Saviour of the world! and welcome God the judge of all!" This severity was expressly contrary to the inclinations of the king; who, in a letter to the earl of Rothes, the commissioner, desired that no more blood might be shed; that the prisoners should be set at liberty, on their promising to obey the laws for the future; and that those who should refuse to submit should be sent to the plantations. These executions, and many other instances of oppression were countenanced by Sharp and Burnet, archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow.

§ XLI. The commons of England had by this time considerably abated in their complaisance to his majesty. Instead of discussing the money bill, they were employed in drawing up an impeachment of lord Mordaunt, governor of Windsor castle, for having acted tyrannically in that station. They presented the articles to the upper house, and complained at the same time, that he was permitted to keep his place among the peers, while the articles of his impeachment were recited. The upper house, on the other hand, blamed the commons for having infringed the right of the peers, by imposing an oath upon the commissioners, whom they appointed to receive the money arising from the capitation tax: and these subjects of contest produced divers fruitless conferences. At length the poll-tax passed, though the king complained of their having named commissioners, as a mark of the little confidence they reposed in his honour. They likewise confirmed the regulation he had made for rebuilding the city of London.

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.

§ XLII. Charles was now tired of the war, from which he had reaped no solid advantage. Overtures of peace had been made, and the king of Sweden had offered his mediation. The states-general were willing that things should be reduced to the same situation in which they had been before the war; or that each side should keep the advantages they had gained. This alternative was so equitable, that nothing seemed wanting but the formality of a treaty: the king, however, postponed the negotiation until he should receive the supplies from parliament, part of which he resolved to convert to his own private purposes. These being obtained, he determined to treat in earnest; but insisted upon opening the congress at London. The states declared they had no objection to that proposal, but the consideration of their allies, the kings of France and Denmark,

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Denmark, who refused to treat in any part of England. Then Charles proposed the Hague, in hope of being able to influence the deliberations by means of the Orange-faction; but the pensionary perceived his drift, and this place was judged improper. At length all parties agreed that the conferences should be opened in May at Breda. Thither lord Hollis and Mr. Coventry were sent, as plenipotentiaries from England; while those of France, Denmark, and Holland, repaired to the same place; as well as two ambassadors from the king of Sweden, under whose mediation the conference were carried on. Charles insisted upon the restitution of the two ships which had been taken before the war, and the island of Poleron in the East-Indies, which had been wrested from the English, restored by a subsequent treaty, and now retaken since the commencement of the war. It was a spice-island, and though the Dutch had delivered it to the English, according to treaty, they carefully grubbed up all the clove trees before it was surrendered. Notwithstanding this precaution, they knew it might have been easily replanted, so as in a few years to interfere with their spice-trade, and therefore tenaciously insisted upon retaining it in their own hands.

§ XLIII. Charles, at length, relaxed in this article, and looked upon the peace as already concluded. He had ordered all his large ships to be unrigged, and kept only a small squadron of cruisers in commission. De Wit resolved to take the advantage of his negligence: the preparations in Holland were continued without ceasing; and De Ruyter, sailing from the Texel with fifty ships of the line, steered directly to the river Thames, at the mouth of which he arrived on the tenth day of June. He attacked Sheerness fort, which was easily taken: he broke down a strong chain drawn across the mouth of the river Medway, and destroyed three guardships moored within-side for its protection. He cleared a passage through some vessels which had been sunk in the channel by order of the duke of Albemarle: then sailed up the river as far as Upnore castle, which was reduced. Then they burned three ships of the line, after having met with a desperate resistance; and fell down the Medway, with a resolution to attempt the river Thames. By this time the whole coast was alarmed, and London filled with consternation. Ships were sunk at Woolwich and Blackwall; platforms raised in different places, and provided with artillery; the trained-bands drawn out, and the city of London put into a posture of defence. De Ruyter, seeing no prospect of succeeding in the Thames, set sail for Portsmouth, which he in vain attempted to reduce; then he directed his course to Torbay, where he took some English vessels. He made an unsuccessful attempt upon Plymouth: from thence he sailed up the channel; insulted Harwich, chased a squadron commanded by Sir Edward Sprague, penetrated once more into the river Thames, and kept all the sea-ports on that side of the island in terror and confusion. The people were fired with indignation to see themselves exposed to the insult of an enemy whom they had formerly contemned. They loudly exclaimed against the king, who had converted the public money to his own private use, and left the nation defenceless.

§ XLIV. De Ruyter proceeded to alarm the whole coast, and domineer at sea without opposition, until the treaty was concluded at Breda. By this pacification Acadia was yielded to the French king, who agreed to restore St. Christopher's and some other islands which he had taken in the West-Indies; and the two principal contracting parties retained the acquisitions they had made; by which stipulation the colony of New-York in North-America remained with the English.

lish. The only gainers by this war were the two royal brothers. Charles had sold all the merchant ships taken from the Dutch before and after the declaration of war; and he pocketed the greater part of the late supply; while his brother enjoyed a great share of the prizes, as lord high-admiral of England, exclusive of the present he had received from the parliament.

§ XLV. The king was no stranger to the murmurs of the people, who complained bitterly of his conduct; not only on account of the late disgrace, but likewise of his having concluded an inglorious peace, after the war had cost such immense sums of money. They accused him of having deceived the parliament, in declaring he would never lay his arms aside until he should have received ample satisfaction from the enemy: they taxed him with having embezzled the supply: they blamed him for his partiality to catholics; and, in particular, for having bestowed the office of secretary of state upon the earl of Arlington, a reputed papist: they were scandalized at his lewd life and the irregularities of his court, which was become a scene of buffoonery and intemperance. The king thought it was necessary to make some sacrifice to the discontents of the subjects, and pitched upon Clarendon as a proper victim. Charles looked upon that nobleman as a troublesome censor, who disapproved of his conduct, and was a check upon his pleasures. The favourite mistress railed at the earl without ceasing; the duke of Buckingham and other courtiers ridiculed his character and deportment. The king received intimation that the chancellor had opposed a scheme projected by some members of the lower house, for settling a revenue of two millions upon his majesty; and this opposition, which flowed from a love to his country, was construed into an unpardonable offence against his sovereign. His gravity and inflexible virtue operated as a continual reproach upon the levity and dissolute morals of Charles, who had been long disgusted by his manners, even while he respected his talents and fidelity: but what incensed the king against him beyond all possibility of forgiveness, was the part he acted in the marriage of the duke of Richmond. Charles was enamoured of Mrs. Stuart, whom he had tempted with all the allurements which a crown could enable him to exhibit; but, finding her chastity impregnable, he entertained thoughts of procuring a divorce from the queen, and raising Mr. Stuart to the place of his lawful consort. The earl of Clarendon, who knew his design, is said to have promoted a match between this young lady and the duke of Richmond, that his grand-children might not be excluded from the succession to the throne, by the issue of the king's second marriage. The duke of Richmond, who was captivated by the beauty of Mrs. Stuart, espoused her in private; and the king was so exasperated at the match, that he not only banished the duke from court, but reviled Clarendon with the most bitter reproaches. That nobleman had the misfortune to be very unpopular at this juncture; and his friend the earl of Southampton was lately dead. The presbyterians, a powerful and numerous sect, hated Clarendon as the author of all the persecution they had undergone. He was abhorred by the catholics as the great obstacle to all their hopes of favour and toleration; and the people, in general, blamed him for the sale of Dunkirk. He was employed in building an expensive house, while the plague depopulated the city of London; and purchased some stones, which, before the fire of London, had been set apart for rebuilding St. Paul's cathedral. The prejudiced vulgar bestowed the name of Dunkirk-

house on this new edifice: they looked upon the execution of his design at that juncture, as an insult upon the calamities of the nation, and exclaimed against the impiety of using, in his own house, the materials which had been provided for the house of God. All these concurring causes were more than sufficient to effect the disgrace of this minister. The king, on pretence of satisfying the people, deprived him of the office of chancellor, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman was appointed keeper of the great seal.

§ XLVI. The parliament assembling in October, presented an address to his majesty, thanking him for having disbanded the forces which had been levied for the defence of the kingdom, when the Dutch fleet insulted the coasts; for having dismissed all the papists from his guards, and other military employments; and in particular, for having taken the office of high chancellor from the earl of Clarendon. To this article he replied, that he would never employ him for the future in any public affair. He not only withdrew his protection from the earl, but even influenced the commons to impeach him of high treason. They accused him of having advised the king to maintain an army, dissolve the parliament, and render himself absolute: of having said the king was a papist: of having sold illegal patents, and granted injunctions to stop the ordinary course of justice: of having banished several persons in an unlawful manner: of having received bribes on different occasions, and enriched his family by obtaining grants for them of the crown-lands: of having frustrated useful designs for the preservation of English and the reduction of French colonies: of having corresponded with Oliver Cromwell and his accomplices: of having advised and been instrumental in the sale of Dunkirk: of having altered a patent after it had received the sanction of the great seal: of having extorted money by writs of "Quo warranto" from many corporations, immediately after their charters had been confirmed by parliament: of having abused and betrayed his majesty, by discovering his secrets to the enemy: and of having advised the fatal separation of the fleet, which in the late war had well nigh been attended with the loss of one part of his majesty's navy.

§ XLVII. When the commons delivered these articles of accusation at the bar of the upper house, they desired that the earl of Clarendon might be taken into custody: but the lords refused to commit him upon such a general accusation. This refusal gave rise to a violent dispute between the two houses. At length the commons voted that the lords, in refusing to commit the earl of Clarendon on their impeachment, had stopped the course of justice, and formed a precedent of evil and dangerous consequence. The earl knowing how obnoxious he was to the commons, and conscious that the court was determined on his ruin, ~~resolved~~ to withdraw himself from the kingdom. The duke of York had supported him with all his interest, both in the cabinet and the house of peers. He had even entered so warmly into his defence, as to give umbrage to the king, who at length desired him to tell the earl that he would do well to retire into another country; in which case he might still receive marks of his favour. It was in consequence of this intimation that he crossed the sea to France, where he spent the remainder of his life in reviewing and reducing to order the materials he had collected for the history of the great rebellion; a performance so justly celebrated for the candid representation of facts, and the striking touches of character which it contains.

§ XLVIII.

x.
"Refused" -
See his life -

The whole history
incorrect

§ XLVIII. From Calais he sent an apology, addressed to the house of peers, in which he protested, that he had never received the value of a farthing from any person whatsoever, above the common perquisites of his office, exclusive of the king's bounty: that, as a minister, he had never taken any step without the concurrence of the privy-council: that he had dissuaded the king from engaging in the last war against Holland: that he had never offered any private advice to his majesty, touching the negotiation for peace; nor written any letters or instructions, but by the express order of the king and council: that, in quality of chancellor, he had often refused to put the great seal to patents, grants, and pardons, which had been unfairly obtained of his majesty, and were afterwards recalled upon his representations; and by this conduct he had brought upon himself a great number of enemies: that, by joining the earl of Southampton, in representing to the king that, in many extravagant articles, his expence far exceeded his revenue, he had intailed upon himself the enmity and ill offices of some persons in great credit: but that he had never intermeddled with the management of his majesty's revenues, nor ever received a present from any prince, except the books of the Louvre edition, which the chancellor of France had sent to him, by the command of his master. The lords having received this apology, deputed the duke of Buckingham to deliver it to the other house; and when he performed this task, "Gentlemen, (said he) the lords have ordered me to put into your hands this scandalous and seditious libel sent to them by the earl of Clarendon. I have orders to present it to your house, and to desire you will send it back with your convenience; for, as it is written in a style very agreeable to their lordships, they are desirous of preserving it carefully." The commons were incensed at this apology. Many virulent expressions were uttered against the earl: they voted it a scandalous and malicious libel, and ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common executioner. The lords sent down to the commons, a bill for banishing the earl of Clarendon. The lower house proposed a bill of attainder, and a warm dispute ensued. At last the lower house passed the first bill, to which the king gave his assent with uncommon satisfaction. Such was the unworthy fate of Sir Edward Hyde earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor of England, a nobleman of unblemished virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able minister, of equal attachment and integrity †.

§ XLIX. In the month of January, the king resolved in council to form a triple alliance with the states-general and the king of Sweden, to hinder the French king from finishing the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. These he invaded on the death of his father-in-law Philip IV. though he had formally renounced all pretensions to the Spanish succession, before his marriage was solemnized. Lewis was the most powerful, as well as the most ambitious prince in Europe. He had already subdued Aeth, Tournay, Lisle, Oudenarde, Courtray, and Charleroi. He was at the head of forty thousand men, commanded by the best generals of the age: he waited for nothing but the death of Charles II. of Spain, who was a weakly prince, to lay claim to that monarchy; and

Burnet.
D'Estrades.
Rapin.

† In the month of October, the king went in Exchange, which was finished with great expedition, and laid the first stone of the Royal edition.

he seemed to aim at universal empire. All the states of Europe were alarmed at his greatness. The Dutch were immediately exposed to his designs, from the nature of their situation, and wished for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ambition of Lewis. The king of England finding his reputation and credit on the decline among his own subjects, was willing to take some step that might retrieve his popularity; and nothing was so likely to produce this effect as his becoming the head of a league for supporting the balance of power in Europe. He therefore dispatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, as ambassador extraordinary, with full power to conclude such a treaty with the states-general; and they received the overture so favourably, that in five days the alliance was concluded. In a very little time, the king of Sweden acceded to it, as a principal, and thus was formed, "The triple alliance," by which the contracting powers assumed to themselves the office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain, with respect to the Low-Countries, as well as in the war between Spain and Portugal. The design of it was to support the Spanish monarchy, restrain the exorbitant power of France, and prevent a dreadful war, in which all Europe would probably have been involved. It was therefore generally applauded, and seemed to be in all respects the wisest measure which was taken in England during the whole reign of Charles II. Sir William Temple afterwards concluded a treaty of commerce with the states-general; and a peace between Spain and Portugal was happily effected under the guaranty of the English monarch.

§ L. When the parliament met in February, the king informed them of these transactions, demanded a speedy supply for equipping a fleet, and fortifying the maritime parts of the kingdom; and earnestly desired they would deliberate upon ways and means for effecting an union with respect to religion among all his protestant subjects. The commons were so offended at the king's lenity towards nonconformists, that they did not even thank him for the triple alliance. On the contrary, they appointed a committee to examine the conduct of several persons who were supposed to have misbehaved in the late war. They enquired into the affair of Berghen in Norway, the separation of the fleet under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle; the presumption of Brouncker, in giving false orders, while the duke of York was asleep; the neglect of maintaining a sufficient fleet, during the last year of the war; and the disgrace occasioned by the Dutch when they entered Chatham river. The king began to be extremely uneasy at this spirit of inquiry, which was raised as a reproach upon the errors of his own administration. He solicited them to discuss the business of the supply. They petitioned him to put the laws in execution against conventicles, papists, and nonconformists; and he published a proclamation for this purpose.

§ LI. At this juncture a violent dispute arose between the two houses, concerning one Skinner a merchant in London, who had complained to the house of peers, of some injury he had received from the East India company. The lords having examined the case, decreed that the company should pay five thousand pounds by way of damages, to the complainant. The commons, in consequence of a petition from the company, committed Skinner to prison, for having addressed himself to the house of peers in an affair that related to the

the common law of the kingdom. The lords declared the company's petition a scandalous libel. Several ineffectual conferences were held between the two houses. At last the commons voted, that whosoever should aid and assist, in executing the sentence of the lords, should be deemed guilty of having betrayed the rights and liberties of the commons of England, and of having violated the privileges of parliament. Then they granted three hundred and ten thousand pounds to his majesty, to be raised by a tax upon wine and other liquors; the parliament was adjourned, and afterwards prorogued till the month of October in the following year.

§ LII. The triple alliance was founded upon an alternative which Lewis XIV. had proposed to the court of Spain. He offered to relinquish the rights of his queen, provided the court of Spain would either consent to his keeping the conquests he had already made in the Low-Countries; or, in lieu of these, cede to him Franche-Comté, with the towns of Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer. The queen-regent of Spain had kept aloof, in hope of engaging the states-general and the king of England in a war against Lewis: but finding that the contracting powers of the triple alliance proposed only to take arms in case the French king should recede from his alternative, she consented to his keeping his acquisitions in the Low-Countries, on the supposition that the English and Dutch would be indispensibly obliged to engage in a war with France, should she ever attempt to extend her conquests in the Netherlands. After this declaration of Spain, no other obstacle remained to retard a pacification. Aix-la-Chapelle was the place pitched upon for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries, who were immediately sent thither from France, Spain, England, Holland, and Sweden. The treaty was signed in May, after a very short negotiation. Lewis remained in possession of all the towns in Flanders, which he had reduced. He restored Franche-Comté to the crown of Spain; and the peace was guaranteed by the powers concerned in the triple alliance. The Dutch ordered a medal to be struck, with a pompous inscription, in which they arrogated to themselves the whole honour of having given peace to Europe. Joshua Van Beuningen, their plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chapelle, was vain enough to strike another, in which he compared himself to Joshua stopping the course of the sun which was the device of the French monarch. These, and other such unseasonable marks of pride, gave umbrage to Lewis, who seemed to remember them in the sequel, when he found an opportunity to punish their presumption. The king of England continued to enjoy his pleasures without restraint. During the summer he made excursions to different parts of the kingdom. He sent a squadron of ships into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Thomas Allen, who compelled the Algerines to subscribe a peace that was very advantageous to England. The office of treasurer of the household was conferred upon Sir Thomas Clifford. The command of the horse-guards the king bestowed upon his natural son the duke of Monmouth; and Sir John Trevor was appointed secretary of state, in the room of Morris, who resigned *.

Rapin.

* In the month of March, Cosmo de Medicis stay in England.

prince of Tuscany arrived in England, in the course of his travels, and was received with all the honours due to his rank and particular merit. After his departure, the king was visited by prince George of Denmark, who made but a very short

In July, the university of Oxford opened the magnificent theatre, built at the expence of Dr. Sheldon archbishop of Canterbury, their chancellor; though he afterwards resigned this dignity to the duke of Ormond.

An.Ch.1669.

§ LIII. Whether Charles was willing to reconcile himself to the presbyterians, who constituted a powerful body in the nation, or the duke of Buckingham, who had now great influence in the council, resolved to forward a step which he knew would be disagreeable to the duke of Ormond, whom he hated, uncommon favour was now shewn to that sect, which had been so much depressed since the restoration. They appeared more openly, and even ventured to assemble at their religious worship. Sir Orlando Bridgeman sent for two of their ministers, and consulted them about means for comprehending the presbyterians in the body of the English church, as well as for procuring an indulgence for independents and other nonconformists. These two ministers having conferred with the like number of the English church, after several meetings and various disputes, agreed, That with respect to ordination, all nonconformists, already ordained, might be admitted into the ministry of the church by virtue of this form, "Take thou legal authority to preach the word of God, and administer the holy sacrament in any congregation of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." They likewise agreed, That ceremonies should be left indifferent: That the liturgy should be altered: That those who could not be comprehended should be indulged: and, That, for the security of the government, the names of the teachers, and all the members of the congregation should be registered. The lord chief-justice Hales undertook to draw up a bill to this purpose, and the keeper of the great-seal promised to support it in parliament with his whole interest. Archbishop Sheldon being apprised of their design, wrote a circular letter to all his suffragans, enjoining them to make an exact inquiry touching all the conventicles that were held within their respective dioceses. Having received all the information he could procure on this subject, he exaggerated every circumstance to the king; and obtained, from his easy indolent disposition, a proclamation, ordering the laws against nonconformist-ministers to be put in execution. Nevertheless, Charles gave the leading presbyterians to understand, that he had designs in their favour; and desired they would present a petition to him for indulgence. He went into the apartment of the earl of Arlington, on purpose to receive this address, to which he returned a very gracious answer.

§ LIV. When the parliament met after the prorogation, the king, in a short speech, demanded a supply for the discharge of his debts; and recommended the union of the two kingdoms. The lord-keeper expatiated on the same subjects: but, the commons, instead of taking these articles into consideration, resolved to examine the public accounts, that they might know in what manner the money granted by parliament had been expended. In the course of this inquiry, they found the books kept by the chamberlain Sir George Carteret, in such confusion, that they expelled him from the house. Then they thanked the king, in an address, for the proclamation he had published against conventicles; and appointed a committee to make exact inquiry concerning the conduct of the nonconformists. These having received a great number of informations, reported, that divers conventicles and seditious assemblies were held in the neighbourhood of the parliament, so as to insult the government, and endanger the public tranquillity: the house immediately declared, That they would adhere to his majesty for the support of the government in church and

state,

state, against all sorts of adversaries. The commons revived the dispute concerning Skinner and the East-India company; and passed several votes, which the house of lords considered as so many violations of their privileges. Their mutual animosity seemed every day to increase: so that the king seeing no prospect of an accommodation, and knowing he had nothing to expect from the commons, until this affair could be compromised, prorogued the parliament to the month of February.

§ LV. The parliament of Scotland being opened in November by the earl of Lauderdale, as king's commissioner, passed an act, asserting and explaining the king's supremacy in such terms as rendered him absolute in all ecclesiastical affairs. The next act concerned the militia, decreeing, That it should be maintained, and ready to march into any part of the king's dominions, for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness should be concerned; and that it should receive orders from the council-board of Scotland. This clause was contrived by Lauderdale, for the immediate service of the king, should he ever have occasion for using the Scots against his subjects of England. The militia might be ordered to march without his appearing to countenance their motions; so that he could, with the better grace, disown them should they miscarry in their expedition.

§ LVI. In February, the king, in a speech to both houses, renewed his demand of a supply, in the most earnest manner. He assured them he had found, upon examination of his accounts, that far from having misapplied the money granted for the expence of the war, he had on the contrary, for the support of it, contracted large debts on his own revenue. He then recommended harmony among themselves; and desired they would deliberate upon a plan for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The lord-keeper enlarged upon the king's text. The commons voted, That a sufficient sum should be granted, to ease the king of his incumbrances. For this purpose a duty was laid upon wine and vinegar; and his majesty was authorised to part with his fee-farm and quit-rents. These two funds were thought sufficient to produce one million seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, a sum by no means adequate to the king's necessities †. The quarrel between the two houses being kindled a-new, Charles, who began to be apprehensive of the consequences, summoned the parliament to Whitehall, where he proposed that this unhappy division should never be mentioned; and that the proceedings relating to it should be erased from the journals of both houses. They consented to the expedient; and the flame was at once extinguished.

Echard.
Burnet.
Rapin.

An.Ch. 1670.

§ LVII. The first effect of their accommodation was a joint-address to his majesty, petitioning, That he would give effectual orders for suppressing conventicles, and executing the laws against popish recusants. Charles, though in

† This year was rendered remarkable by the death of the queen-mother, and that of George Monk, duke of Albemarle. The first died in August, at Paris, in the sixtieth year of her age; and the duke dying in London, was succeeded in his title and estate by his son Christopher. In the course of this year likewise died the famous Pryn, the puritan, author of above two hundred volumes, the contents of which are little known and less esteemed.

his

his own nature averſe to perfecution, was too irrefolute to withſtand the zeal of his parliament; and therefore gave his aſſent to this act, which declared an aſſembly conſiſting of ſeventeen diſſenters, a conventicle, provided they met to worſhip God in any other form than that which was practiſed in the church of England, even though ten of that number ſhould belong to the family in whoſe houſe they might be aſſembled. Every individual was fined in five ſhillings for the firſt offence, and ten for the ſecond. The preacher was condemned in twenty pounds for the firſt conviction, and in double that ſum for the next; and a fine of twenty pounds was decreed againſt the perſon in whoſe houſe they ſhould be found aſſembled.

C H A P. II.

§ I. Account of the cabal. § II. Charles is visited by his sister the dutchess of Orleans. § III. Sudden death of that princess. § IV. Sir William Temple recalled from Holland. § V. The commons pass the Coventry-act. § VI. Bold speech of lord Lucas. § VII. Dispute between the two houses. § VIII. The duke of York abjures the protestant religion. § IX. The cabal resolve upon a war with Holland. § X. Account of Blood who attempted to steal the crown. § XI. The exchequer is shut. § XII. Attempt upon the Dutch fleet from Smyrna. § XIII. Charles declares war against the Dutch. § XIV. Distractions in that republic. § XV. Battle of Solebay. § XVI. Progress of the French king in the United-Provinces. § XVII. The severe terms prescribed by Lewis. § XVIII. Demands of the English. § XIX. The prince of Orange declared stadtholder. The two brothers, John and Cornelius De Wit, murdered by the populace. § XX. Fortitude and wise conduct of the stadtholder. § XXI. Divers powers declare in favour of the Dutch. § XXII. Proceedings of the English parliament. § XXIII. The presbyterians oppose the declaration for liberty of conscience. § XXIV. The king rejects violent counsels. § XXV. The parliament pass the test-act. § XXVI. Three sea-engagements between the English and Dutch fleets. § XXVII. Progress of the war on the continent. § XXVIII. Match between the duke of York and the princess of Modena. § XXIX. Against which the commons remonstrate. § XXX. Vigorous opposition of the commons. § XXXI. They proceed against some members of the cabal. § XXXII. Peace with the Dutch. § XXXIII. The king prorogues the parliament. § XXXIV. Operations of war on the continent. § XXXV. Sir William Temple sent ambassador to Holland to mediate a peace. § XXXVI. The duke of Buckingham disgraced. § XXXVII. The commons present an address against Lauderdale. § XXXVIII. Test-bill brought into the house of lords. § XXXIX. Dispute between the two houses on account of Dr. Shirley. § XL. Complaint to the house against St. Germain the jesuit. § XLI. Revival of the quarrel between the two houses. § XLII. The king suppresses coffee-houses. § XLIII. Death of marechal de Turenne. § XLIV. De Ruyter is slain in an engagement with the French. § XLV. Progress of the war on the continent. § XLVI. Congress at Nimeguen. § XLVII. The duke of Buckingham, the earls of Salisbury and Shaftesbury, with the lord Wharton, are sent to the Tower. § XLVIII. Mutual distrust between the king and parliament. § XLIX. The commons exhort him to conclude an alliance with the Dutch against the power of France. § L. Marriage between the prince of Orange and the princess Mary, daughter to the duke of York. § LI. Charles and the prince agree upon a plan of pacification. § LII. An inglorious private treaty between Charles and the French king. § LIII. Disputes between the king and parliament. § LIV. The king makes vigorous preparations against France. § LV. His secret negotiation with Lewis. § LVI. The commons pass a bill for disbanding the army. § LVII. New treaty between Charles and the Dutch. § LVIII. Peace of Nimeguen. § LIX. Battle of St. Denys. § LX. State of affairs in Scotland.

§1. **H**ITHERTO, Charles seems to have studied nothing so much as his own ease and convenience. Without doubt, he inherited high notions of the prerogative, which were cherished by the nature of his education. But, his father's fate and his own sufferings had rendered him extremely cautious of quarelling with his parliament; and his indolent disposition was an unsurmountable bar to the execution of any design upon the liberties of the people. He had immersed himself in pleasure, and would not have sacrificed his private enjoyment to the most flattering prospect of arbitrary power, if his revenue had been sufficient to supply the channels of his prodigality. Though the commons were attached to him from principle, and had been liberal, if we compare their grants with those of former parliaments; yet, considering the late increase of wealth and luxury in almost every court of Europe, his supplies were rather scanty than affluent; and his profuse expence rendered him a beggarly dependent upon the bounty of the commons. His necessities continually invaded his repose. He was incessantly importuned by suitors whom he could not gratify. He was roused by the more active spirit of his brother, who exhorted him to rise above those humble sollicitations he had hitherto practised to his parliament for daily subsistence. He was beset by some desperate counsellors, who importuned and encouraged him to assert his own independence in subduing that insolent usurpation which the rebellious subject had raised on the ruins of regal authority. Prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, lord-keeper Bridgeman, and secretary Trevor, men in whose honour and integrity the nation had confidence, were now seldom or never summoned to the cabinet-council; but, the king was wholly conducted by the advice of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the appellation of "The cabal," a word formed by the initial letters of their names. Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of an enterprising genius, rendered the more dangerous by the talent of eloquence and the spirit of intrigue which he possessed. Lord Ashley afterwards raised to the earldom of Shaftsbury, had been a member of the long-parliament, of great influence among the presbyterians: he insinuated himself into the confidence of Cromwell; and afterwards employed his credit in forwarding the restoration. By his uncommon talents, he acquired great weight with every party he espoused. He was turbulent, restless, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising: he had conquered all sense of shame; was restrained by no fears, and influenced by no principle. The duke of Buckingham was a gay, capricious nobleman, of some wit, and great vivacity; the minister of riot; the slave of intemperance; a pretended atheist, without honour, principle, oeconomy, or discretion. Arlington possessed a very moderate capacity, and was not remarkable for any vicious habit, though he wanted integrity and resolution to withstand the temptations of his colleagues. Lauderdale was learned, awkward, obstinate, ambitious, passionate even to frenzy, vindictive, implacable, insolent, and abject. Such were the individuals that constituted the cabal; and the duke of York assisted at their councils. They represented to the king, that even this parliament so remarkably attached to the crown, had already exhibited some symptoms of discontent; that they had been penurious in their temporary supplies, and kept his revenue in a very precarious situation. They observed, that his father's great error consisted in his having neglected

neglected to form alliances with powerful princes who would have supported him against his rebellious subjects; that his kinsman, the king of France, if properly cultivated, would enter into such engagements with him as would raise him above all fear of revolt; that a war with Holland, undertaken in conjunction with Lewis, would be productive of every advantage he could desire to enjoy; that he should be able to ruin the Dutch, whose power, affluence, and principles encouraged and supported republicans in England; that he would be enriched with the spoils of the enemy, as well as by subsidies which he might receive from the French monarch. That the war would furnish him with a pretence for raising forces and equipping a navy that would enable him to retrieve the lost power of the crown, and even extend his prerogative to absolute dominion. These suggestions could not be disagreeable to a prince like Charles, who dreaded or despised more than one half of his subjects, who found himself in a very uneasy state of dependance, hated the Dutch as the enemies of monarchy, and felt a strong propensity to the religion of Rome, which at present he durst not avow.

§ II. Colbert de Croissy, the French ambassador at London, had already founded the inclinations of the king and his cabal, touching an alliance with his master; and he found them very favourably disposed, when he understood the design of Lewis was to humble the pride of the states-general. After Colbert had thus paved the way for a negotiation, the king of France went to see his new works at Dunkirk; and was accompanied by the dutchess of Orleans, who took this opportunity of being in the neighbourhood of England to visit her brother Charles. She landed in May at Dover, where she was received by the king and all his court; and there they enjoyed each other's company for a fortnight, in a continual round of diversions. She was one of the most amiable princesses of the age in which she lived, and loved her brother with the warmest affection; but, she is supposed to have been vested with a private commission, to assure Charles that the king of France would enable him to shake off the yoke of parliament, and restore the catholic religion in England, as soon as the Dutch should be sufficiently humbled by their joint endeavours. If he retained any scruples about the execution of this scheme, Lewis could not have fixed upon more effectual expedients to remove them than those he now practised. The dutchess of Orleans was a young lady of the most insinuating address, and had great influence with her brother: besides, the French king resolved to bind him down to his engagements by the bonds of pleasure. For this purpose, he sent over with the dutchess, mademoiselle de Queroüaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments, which instantly captivated the heart of Charles. She accompanied him to London, was created dutchess of Portsmouth, and maintained her empire over him during the whole course of his life. She kept him firm to his connexions with France, and continued to be the reigning favourite, while his former mistress, lady Cleveland, was raised to the dignity of dutchess, as a recompence for the influence she had lost.

§ III. The good understanding between the kings of France and England had well nigh been blasted in the bud, by an incident which made a deep impression on the mind of Charles. The dutchess of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, happened to swallow a glass of succory-water, by the direction of her physicians; and was immediately seized with violent agonies, of which she expired. She was supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealous

lousy of her husband, who seemed to take umbrage at the gaiety of her disposition, and intimacy of friendship subsisting between her and his brother Lewis XIV. She certainly believed herself poisoned; though she was restrained by her confessor from owning her suspicion to Mr. Montague the English ambassador in France, who was present at her death. She died with great resolution, declaring she felt no regret at leaving the world, but that of parting with her brother Charles, whom she loved with the most tender affection. When the news of this tragedy were brought to Whitehall by Sir Thomas Armstrong, who, at the same time, communicated the suspicion of her having been poisoned, the king melted in a flood of tears, and expressed his indignation against the duke of Orleans, in the most bitter terms of reproach. But, he soon checked his passion, and said, "Thomas, I beg you will not mention a syllable of this matter." The court of France was in great confusion at this event. The report of the poison was immediately circulated through the city of Paris, and Lewis was afraid it would destroy the connexion between him and the king of England. He sent over the marquis de Bellefonds to condole with Charles; and this nobleman was furnished with the attestations of the physicians, who declared, that the dutchess died of a natural distemper. The king was, or pretended to be satisfied with these testimonies; and the duke of Buckingham, on pretence of carrying compliments of condolence to the duke of Orleans, was dispatched to France, with power to sign the treaty which had been negotiated by the dutchess.

§ IV. Lewis, in the month of September, sent the marechal de Crequi with a body of forces into Lorraine, of which he took possession. The duke having been surpris'd, escap'd with difficulty, and implored the intercession of Charles, whom he had assisted in his exile; but, the answer he received, was "That there was no remedy like patience." The parliament meeting in October, the king, by the mouth of the lord-keeper, gave them to understand, that as the fleets of France and Holland were lately increased to a very formidable degree, it was necessary that he should maintain a respectable navy; and therefore he had ordered fifty large ships to be put in commission, besides the squadron already in the Mediterranean: that even though he had not engaged to succour his allies in case of necessity, it would be very imprudent to sit aloof, and tamely see so many clouds gathering, without providing some shelter against the impending storm. He mentioned the treaties which had been lately concluded with the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, the states-general, and the duke of Savoy. He observed, that the yearly expence of the fleet amounted to five hundred thousand pounds: That the remaining part of the revenue was not sufficient to pay the interest of the debts which the king had contracted: and, That the present armament would cost eight hundred thousand pounds. Finally, he assured them, the king would prorogue the parliament at Christmas; and desired they would regulate their measures accordingly. The commons, dazzled by the great alliances the king had contracted for the honour and advantage of the nation, resolved to gratify him in all his demands. They began to prepare bills for raising two millions five hundred thousand pounds; but, before they could be brought to perfection, the king adjourned the parliament. By this time Sir William Temple, who resided as ambassador at the Hague, was recalled to London, the king and his ministers knowing he had too much integrity and love for his country,

country, to act as an instrument of the cabal. At first, he was ordered to leave his wife and family in Holland, as if the king intended he should return; but, De Wit was not a dupe to this artifice. He suspected the designs of the two monarchs; and desired the Dutch resident at London to inform the ministry, that he would look upon Temple's being recalled as an infallible proof of a change of measures at the court of England. In the preceding winter, the prince of Orange, being then twenty years of age, arrived at London, and was affectionately received by his uncle. His voyage was undertaken with a view to demand the payment of the sums which the late prince had advanced for Charles and his father; and to solicit the king's interest and good offices towards his being advanced to the dignity of stadtholder. He received nothing but civil entertainment and general promises, which Charles had no intention to perform; though he tampered with his nephew about religion, and talked of the protestants as a broken, divided faction.

Burnet.
Montague's
Letters.
Rapin.
Hume.

§ V. The commons, after a short adjournment, passed the Coventry-act, by An.Ch. 1671. which the practice of maiming was made a capital crime. This law derived its origin from an outrage committed upon a member of parliament. A proposal having been made in the house for laying a tax upon play-houses, it was opposed by the courtiers, one of whom observed, that the players were the king's servants, and part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry asked, whether his majesty's pleasure lay among the male or the female players; and this sarcasm was considered as an insolent violation of that respect due to the kingly name, which had been hitherto religiously preserved in all parliamentary disputes. It was the more disagreeable to Charles, as he then publicly maintained Gwyn and Davis, two concubines who had been chosen from the theatre. The duke of Monmouth, therefore, undertook to make a public example of Coventry. This gentleman in going to his own lodgings at night, was attacked in the street by Sands, Obrian, and some other officers of the guards. He forthwith snatched a flambeau from his servant, with one hand, and managed his sword so gallantly with the other, that he wounded three or four of the assailants, before he was overpowered and disarmed: then his nose was purposely cut to the bone, as a lesson to teach him what respect he owed to the king's character. The commons, exasperated at this assault upon a member for words spoken in the house, not only enacted the law above-mentioned, but also inserted a clause, importing, That those who attacked Sir John Coventry should not be intitled to the benefit of a pardon from the crown. The lower house, with the concurrence of the lords, presented an address to the king, on the progress of popery, representing the cause of its increase; and the means by which it might be restrained for the future. Charles assured them he would exert all his power for their satisfaction; but said, they could not think it strange, that he should make some distinction between the papists who had lately embraced the catholic religion, and those who had not only been born and educated in that persuasion, but also faithfully served his father and him in their adversity. The commons then proceeded upon the supplies: they brought in a bill for a land-tax, another for an additional excise upon beer, and a third for taxing law-suits for a certain number of years. The king had for some time made a practice of going to the house of peers, without formality, on pretence of hearing the debates for his amusement, though his real design was to influence their deliberations.

§ VI. When

§ VI. When the first of the bills sent up by the commons was read in the upper house, lord Lucas rose up, and, in the king's hearing, pronounced a severe speech, complaining, that since the restoration, the burthens laid upon the subject were much more grievous than at any former time, while the strength of the kingdom had visibly diminished; that great sums granted to the king had been employed to enrich a few individuals, who had kept aloof from him in the day of trouble; while those who had suffered the heat of the day, undergoing imprisonments, sequestrations, and exposing their lives for his majesty's service, were reduced to poverty and contempt. He said the nation was in some respects more miserable than if it were actually subdued by a victorious enemy; for, in that case, the people would know the worst of their misfortune; a circumstance that would in some measure alleviate their affliction: but at present the subject was kept in the most perplexing uncertainty, in giving to-day, they did not know but that they should be obliged to give twice as much to-morrow, until they should be entirely exhausted. It would be necessary therefore to make some sort of estimation, to ascertain what every man might call his own: for his own part, should it be found necessary, he would consent to give one half of his substance to the king, provided he could be secured in the possession of the remainder. He added, that the bills brought in by the commons would raise three millions; an enormous subsidy. He therefore proposed, that the lords should moderate the excessive liberality of the lower house, by reducing the rate of the land-tax; for, if they had not power to retrench the extravagance of such impositions, they might say they had nothing; and that their whole substance was at the disposal of the commons. This bold speech, which was printed and published, gave such umbrage to the king, that, in consequence of his request, the peers ordered it to be burned by the hands of the hangman, as a libel upon lord Lucas; because, when the paper was presented to him, and he was questioned about it, he owned part of it only. Nevertheless it had made a strong impression upon the lords, who sent back the bill with amendments. These were rejected by the commons, and a dispute ensued; but at last the lords submitted, and the bills were passed.

§ VII. The lords agreed likewise to the tax upon law-proceedings: but they refused to pass a fourth for laying an additional duty on certain commodities. The merchants of London petitioned against it, as an insupportable burthen on trade; and the upper house proposed amendments. The commons affirmed that the lords had no right to amend money-bills; these denied the assertion. The dispute grew warm. The commons claimed the sole right of regulating the taxes, by virtue of a fundamental law. The lords desired them to produce that law; and they answered, they would find it on the back of the "Magna Charta." These successive conferences served only to inflame their mutual animosity, which became so violent that the king found it necessary to prorogue the parliament; and, for a year and nine months, it was kept from reassembling, by means of repeated prorogations.

§ VIII. In the month of March, the duke of York lost his dutchess, Anne Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon, by whom he had eight children, two of whom survived; namely, Mary, afterwards princess of Orange; and Anne, who lived to sway the sceptre of England. The dutchess had, during her last illness, embraced the Roman catholic religion; and, soon after her death,

death, the duke made a solemn abjuration of the protestant heresy, to father Simons, an English jesuit. He had been convicted during his exile, and was generally known to be a catholic in his heart, though hitherto he had not made open profession of his religious principles; on the contrary, he pretended to adhere to the church of England. The king had long entertained the design of procuring a divorce from Catherine, in hope of having legitimate issue by another consort. Buckingham had proposed infamous means for ruining her reputation, in such a manner that she might have been charged with breach of conjugal faith; but, these expedients the king rejected with horror. He believed the marriage might be declared null, on account of her being barren, or incapable of bearing children; and the pope was sounded on this subject. The jesuits in England knowing of what consequence such a divorce might be to the duke of York, pressed him to declare his religion, threatening, that unless he would make that sacrifice to his conscience, they would use all their influence to procure the pope's consent to the king's divorce from Catherine. The duke for some time refused to take a step which he knew would render him odious to the greater part of the English nation; but finding the jesuits were actually employed in putting these threats in execution, he agreed to make a formal abjuration of the protestant religion, on condition that they would obstruct the divorce.

§ IX. The immediate views of the cabal at this juncture were directed to a war with Holland; it was therefore necessary to break the triple alliance, and find a pretext for beginning hostilities. Sir Henry Coventry was dispatched as ambassador to Sweden; and Sir George Downing sent to the Hague, in the room of Sir William Temple. De Wit knew this minister to be a turbulent firebrand, and an inveterate enemy to the republic; he therefore considered the change as an infallible sign of an approaching rupture. Downing, at his arrival in Holland, solemnly protested that his master was determined to adhere scrupulously to the triple alliance; and that he had no other reason for equipping a fleet, but that of rendering himself respectable among his neighbours, and guarding against the designs of the French king, whom he had great reason to distrust. At the same time he complained of the backwardness of the Dutch, in fulfilling the article of the last treaty relating to Surinam; and mentioned some causes of difference between the English merchants and their East-India company. The captain of a yacht sent to bring over the wife and family of Sir William Temple from the Hague, was ordered by the admiralty to go in quest of the Dutch fleet, and fire upon them should they refuse to pay the compliment to the flag of England. This officer did not fall in with them until lady Temple and her children were on board: then he sailed through the midst of a squadron commanded by Van Ghent; and, as they did not lower their topsails, discharged his cannon at them without hesitation. The Dutch admiral, surprised at this extravagance, sent an officer to expostulate with him upon such extraordinary conduct. He replied, that he acted according to orders. Then Van Ghent going on board of his yacht, on pretence of paying his compliments to lady Temple, told him, that although the states-general had engaged by treaty to pay the compliment to the English flag, he could not expect that a large fleet, commanded by an admiral, would lower their topsails to a single vessel, which was not even a ship of war, but

but a private boat for pleasure or dispatch. The captain departed without further disputes; yet, though he had fired several guns loaded with shot at them, and been saluted by the Dutch admiral, he no sooner arrived in England, than he was committed prisoner to the Tower, for not having sufficiently asserted the honour of his majesty. This was another slight pretence for demanding satisfaction of the states-general.

§ X. How far Charles respected his honour at home, we may learn by an incident of a singular nature, that occurred about this period. There was a desperate ruffian, of the name of Blood, rendered infamous by the practice of robbery and assassination. He had undertaken to sur prise the castle of Dublin, while the duke of Ormond was viceroy of Ireland: but he failed in the attempt, and some of his accomplices being hanged, he swore their death should be revenged. He followed the duke into England; and, one night while that nobleman was in his coach returning to Clarendon-house where he lodged, Blood, with eight accomplices well mounted, stopped the carriage. He murdered the coachman and one of the servants, then set the duke on horseback, behind one of the gang, that he might be conveyed to Tyburn, and put to an ignominious death, purposing to leave his body hanging on the gibbet, with a paper fixed to his breast, explaining the cause of his execution. They had already made a considerable progress in this expedition, when the duke, making an effort to disengage himself, fell from the horse, together with the assassin to whom he had been tied: while they lay struggling together on the ground, Ormond's domestics, who had been by this time alarmed, rode up to his assistance; and Blood with his crew having discharged their pistols at the duke, escaped by favour of the darkness. He afterwards formed a scheme for carrying off the regalia from the Tower of London; and executed it so far, that he had actually seized the crown, and passed out at the Tower-gate, with three accomplices, after having left Edwards, the keeper of the Jewel-office, seemingly dead of the wounds he received in defending his trust. Nevertheless, he alarmed the guards, and the ruffians were apprehended. One of them was immediately known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond, which was now laid to the charge of Blood; and he frankly owned himself author of that enterprize, but he refused to discover his accomplices, saying, the fear of death should never prompt him to deny a crime, or betray an associate. This desperado, who had been a soldier in Cromwell's army, behaved with such remarkable intrepidity and contempt of life, that the king was seized with an emotion of curiosity to see such a phenomenon; and Blood knew how to turn this circumstance to his advantage. He told his majesty, that on account of the severity which had been exercised over the consciences of the godly, he had once resolved to kill the king with a carbine, in a place near Battersea, where Charles used to bathe in the river: that with this view he had actually concealed himself among the reeds; but his spirits were so damped with the awe of majesty, that he relented, and laid aside his design. He said he looked upon life and death with the most absolute indifference; but gave the king to understand, that his associates had bound themselves together, by the most solemn oaths, to revenge the death of any individual of the confederacy, that might fall into the hands of justice; and that no power upon earth could baffle the efforts of their desperate resolution. The king,

king, though he affected admiration at this man's boldness, was in all probability alarmed with the fear of assassination, and on that motive pardoned the malefactor; though not before he had obtained the consent of Ormond, who granted it in the most gallant manner. Blood was not only pardoned, but gratified with an estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland. He lived in great familiarity with the king, and affected to be seen frequently in the same apartment with the duke of Ormond; while Edwards, who had run the risque of his life in preventing Blood's felonious purpose, though in the eightieth year of his age, reaped no reward for his fidelity and valour, except the promise of two hundred pounds, which he did not live to enjoy. *

Burnet.
Rapin.
Arlington's
French Letters.
Carte's Life
of Ormond.

§ XI. The contracting parties, in the league against Holland, had agreed that the French king, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, should fall upon the territories of the states-general in three different places, while the combined fleets of France and England should attack their navy, and distress their commerce. Nothing retarded the commencement of hostilities, but the indigence of Charles: though he had received two millions five hundred thousand pounds from parliament, and seven hundred thousand livres by stipulation from the king of France, he still found himself in necessity. He gave his ministry to understand, that he could not begin the war without a further supply of five hundred thousand pounds; and, as he could not have recourse to the parliament, which was prorogued, he promised to confer the office of treasurer upon him who should contrive a practicable expedient for raising that sum of money. Sir Thomas Clifford happened to be the most fortunate in his invention: he proposed to stop the payments of the exchequer, and convert all the money to his immediate occasions. The scheme was immediately put in execution, and Clifford appointed lord-treasurer. The whole nation was astonished and affrighted at this desperate measure. The bankers, who had lent money to the government, shut up their shops, and refused to accept the draughts of those who kept cash with them; so that many private families were ruined. The merchants could neither answer bills, nor pay duties at the Custom-house; so that commerce was interrupted, credit in a great measure destroyed, the public faith violated, universal confusion ensued among the trading part of the nation, and the city of London was filled with clamour and distraction. The king published a declaration, excusing this step as the effect of necessity, arising from the formidable preparations of his neighbours, and promising to do justice to the creditors of the crown. Finding very little regard was paid to his proclamation, he convened the bankers at the Treasury, and assured them from his own mouth, that they should be punctually satisfied, either from the next supplies granted by parliament, or out of his own revenue: he therefore desired they would answer the draughts of the merchants, so that business might flow in its former channel.

§ XII. The cabal had devised another plan for filling the king's coffers; namely, that of intercepting the Dutch fleet of merchant ships from Smyrna, valued at fifteen hundred thousand pounds. Sir Robert Holmes was sent on this service, and fell in with Sprague, on his return with a squadron from the

* In the course of this year, died the famous king, were afterwards instrumental in his son's restoration.
lord Fairfax, and the earl of Manchester; who, though they had been generals against the late

Mediterranean : had he been reinforced by this officer, he would certainly have succeeded in his design ; but he was resolved to engross the whole honour and advantage to himself, and allowed Sprague to continue his voyage homewards. He soon descried the Dutch fleet, under convoy of five ships of war, commanded by commodore Van Ness, who had received some intimation of his design, and put his squadron, with the convoy, into an admirable posture of defence. Holmes attacked them with great impetuosity, on the thirteenth day of March ; and all that day they bravely sustained the engagement : it was renewed in the morning, and maintained till night ; on the third day, one of the Dutch ships of war was taken, together with three or four inconsiderable trading vessels : the rest continued their course, under the excellent conduct of their commodore ; and, by the favour of a thick fog, arrived safely in Holland. The states-general exclaimed loudly against this pyratrical attempt, which appeared the more dishonourable, as it had proved unsuccessful ; the people of England condemned it as an infamous enterprize, and the king himself was ashamed of the undertaking. The ministry pretended that it was no other than a casual rencounter, occasioned by the pride of the Dutch commodore, who refused to strike his topsails in compliment to the English squadron. Nevertheless, four Dutch East-India ships, afterwards taken by the English cruisers, were condemned as lawful prize, even before the declaration of the war.

§ XIII. The states-general could hardly believe the king of England was in earnest, until these outrages were committed ; then they were convinced, and redoubled their diligence in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. In the mean time Charles, with a view to favour the Roman catholics, by virtue of his supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs, confirmed by divers acts of parliament, issued a proclamation, suspending the penal laws against nonconformists, indulging protestant dissenters with the public exercise of their religion, and allowing the catholics to worship God after their own way in private. This was a large stride towards arbitrary power, so contrary to the sentiments of the parliament, that he would not have ventured to take it, had not he been provided with a powerful fleet, and a new-raised army, at his devotion. His next step was to declare war against the Dutch, for having refused to send home the English families settled in Surinam, as the two nations had stipulated in the treaty of Breda ; for having denied the honours due to the English flag ; and ridiculed the king and people of England in medals and pictures : such were the frivolous pretences of this iniquitous war. The Dutch justified themselves, by affirming that they had not detained the English families in Surinam, but they had refused to quit the colony ; that their admirals were not obliged, by any treaty, to lower their topsails on their own coast to an English pleasure-boat ; and that they had never countenanced any pictures or medals that reflected upon the honour of the king or people of England *. Charles, to complete the farce, pretended, in this declaration, that he would still faithfully adhere to the purport of the triple alliance. Mean while he or-

* The foundation of this ridiculous charge was a portrait of Cornelius De Wit, the pensionary's brother, painted by order of the magistrates of Dort. On the back-ground, the painter had exhibited a representation of ships on fire, supposed to allude to the exploit of the Dutch in the river Medway, in which Cornelius De Wit bore a considerable share.

dered all the Dutch ships that were in English harbours to be seized, contrary to an express article in the treaty of Breda. The Dutch followed his example; but afterwards released them, observing that his breach of faith was not a sufficient reason for their imitating such unjustifiable conduct. After such an uncommon instance of candour and integrity, Charles was ashamed to detain their vessels, the greater part of which were set at liberty. He now, by a stretch of prerogative, suspended the act of navigation, as almost all the seamen in the kingdom were employed in the navy. He issued a proclamation in favour of pressing sailors: in another he threatened all those who should presume to speak irreverently of his conduct, or hear such discourses without informing against the delinquents; and, by an order of council, he established martial law for the regulation of the army. The lord keeper Bridgeman refusing to affix the seal to the declaration for suspending the penal laws, was removed from his office, and lord Ashley, now earl of Shaftesbury, was appointed lord chancellor of England.

§ XIV. Lewis XIV. in his declaration of war against the Dutch, assigned no other reason than his being dissatisfied with their conduct. The bishop of Munster declared war against the republic, on pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his places; and the elector of Cologne admitted a body of French troops into his dominions, under the pretext of providing for his own safety, though De Wit was well apprised of the treaty in which he had engaged. The commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now devoted to destruction. Lewis was at the head of an army, consisting of one hundred and eighty thousand men, commanded by the best generals in the world: his subjects were enriched by commerce, under the excellent administration of Colbert; and his finances were managed with admirable oeconomy. The Dutch, on the other hand, were distracted between two powerful factions. De Wit, the chief of the Louvestein party, who had long directed the administration, thought he could not take more effectual means to depress the Orange faction, than those of disbanding great part of the army, dismissing the old officers who were devoted to the family of Orange, and supplying their places with the sons and kinsmen of his own friends, generally raw youths, who had never seen service, were utterly ignorant of discipline, and, for the most part, served by proxy; so that no military spirit remained. The soldiers were despised; the fortifications neglected; and all the valour and discipline of the republic confined to the navy, which was the object of the pensionary's peculiar care and inspection. The states-general at first endeavoured to divert the king of England from his hostile intentions, by concessions and submission. They consented to honour his flag in any manner he should prescribe; and they appointed his nephew the prince of Orange captain-general and admiral, though he had not yet attained the twenty-third year of his age: but Charles rejected all their advances; he was bent upon the destruction of the republic, without paying the least regard to the interest of his nephew.

§ XV. De Wit had not acted with his usual vigilance, in making preparations for the threatened invasion. He was now sensible of the extreme hazard to which his country was exposed; and resolved to make one powerful effort by sea, while the prince of Orange was employed in making levies, and re-

establishing discipline in the army. De Ruyter was sent to sea with a fleet of ninety ships of war, besides forty frigates and fireships, and Cornelius de Wit acted on board as deputy from the states. Their intention was to prevent the junction of the French and English fleets; but this was already effected. They lay at anchor in Solebay, to the number of one hundred and thirty ships of the line. The duke of York commanded in chief; the earl of Sandwich acted as admiral of the blue; and the French squadron was conducted by the marechal d'Etrées. They rode at anchor in such disorder, that the earl of Sandwich represented to the duke the danger of their being attacked in that posture; but his advice was neglected, and the answer he received was such as implied a suspicion of his courage. Piqued at this reflection, he resolved, in case of an engagement, to conquer or perish. On the twenty-eighth day of May, the Dutch admiral bore down upon them so suddenly, that they were obliged to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole fleet was in such confusion, that the ships ran foul of one another. The earl of Sandwich made haste to weather the headland, and opposed himself to the enemy, that the duke might have time to reduce the rest of the fleet into order. He sustained a most furious attack from the bravest of the enemy. He repulsed the ship of Van Ghent, after that admiral had been killed in the engagement: he destroyed another large ship which attempted to board him; he sunk three fireships before they were near enough to grapple with his rigging. Though six hundred of his men were either killed or wounded, and his ship was dreadfully shattered by the shot of the enemy, he still continued to ply his artillery without ceasing, until another fireship ran him aboard on the quarter. Even then he might have escaped into another vessel; but the duke's sarcasm had made such an impression upon his mind, that he chose rather to die than survive the loss of his ship, which, being blown up, he and every person on board were destroyed. In the mean time the duke of York was attacked by De Ruyter; and they engaged each other so close for two hours, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared this was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. The duke's ship being disabled, he was obliged to move his flag on board of another, and his division was in danger of being overpowered; when Sir Joseph Jordan, who succeeded Sandwich, came to his assistance. The battle being thus restored, continued till night, when the Dutch retired. Victory declared for neither side, though it was claimed by both nations. The French squadron was very little engaged; and, in all probability, the marechal d'Etrées had orders to keep off, that the two maritime powers might destroy one another.

§ XVI. Lewis had by this time invaded the territories of the states-general on the side of Germany. He passed the Meuse at Vifet, reduced Orsoi, Burck, Wefel, Emerick, and Rhinberg, almost without opposition. Then he advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which his horse passed by swimming, while his infantry crossed it in boats; and a few Dutch regiments that appeared on the other side, retired with precipitation. Marechal de Turenne took the strong fort of Skink in a few days; Arnheim, Knotzenbourg, and Nimeguen, surrendered to him at the first summons. Lewis entered Doerbourg without resistance: his forces reduced Harderwick, Amersfert, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageningen, Lochem, and Woerden:

*Van Ghent's Monument
is in the place of
the altar in the Church
at Utrecht.*

*Sandwich's grave
in the South Wall of
Westminster Abbey.*

Woerden. Marechal Luxembourg, with the troops of Munster, possessed himself of Groll and Deventer. Utrecht sent deputies with offers of submission to the French king. The marquis of Rochefort surprized Naerden, within three leagues of Amsterdam. Fourteen stragglers appearing before Muiden, received the keys of the town from the magistrates; but the castle was preserved by a female servant, who raised up the draw-bridge, and the French stragglers were afterwards expelled: the cannon of this fortress commands the entrance to the harbour of Amsterdam. The prince of Orange, at the head of his raw, discouraged troops, was obliged to retreat into the province of Holland before the victorious enemy, whose rapid progress overwhelmed the people with consternation and despair. Lewis had now subdued the three provinces of Guelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht, and threatened the rest with immediate subjection. The populace, and all those who had opposed the Louvestein party, instead of exerting themselves for the preservation of their liberties, exclaimed against the pensionary, for having neglected the means of defence. They reviled him as the partizan of France; the author of all their calamities; and looked upon the young prince of Orange as the only person who could save them from destruction. In the midst of this despondence, the magistrates of Amsterdam acted up to the noble example of their ancestors: they obliged the burghesses to keep watch and ward; the people were armed and regularly payed; some useless ships were repaired, and furnished with artillery for the defence of the city; and the sluices being opened, the whole neighbourhood was laid under water. The other towns followed their example; so that the whole province of Holland was overflowed.

§ XVII. Notwithstanding these precautions, the nobles were still so much influenced by their fears, that when the states met to deliberate upon the deplorable situation of the commonwealth, they voted that, provided their religion, liberty, and sovereign power, could be saved, every thing else should be surrendered to the conqueror. Amsterdam declared against treating with the foe; but this opposition being over-ruled, they sent ambassadors to deprecate the wrath, and implore the compassion of the French and English monarchs. They offered to cede Maestricht, and all the frontier towns lying without the limits of the seven provinces, to Lewis, and accommodate him with a large sum to defray the expence of the war. The French king demanded that the commodities of France should be imported duty free into Holland; that the states would permit the free exercise of the catholic religion, share the churches between them and the protestants, and appoint regular salaries for their priests; that they should cede to him all the frontier towns of the republic, together with Nimeguen, Skink, Knotzenbourg, part of Guelderland, the isles of Bommel and Voorn, and the forts of St. Andrew, Louvestein, and Crevecœur; that they should pay twenty millions of livres for the expence of the war; send a yearly embassy to Paris, with a golden medal, as an acknowledgment that to him they owed the preservation of that liberty which his predecessors had enabled their states to acquire; that they should give entire satisfaction to the king of England; and, within ten days, signify their assent to these proposals: in which case he would evacuate his conquests.

§ XVIII. Their envoys dispatched to London met with a very harsh reception from the court, though they excited the compassion of the people. Charles himself began to be uneasy at the rapid progress of his ally. He foresaw that the entire conquest of Holland would be a formidable accession of power to Lewis, who might forget his engagements, and think it his interest to leave the king of England in dependence upon his subjects: besides, he was eager to share the spoils of the Dutch republic. He dismissed their ambassadors, and sent the duke of Buckingham, with the earls of Arlington and Hallifax, to negotiate with Lewis on the present posture of affairs. They repaired to Utrecht, where the French king resided with his court, renewed the league between him and Charles, and inserted a clause, that no peace should be made with Holland, but by common consent. Then they produced their master's demands upon the states, importing, that the Dutch should do honour to the English flag, without any limitation; banish all the king's enemies and calumniators; pay a million sterling towards the charges of the war, as well as ten thousand pounds yearly for liberty to fish on the British seas; share the trade of the East Indies; invest the prince of Orange with the hereditary dignity of stadtholder; and deliver into the king's hands the isles of Walcheren, Cadfan, Gorée and Voorn, together with the town and castle of Sluys, as security for the performance of articles.

§ XIX. These cruel demands reduced the people of Holland to despair. The Orange faction took this opportunity to inflame their resentment against the pensionary and his brother, who became the objects of popular hatred and execration. They demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict, by which they had engaged upon oath, that they would never acknowledge the prince of Orange as stadtholder. The two brothers still continued to oppose the repeal, from motives of true patriotism. At length the populace broke through all restraint. By an insurrection at Dort the burgomasters were compelled to sign a repeal of the edict. The people at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middleburg, and the Hague, rose in arms against their magistrates, and obliged them to declare in favour of the prince of Orange. John De Wit had been assaulted, and left seemingly dead upon the street; his brother Cornelius was beset by ruffians in his own house at Dort; and, being sick, was with great difficulty protected by his servants: the gallant De Ruyter was insulted in the same manner at Amsterdam. Cornelius de Wit was accused by an infamous barber of a design against the life of the prince of Orange. Though the charge was improbable and absurd, the multitude howled for justice; and his judges, intimidated by their clamour, condemned him to the torture. This he endured with unshaken fortitude, protesting his innocence; and, between whiles, repeating the beautiful ode of Horace, beginning with "*Justum et tenacem propositum virum.*" He was, nevertheless, deprived of his offices, and underwent the sentence of banishment. The pensionary resolved to accompany him in his exile, and repaired to the prison where he lay, in order to console him in his adversity. The base-born multitude assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke down the prison-doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embued their savage hands in the blood of those virtuous patriots who had deserved so well of their country, and treated their dead bodies with the most barbarous indignity.

§ XX.

§ XX. By the unworthy fate of those two sons of liberty, the prince of Orange acquired the whole administration of Holland and Zealand: the young prince, John Casimer, of Nassau, now under the guardianship of his mother, was stadtholder of Friesland and Groningen; and the other three provinces were in the hands of the enemy. Lewis no sooner understood that the prince of Orange was elevated to the dignity of stadtholder, than he attempted to bribe him over to his interest, by offering to make him sovereign of Holland; but he rejected the proposal with disdain. The duke of Buckingham, visiting this young prince on his return to England from Utrecht, exhorted him to put himself wholly under the protection of his uncle, the king of England. When he expressed a regard for his country, the duke said, "You see your country is already lost." "There is one way (replied the prince) of avoiding such a sight; and that is, to die in the last ditch." The stadtholder was naturally phlegmatic, reserved, and thoughtful, well acquainted with the strength and interest of his country. To the care of John De Wit, the professed enemy of his greatness, he owed a liberal education: he possessed a great share of courage and fortitude, and was extremely tenacious of his purpose. At an extraordinary assembly of the states, he, in a speech that lasted three hours, represented the pernicious consequences of accepting the terms proposed by the king of France; encouraged them with solid reasons to hope that they should still be able to defend their liberties; demonstrated the possibility of raising money to defray the enormous expence of such a war; and concluded with saying, that religion and liberty could not be purchased at too dear a price. The states listened to him with amazement: they were astonished at the extent of his knowledge, and the solidity of his arguments: they were animated by the spirit of their young stadtholder. That grief and dejection, which had so long appeared in their countenances, now vanished; they recovered the faculty of recollection, which seemed to have been buried under their misfortunes; and began to exert themselves with vigour in defence of their country.

§ XXI. Lewis, seeing a stop put to his conquests by the inundation of Holland, left the duke of Luxemburgh at Utrecht, and marched into Flanders, from whence he hastened to Paris, where he was received with more fulsome adulation than had ever been payed to any European prince since the dissolution of the Roman empire. The passage of the Rhine, which he had beheld at a wary distance, and which his troops had performed almost without opposition, was celebrated in prose and verse, as an exploit equal to that of Alexander in passing the Granicus; and the epithet of "Great" was bestowed upon him by the servile flattery of his subjects, though he had not the least ingredient of heroism in his whole composition. He was on this occasion accompanied by the duke of Monmouth, who commanded six thousand English auxiliaries, that reinforced Lewis in consequence of the treaty between the two monarchs. All the neutral powers in Europe were alarmed at the rapidity of the French conquests, well knowing how formidable Lewis would become by the reduction of Holland. The emperor, and some other princes in Germany, promised to espouse the cause of the Dutch. Spain sent a body of troops to their assistance; and the prince of Orange made surprising efforts to assemble an army capable of looking the enemy in the face. The bishop of Munster was obliged to abandon the siege of Groningen with loss and dishonour. The stadtholder made an attempt

attempt upon Naerden; but Luxemburgh, attacking his intrenchments by surprize, obliged him to desist from the enterprize.

Burnet.
Temple.
Rapin.

An. Ch. 1673.

§ XXII. The chief hope of the Dutch centered in the English parliament, which they believed would open its eyes to the real interest of the kingdom, and take measures for putting an end to a war so opposite to the advantage of their country: but, in this hope, they were disappointed by another prorogation. Charles, resolving to make new levies, thought proper to keep the exchequer still shut; though the time was elapsed, at the expiration of which he had faithfully promised it should be opened. He excused himself, however, in a proclamation, observing, that the war still continued, though he had done all that lay in his power, to promote a pacification. Sir Henry Coventry was now appointed secretary of state; lord Clifford rewarded with the treasurer's staff, and the dignity of duke conferred upon Lauderdale; so that the cabal seemed to triumph in their councils, and securely enjoyed their pensions from France, the infamous wages of treachery and corruption. At length the parliament reassembled in the beginning of February; and, at the recommendation of the court, chose Sir John Charleton their speaker, Turner, who hitherto possessed the chair, having been created a baron of the exchequer. The king, in his speech, having mentioned the war, and referred them to the declaration for the causes and necessity of that measure, observed that his indulgence in favour of the nonconformists had produced a very good effect, in securing the peace of the kingdom. He said, the favour granted to catholics was as little as he could shew, considering their services and fidelity to him and his father: he told them plainly, that he should take all sorts of contradiction in evil part, and was determined to support his declaration on that subject. He took notice of a suspicion he had incurred, of having levied land-forces to controul the laws and invade the property of the subject: he declared there was a necessity for having a greater number for the next campaign; therefore he hoped they would take that circumstance into consideration. He concluded with an assurance that he would maintain the true protestant religion as established in the church of England; and that the liberty and property of his subjects should be preserved inviolate. The earl of Shaftesbury, as lord chancellor, enlarged upon the same subjects, in a long speech replete with the most impudent falsehoods, the most palpable absurdity, and the grossest adulation. He asserted that this was the parliament's war, undertaken by their advice against an insolent people, who aimed at universal empire; a nation whose existence was incompatible with the interest of Great-Britain; "they must be exterminated (said he) "Delenda est Carthago. If you suffer them to rise again, remember that the states of "Holland are the perpetual enemies of England, both from interest and inclination." He extolled the king as the best prince that ever sat upon the throne; as the restorer of liberty and the English church, for which his father had suffered; in which he himself had been born and educated; and to which he had adhered in his greatest distress with the most scrupulous attachment, notwithstanding the great offers by which he was tempted to renounce his religion. He recommended a supply to their serious consideration, desiring that it might be speedy and effectual. He concluded with these words, "Let us bless "God and the king, that our religion is safe; that the church is committed to "the care of a prince, from whom we have nothing to fear for our parliaments, "liberties,

“liberties, and property. What more can a good Englishman ask, except “that God will be pleased to grant his majesty a long and happy reign; and “that the triple alliance between king, parliament, and people, may never be “broken or impaired.” The commons, instead of complying with the measures of the king, began the session by vindicating their own privileges. The chancellor had issued writs for filling the vacant seats in parliament, and new members had been elected; but now the house voted those writs and elections illegal, and the new members were expelled. The commons were extremely dissatisfied with the king’s conduct: they disapproved of the war, and resolved to demand that the grievances of the nation should be redressed: but that they might not be suspected of disaffection or unseasonable resentment, they voted a tax of seventy thousand pounds per month for eighteen months, to answer the king’s extraordinary occasions. But they did not even mention the war, and resolved that the money-bill should go hand in hand with the redress of grievances. They presented an address against the king’s declaration for liberty of conscience, observing that the penal laws could not be suspended but by act of parliament; and beseeching his majesty to remove all doubts and fears from the hearts of his faithful subjects. He answered, that he was sorry a step he had taken for the peace of the kingdom should produce any uneasiness in the house of commons, or give them cause to call in question his undoubted power in ecclesiastical matters, which he should never have thought of using, but for the advantage of his subjects. He declared his intention was not to evade or renounce the advice of his parliament; and, that if they would prepare a bill for the same purposes, that should be more effectual for preserving the tranquillity of church and state, and present it in a suitable manner, he would convince them of his readiness to concur with every measure that should be judged necessary for the benefit of the kingdom. In another address, the commons gave him to understand, that his answer was not sufficient to remove their fears and suspicions, arising from his arrogating a power of dispensing with penal laws: a power, which they said his predecessors had never pretended to exercise: a claim, by which he might interrupt the course of the laws, and change the whole legislative power, residing in the king and the two houses of parliament; they therefore implored a more clear and satisfactory answer. He replied, it was an affair of consequence, and he would take time to consider their address. Charleton, the speaker, desiring to resign the chair on account of his ill state of health, was succeeded by Edward Seymour.

§ XXIII. The cabal had misreckoned on the interest of the presbyterians, which they thought to secure by the declaration of indulgence. That sect perceived the drift of the court was, under shelter of them, to favour the Roman catholics; that the ministry pursued arbitrary measures; that the king had involved the nation in an unjust and expensive war with their natural allies, and assembled an army, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of London, in all probability to over-awe the deliberations of the parliament. Alderman Love, one of the chiefs of the presbyterian party, spoke in the house with great spirit against the declaration; and his disinterested behaviour on this occasion made such impression on the commons, that they brought in a bill for the relief of protestant nonconformists. It passed the lower house without opposition; but the lords proposed some amendments, with which the com-

mons would not comply; and, before the affair could be compromised, the king prorogued the parliament. In the mean time, the lords and commons joined in an address against the Roman catholics, desiring that the laws might be rigorously executed against priests and jesuits: that all officers and persons in public employments in the army, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the communion according to the form of the church of England. He published a proclamation according to custom; but this did not satisfy the commons, who resolved to prepare a bill that should effectually remedy the evil of which they complained; and they were determined against passing the supplies until the declaration for liberty of conscience should be recalled.

§ XXIV. Charles now found his affairs at a very delicate crisis: the question was, whether he should pull off the mask, and break with his parliament, or sacrifice his prerogative, and own himself dependent upon their power and affection. The cabal were divided in opinion. The majority advised him to shake off all restraint, and avail himself of the army which lay encamped on Black-heath, under the command of Schomberg, a German protestant, of great reputation in war. Lauderdale undertook to bring a strong body of forces from Scotland, to assist in subduing the parliament. Buckingham offered to seize those members of the lower house who opposed the court-measures. The same violent councils were espoused by Shaftsbury and Clifford: but Arlington, from a timorous temper, was for more moderate measures. The French king exhorted Charles to make peace with the parliament, as he could not of himself maintain the whole war. The concubines, afraid of suffering in the general confusion that would ensue, importuned him to embrace pacific measures; and this conduct being the best suited to his own indolent and unwarlike disposition, he resolved to gratify the commons. Shaftsbury, perceiving the king's want of resolution, began to dread a parliamentary inquiry; from the danger of which, that he might screen himself in time, he, in the most abrupt manner, entered into all the violence of the opposition. He was received with open arms, by the chiefs of those who were distinguished by the name of the Country Party: they knew his strength, and triumphed in the acquisition. He now pressed the king to a compliance with the parliament; and Charles, sending for the declaration, broke the seal with his own hand. On the eighth day of March, he repaired to the house of peers, where he desired the commons to dispatch the business of the supply; and assured them, that he would grant his assent to every bill calculated to redress their grievances.

§ XXV. The two houses were so well pleased with this assurance, that they went in a body to thank his majesty for his most gracious declaration. Nevertheless, they soon passed the famous test-act, importing, That every person in office or employment, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; receive the sacrament in some parish-church before competent witnesses, and subscribe a declaration, renouncing all belief of the real presence in the eucharist. They likewise brought in another bill for preventing marriages between protestants and papists: this was levelled against a match now in agitation between the duke of York and the archduchess of Inspruck. Then the commons presented two addresses upon grievances; one relating to England,
and

and the other to Ireland. In the first, they demanded that a new duty laid upon coals, by order of council, should be suppressed; that soldiers should not be quartered in private houses; that the forces should be disbanded at the conclusion of the war; and that the practice of pressing men into the service should be discontinued. The petition concerning Ireland related chiefly to religious grievances; but, among other articles, they requested that colonel Richard Talbot, agent for the catholics in that kingdom, should be divested of all employment, civil or military, and be denied access to his majesty's person. The king made a favourable answer; and then the money-bill passed without opposition. When the test-act received the royal assent, a bill of indemnity likewise passed to screen the ministers from all inquiry: then the catholic officers quitted their employments; the duke of York resigned the lucrative office of lord high admiral; and lord Clifford gave up his treasurer's staff, which was bestowed upon Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards created earl of Danby.

§ XXVI. Prince Rupert being appointed admiral of the fleet, began to make preparations for going to sea, but was thwarted by his captains, who were generally devoted to the duke, and resented his dismissal: Sir Edward Sprague and the earl of Offory acted as inferior admirals. Having been joined by the French squadron under D'Etrées, they steered towards the coast of Holland, to the number of one hundred and forty sail, comprehending frigates and fireships, and, on the twenty-eighth day of May, attacked the Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, near Schoenvelt; but neither side had cause to boast of the victory. The enemy retired into their own harbours, and used such diligence in refitting their ships, that in a week they again presented themselves to the combined fleets of England and France. On the fourteenth of June, they met off Flushing, where they cannonaded one another without coming to a close engagement, and were parted by tempestuous weather before any considerable damage was done on either side. Prince Rupert was averse to the war, and for that reason perhaps acted with the less activity. The duke still influenced the conduct of the admiralty; and, from private pique to prince Rupert, kept the fleet in continual want of necessaries and provision; so that he was obliged to return into harbour to be supplied. He was no sooner in condition to go to sea, than he steered his course to the Texel; and, on the eleventh day of August, fell in with the Dutch fleet, commanded by De Ruyter and Tromp, who were now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the prince of Orange. When the action began, De Ruyter singled out prince Rupert; Tromp opposed himself to Sir Edward Sprague; and Brankert, their rear-admiral, bore up to the marechal D'Etrées. This battle was fought with surprising emulation by the English and Dutch officers; but the French kept aloof, in such a manner, that Brankert shot a-head to the assistance of De Ruyter; and prince Rupert, being separated from the division of Sir John Chichely, was quite surrounded by the enemy, and exposed to a most dreadful fire. He fought with his usual courage, and manifested such conduct as he had never displayed before. He disengaged himself with wonderful dexterity; and, joining Chichely, bore down to the assistance of Sprague, who was almost overpowered by Tromp and his squadron. The Royal Prince, in which he fought, was shattered in such a manner, that he was obliged to shift his flag

*I have a drawing
of this action by
Van der Meer - 1666*

to the *St. George*; *Tromp* for the same reason moved from the *Golden Lion* to the *Comet*; and the action was renewed with redoubled violence, until the *St. George* was quite disabled: then *Sprague* took to his boat, in order to hoist his flag on board of another ship; but the pinnace being sunk by a cannon-ball, this gallant officer perished. The earl of *Ossory* distinguished himself by his extraordinary valour and perseverance; but, after the death of *Sprague*, he found himself hard pressed by the enemy. Prince *Rupert* perceiving that whole division almost totally disabled, sent three fireships among the Dutch fleet, which was likewise greatly damaged; and made signal for the French squadron to bear down and engage. Had they obeyed this order, while the enemy were in confusion, occasioned by the fireships, in all probability the English would have obtained a complete victory. But the French *marechal* payed no regard to the signal; and the majority of the English ships had been so roughly handled, that the prince could not pursue his advantage: he therefore collected his straggled ships, and hauled off to the English shore, leaving the victory undecided.

§ XXVII. The king of Sweden having offered his mediation, a congress was opened at *Cologne*; but the two monarchs insisted nearly on the terms which they had already imposed, and the states having recollected themselves from their panic, sunk every day in their offers, as their affairs began to assume a more favourable aspect. Spain and France had come to an open rupture: the emperor had declared in their favour, and sent an army into the field; under the command of the famous *Montecuculi*, who found means to baffle the vigilance of *Turenne*, and, by a sudden march, invested *Bonne* on the Upper Rhine, before the *marechal* was aware of his design. The prince of *Orange* having taken *Naerdin*, and, by the most artful conduct, left all the French generals behind him, joined the Imperialists, and *Bonne* surrendered in a few days. They reduced several other places in the electorate of *Cologne*; and the communication between France and the United Provinces being cut off, *Lewis* abandoned all his conquests, except *Maestricht*, which he had taken during this campaign. The Dutch ambassadors at the congress now talked in very lofty terms; and those of France and England retired from *Cologne*, on pretence of the violence offered to the count de *Furstenberg*, plenipotentiary for the elector of *Cologne*. This nobleman was apprehended by order of the emperor, as a subject of the empire, who had betrayed his country; and the two kings refused to treat until he should be set at liberty.

§ XXVIII. The emperor, in another instance, manifested his contempt for the king of England and his concerns. Proposals had been made for a marriage between the duke of *York* and a princess of the *Inspruck* branch of the house of *Austria*: but the emperor becoming a widower in the course of this year, espoused the lady; and the duke of *York* was obliged to turn his eyes to another quarter. He now pitched upon *Mary*, sister of *Francis* duke of *Modena*, whom *Lewis XIV.* declared an adopted daughter of France; engaging at the same time to pay her portion. The proposal was immediately accepted, and the marriage solemnized by proxy; the earl of *Peterborough* representing the duke's person. The commons meeting after a prorogation, petitioned the king that he would prevent the match between the duke and the princess of *Modena*; and take care that his brother should marry no lady of the catholic

catholic persuasion. To this address the king replied, that the duke's marriage was already consummated by proxy; and that he could not suppose it would be disagreeable to the commons, as they had never expressed the least dissatisfaction at the proposal of the other match between his brother and a catholic princess, which had been so long in agitation.

§ XXIX. The house was not satisfied with this answer, and resolved to present another address, containing their reasons for opposing the marriage. Charles, in a speech to parliament, had mentioned the congress at Cologne; giving them to understand, that his ambassadors had been treated with contempt by those of the states-general, who seemed averse to all reasonable terms of accommodation. He therefore demanded a speedy supply for the maintenance of the war; desired they would discharge the debt he had contracted with the bankers and goldsmiths, who were ruined by his stopping payment at the exchequer; and he promised to maintain the religion, liberty and property of his subjects. The chancellor expatiated upon the same topics; but neither his eloquence, nor the king's importunity, made the least impression upon the commons. They adjourned the house, and afterwards began to take his majesty's speech into consideration. In a committee of the whole house, they resolved, That no supply should be granted to the king, nor any imposition laid upon the subjects, before the final payment of the last aid, amounting to one million two hundred and thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds; nor until the kingdom should be secured against the designs of popery, and all the national grievances redressed; unless the obstinacy of the Dutch, in refusing reasonable terms of peace, should render such supply necessary for the defence of the nation. At the same time, they petitioned for a general fast, as if the kingdom had been in imminent danger. Then the house went in a body to the king, with a second address against the duke's marriage. They represented that it would produce doubts, disquiets, and dissatisfaction in the minds of the people, and probably engage his majesty in alliances prejudicial to the protestant religion; that it would increase the number of priests and jesuits in England, and revive the hopes of the catholic party; that it would diminish the people's affection for his royal highness; that the princess of Modena having so many relations at the court of Rome, this marriage would furnish them with means to penetrate into his majesty's most secret councils; and, as matches concluded by proxy, had been often dissolved, they intreated him to prevent the actual consummation of this marriage, the duke being the presumptive heir of the crown.

§ XXX. Charles was extremely shocked at these vigorous proceedings of the commons, and told them, he would consider their address. Mean while they voted that the land-army was a grievance and a burthen to the nation; and began to prepare a third address on that subject. On the fourth day of November, the king came suddenly to the upper house, and sent for the commons. The usher of the black rod and the speaker arrived at the same time at the house of commons; but the first had no sooner entered, than the door was shut upon the usher. Then the commons immediately voted, That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king were grievances; and that, in particular, the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance,

Burnet.
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Ralph.
Hume.

An. Ch. 1674.

vance. Mean while the usher continued knocking at the door; the speaker leaped from the chair before the votes could be collected, and the house rose in the utmost confusion. The king, in a very short speech, represented the great advantages which the enemy would reap from the least appearance of dissension between him and his parliament: he declared he had exerted his utmost care in preventing the growth of popery; and prorogued them to the seventh day of January. He deprived the earl of Shaftsbury of his office, and Sir Heneage Finch was created keeper of the great seal. He removed all popish recusants from his court; and issued a proclamation for putting the laws in execution against papists. The princess of Modena arriving in England with her mother, her marriage with the duke of York was consummated on the twenty first day of November.

§ XXXI. When the parliament re-assembled, the king told them, that the states general sought only to amuse him with vague overtures of peace: that their sole hope centered in a disunion between him and his parliament; that the best way of obtaining a good peace was to equip a good fleet; that a good fleet could not be equipped without money; and that therefore he expected a speedy and proportionable supply, granted with good will and affection. Charles had now lost all credit with his parliament: they were aware of his dangerous designs; they resolved to prevent the execution of those plans of arbitrary power which he had projected; and seriously deliberated on the grievances of the nation. The lords, in an address, petitioned that all papists might be ordered to quit London and Westminster, during the session of parliament; and he published a proclamation for that purpose. Next day the two houses joined in another address, desiring he would ordain a day of fasting and humiliation, to implore the protection of God against the efforts of popery; and the king complied with their request. The commons presented a third address, desiring that the militia of London, Westminster, and the whole kingdom, might be ready at an hour's warning, to oppose any insurrections that might be excited by papists or other malcontents. The king assured them that he would provide for the safety of their lives, liberties, and privileges. They voted, That the king should be intreated to remove the duke of Lauderdale for ever from his person and council, as a dangerous and suspected person. The duke of Buckingham understanding that he would be the next victim, desired and obtained a hearing before the house. On the first day he was so disordered, that he pretended to be taken ill, and withdrew. At his second appearance, he seemed more composed. He endeavoured to justify his own conduct; imputed all the evil counsels to the earl of Arlington, and dropped some severe insinuations against the king and his brother †. The commons desired he would answer a set of queries, which they prepared, in relation to some arbitrary steps of the government; but they were not satisfied either with his answers or defence, and therefore he underwent the fate of Lauderdale. Arlington was likewise heard in his own justification, and excused himself so well, that, although an impeachment was prepared against him, they dropped the prosecution.

† He said hunting was a good diversion; but the king's favour, which he never perfectly recovered in the sequel.
if a man would hunt with a brace of lobsters, he would have but ill sport. By this sarcasm he lost

§ XXXII. Charles now perceiving that it would be impossible to maintain the war which was so disagreeable to the parliament, began to listen to the terms which the states-general had proposed to him in private for a separate peace. They wrote a submissive letter, to be delivered by the marquis de Fresno, the Spanish envoy at London, whom they impowered to conclude a treaty with him in their name, on certain conditions specified in his credentials. Charles, to make a virtue of necessity, communicated those proposals to the two houses; and demanded the advice of his parliament. They exhorted him to put an end to the war: the conferences were begun with the marquis de Fresno; and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the peace of Breda, with these additions; That they should compliment the English flag whether in large fleets or in single vessels; and pay about three hundred thousand pounds to Charles, towards defraying the expence of his armaments.

§ XXXIII. Though the parliament thanked the king for this peace, which was extremely agreeable to the nation, they still continued to examine grievances. They insisted upon the king's disbanding his land-forces and guards: they appointed a committee to consider the militia-law passed in the Scottish parliament, authorising the army of that kingdom to march into any part of the king's dominions, by an order of their council. Another committee was directed to inquire into the state of Ireland, with respect to religion, the regular troops, and the militia. They prepared one bill for explaining and maintaining the privilege of the Habeas corpus; and brought in another, obliging the members of both houses to take the test-oath. Charles was not a little mortified at this spirit of severity; but he rendered these measures ineffectual by an immediate prorogation; and having thus freed himself from all foreign and domestic disputes, relapsed into a life of indolence, effeminacy, and pleasure.

§ XXXIV. The king of France expressed no resentment at his being abandoned in this clandestine manner by his ally: on the contrary, he frankly accepted the proffered mediation of Charles, from which he had reason to hope for favour and indulgence, considering that he, at this time, obliged the English monarch with a yearly pension of one hundred thousand pounds. Besides, the success of the war had not been answerable to the sanguine hopes of Lewis; and his enemies had multiplied into a formidable alliance. The prince of Orange had advanced into Flanders with a numerous army well disciplined, and endeavoured to bring the prince of Condé to a battle; but, he cautiously avoided an engagement, because he was inferior in number, till at length the stadtholder exposed a wing of his army at Senefé. The French general did not fail to take advantage of this oversight; and a very obstinate action ensued. The prince of Orange behaved on this occasion with equal courage and presence of mind. He rallied his troops, and led them back to the charge. He attacked the veteran forces of France with surprising spirit and perseverance; and obliged the prince of Condé to exert all the qualities of a consummate general. The battle was maintained even by moon-light, till at last the darkness parted the combatants. The prince of Condé said, the stadtholder had acted in every thing like an old general, except in exposing his person too much like a young soldier. He then undertook the siege of Oudenarde; but, at the enemy's approach he abandoned the enterprize, by the persuasion of the Imperial and Spanish generals with whom he was joined: but, he invested and took Grave before

fore the end of the campaign. The French had reconquered Franche Comté; and Turenne was superior to the allies in Alsace. He defeated the duke of Lorraine, and the emperor's general Caprara, at Zintzheim. The Germans had invaded Alsace to the number of seventy thousand. He attacked and routed a body of them at Mulhausen: he drove the elector of Brandenburg from Colmar: he obtained a victory over them at Turkheim: and at last, obliged them to repass the Rhine with damage and disgrace.

§ XXXV. The king of England, that his proposals of mediation might have the more weight with the states-general, recalled Sir William Temple from his retreat, and sent him ambassador to Holland, where he knew that minister was in universal esteem. He found the Dutch very well disposed to peace; but, they could not in gratitude desert their allies, who insisted upon prosecuting the war; and the prince of Orange was by this time inflamed with the desire of military glory. During the campaign he carefully avoided all conference with the English ambassador; and afterwards told him, that until a greater impression could be made upon France, they had nothing to expect from a negotiation. †

§ XXXVI. During these transactions the court of England underwent some alterations. Sir Joseph Williamson, who had been plenipotentiary at the congress of Cologne, was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Arlington, who became lord high chamberlain, though he aspired at the office of treasurer, which the king bestowed upon the new earl of Danby. This contest produced the most rancorous animosity between those two ministers, who mutually exerted their utmost endeavours for the ruin of each other. The duke of Buckingham was disgraced, and lost the dignity of chancellor of the university of Cambridge, in which he was succeeded by the duke of Monmouth, who had signalized his courage in France; and began to be the minion of the people. Lauderdale still kept his ground by the most assiduous application to the king's passions; and the most devoted subserviency to all his extravagant designs. Nevertheless, he was so much intimidated by the vote which had passed against him in the house of commons, that he affected openly to renounce the measures of the cabal. He professed uncommon zeal for the protestant religion; appeared constantly at church; was punctual in receiving the communion; and advised the king to put the laws rigorously in execution against the catholics.

Burnet.
Ralph.
Temple.
Hume.

An. Ch. 1675.

§ XXXVII. All these arts, however, were incapable of appeasing the resentment of the commons. After having prepared a bill at their next meeting, against the growth of popery, and the persons of Roman priests, they presented a long address against the duke of Lauderdale, whom they accused of having said in council, that the king's edicts ought to be obeyed preferable to the laws of the realm; and of having procured the militia-act in the parliament of Scotland, from which England was continually exposed to an invasion, upon the most frivolous pretence: they therefore besought his majesty to remove him from his presence and councils for ever. As Charles did not think proper to comply with their request, they resolved to deliver another petition to the king, for the

† This year was remarkable for the death of world produced; and the earl of Clarendon, who two great men; namely, Milton, one of the died in the eighth year of his exile, at Rouen in greatest geniuses for epic poetry that ever the Normandy.

same purpose. Then they set on foot an inquiry into the conduct of the earl of Danby, whom they resolved to impeach, for having been concerned in a design to render the king absolute; but, finding the proofs insufficient, they dropped the accusation. The next step they took, was an address to his majesty, desiring he would recal the English auxiliaries from France; and take effectual methods to prevent his subjects from engaging in that service for the future. He said, he could not recal the troops without running the risque of a rupture with his allies; but, he would take care they should not be recruited.

§ XXXVIII. The commons proceeded with such warmth in those maxims of opposition to the court, that many members of the upper house, and especially the bishops, began to dread the revival of the republican spirit. In order to prevent the mischiefs which might be kindled by such a flame, the earl of Lindsey brought into the house of lords a test-bill, for imposing upon all persons in ecclesiastical, civil, and military employments, as well as upon privy-counsellors, and members of parliament, an oath, renouncing the lawfulness of resisting the king, or those acting under his commission, on any pretence whatsoever; and declaring before God, that they would never attempt to alter the government in church or state. This bill met with such opposition, that the debates upon it continued seventeen days; and then it was carried by a small majority. The earl of Bristol, with the popish lords, protested against it, and inserted their protest in the journal of the house.

§ XXXIX. It would in all probability have produced warmer disputes and more bitter altercation among the commons, had not their attention been diverted by a contest of another nature. One doctor Shirley having been cast in a lawsuit by Sir John Fag a member of the house of commons, appealed from chancery to the house of peers, who took cognizance of the cause, and summoned Sir John Fag as respondent. He complained to the lower house, which undertook to defend him. They declared, that the lords had no right to receive an appeal from any court of equity; and committed Shirley to prison. The peers insisted upon their jurisdiction, which they had exercised for a long course of years. Recourse was had to conferences, which proved ineffectual. The commons imprisoned four lawyers who pleaded in this cause before the peers, contrary to an order of the lower house. The lords declared this commitment a breach of the Magna Charta; and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to release the prisoners. Upon his refusal, they petitioned his majesty to punish him for contempt of the house. The king, in a speech to both houses, exhorted them to lay aside their animosity; and finding his advice had no effect upon the commons, prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth day of October. The lower house had voted a supply of three hundred thousand pounds to the king; but, at the same time, resolved that the tonnage and poundage should be applied to the maintenance of the navy: he was therefore not a little chagrined to see the bill delayed by the quarrel between the two houses.

§ XL. In opening the next session, he earnestly recommended unanimity, the interests of the English church, and a supply that should be sufficient for building new ships, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons absolutely refused to pay his debts; but they granted three hundred thousand pounds for the expence of building twenty ships of a certain rate; and appropriated the

tonnage and poundage to the support of the navy. Then they began to resume the subject of grievances with great eagerness and acrimony; when their deliberations were interrupted by the insolence of a French jesuit called father St. Germain. He entered the house of one Luzancy, a convert to the protestant religion; and by threatening to assassinate or transport him to France, extorted a writing, in which he renounced his conversion. A complaint of this violence was brought before the commons by Luzancy, who declared, that the jesuit had said the king was a catholic in his heart: that the court was endeavouring to procure liberty of conscience: and, that in less than two years the majority of the English people would acknowledge the pope's authority. Luzancy charged him with having dropped some other expressions of the same nature; and added, there was such a number of priests and papists in London, that a proselyte could not walk in the streets, without running the risque of his life. This affair produced such a violent ferment among the commons, that the king, in order to appease them, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of two hundred pounds to any person that should apprehend St. Germain; but, he had already escaped to the continent.

§ XLI. The commons being more and more convinced of the necessity for uniting the protestants against the designs of Rome, resumed the bill they had formerly proposed for the relief of the presbyterians: but they were anticipated by the lords. The duke of Buckingham had made a speech against persecution; and obtained permission to bring in a bill in favour of protestant nonconformists. Even this was stifled in the birth by a revival of the quarrel between the two houses. The dispute about privilege became more violent than ever; and it was moved in the upper house, that they should petition the king to dissolve the parliament. This motion was rejected by a majority of two only: however, the king finding it impossible to compromise the difference, prorogued them for fifteen months.

§ XLII. Charles had payed so little regard to the interests of the nation in his public conduct, and deviated so much from the rules of decency and decorum in his private deportment; he had dissipated his revenue with such scandalous profusion; and countenanced the catholics so openly, against the sense of the nation; that his government was grown into universal contempt and abhorrence. It was lampooned and libelled in public, and ridiculed in almost every society in the kingdom. He fell particularly under the lash of the politicians. He was so exasperated by the liberties taken with his person and administration, that he suppressed all the coffee-houses, which were the places where those malcontents used to assemble; and issued a proclamation, promising a reward to those who should discover the authors of libels and pamphlets written against the government.

§ XLIII. The military events of this year were favourable to the allies. Lewis took the field in person, as volunteer in the army commanded by the prince of Condé in Flanders: but he was so narrowly watched by the prince of Orange, that all his conquests on that side were limited to the reduction of Huy and Limbourg. Montecuculi, at the head of the Imperial army, endeavoured to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Lorraine and Burgundy: but he was prevented from executing that scheme by the vigilance of Turenne, who

who posted himself upon the German side of the river. The most masterly conduct was displayed by both those consummate generals; at length, Turenne had reduced the enemy to the necessity of decamping in a few days, at a great disadvantage: but, before he could reap the fruits of his ingenuity, he was slain by a cannon-ball, as he rode about viewing the posture of the Imperialists. The death of this truly great man filled the French army with inexpressible grief and confusion. The soldiers loved him as their father, and revered him as a being of superior species: they were therefore inconsolable. Nevertheless, his nephew De Lorges, who succeeded to the command, made a judicious retreat across the Rhine: yet the safety of his army was in a great measure owing to the valour of the English troops that were placed in the rear, and fought the enemy with the most desperate resolution*. The prince of Condé leaving the command of the forces in Flanders to Luxembourg, marched with a reinforcement to the army of Turenne, whom he succeeded in the command. The Imperialists had by this time passed the Rhine, and invested Hagenau. He compelled them to raise the siege of this place, as well as that of Saberne. He baffled all their endeavours to bring him to battle. Though they were superior to his army in number, he obliged them to repass the river, and take up their winter-quarters in their own country.

§ XLIV. A detachment of their army had undertaken the siege of Triers; and the marechal Crequi advancing with an army to the relief of the place, was totally routed. He escaped with four attendants, and throwing himself into the town, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The garrison, however, made the best terms they could obtain, and the marechal refusing to sign the capitulation, was surrendered as a prisoner to the besiegers. The Swedes, as allies of France, invaded Pomerania, from whence they were expelled by the elector of Brandenburg, who followed them into their own country, and concerted measures with the king of Denmark for improving the advantage he had gained. Messina in Sicily having revolted from Spain, a French fleet under the duke de Vivonne was sent to support them in their rebellion. The Dutch ordered De Ruyter to sail with a squadron to the assistance of their allies: a battle ensued, and that great officer was slain, to the irreparable loss of his country. France, by the amazing efforts of her ministers, was now become the first maritime power in Europe: yet, her success in marine affairs was in a great measure owing to the instructions she received, and the examples which she imitated, in her successive alliances with Holland and England†.

Temple.
Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.
Hume.

§ XLV. All the powers at war having agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, in order to negotiate a treaty of peace under the mediation of the English monarch, he, in July, sent thither lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple,

* John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, served among these auxiliaries, in the station of a private captain.

† About this period, the dutchess of Mazarine having quarrelled with her husband, arrived in England, where she had well nigh supplanted the dutchess of Portsmouth in the king's affec-

tion. He indulged her with a pension of four thousand pounds; and her house became the academy of taste and politeness, frequented by the celebrated wits of the age; and, among the rest, by the famous St. Evremond, who, like herself, was a French refugee.

and Sir Leoline Jenkins, in quality of mediating ambassadors; and there they found the plenipotentiaries of France and the states-general. Sweden was likewise very willing to treat; but the Imperialists, Spaniards, and elector of Brandenburg, protracted the time, in hope of gaining further advantages that would induce the French monarch to acquiesce in more equitable terms than they could expect from him in his present situation. In the month of April, the French troops had taken Condé by assault; and the fortrefs of Bouchain was reduced in sight of the prince of Orange, who found it impracticable to relieve the place. After these petty conquests, Lewis returned to Versailles, leaving the command of his forces to Schomberg, who took Aire, and compelled the prince of Orange to raise the siege of Maëstricht, which he had undertaken. On the Upper Rhine, the Imperialists became masters of Philipsbourg; and the Swedes were unable to resist the Danes and Brandenburgers in Pomerania.

§ XLVI. The campaign being ended, the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the congress at Nimeguen, where, at length, all the plenipotentiaries were assembled. Lewis was desirous of dividing the allies, and concluding a separate peace with Holland; and Charles, the mediator, assisted him in that design. Sir William Temple was ordered to treat privately with the states and the prince of Orange on this subject. The states seemed willing to embrace the proposal; but the prince refused to take any step by which he might have incurred the imputation of having betrayed those allies who had so generously interposed for the preservation of his country. Perhaps this consideration was reinforced by the dictates of ambition and revenge. The Spaniards were extremely averse to peace, on the supposition that Charles would soon open his eyes to the interest of England, and declare against France, rather than see Lewis in possession of the Low-Countries: but Charles, in some cases, looked upon his own interest as a circumstance widely different from that of his people. He considered the bulk of the nation as a set of turbulent, unruly, rebellious plebeians, whose insolence and obstinacy poisoned all his enjoyments: whereas he regarded Lewis as his affectionate kinsman, his warm friend, and generous benefactor. The national animosity against France had been very remarkable during the whole war; but now it was inflamed by the insolence and rapine of the French privateers, which took the English and Dutch merchant ships without distinction.

Temple.
Burnet.
Rapin.
Hume.

§ XLVII. The king, in his speech to the parliament, which met in February, protested he was ready to grant all the security in his power for the maintenance of the protestant religion, and the liberties of the people: he recommended harmony between the two houses, made them acquainted with his necessities, and desired a supply that would enable him to make a considerable addition to his navy. The commons had no sooner quitted the house of lords, than the duke of Buckingham standing up, undertook to prove that the parliament was dissolved by the last prorogation, in consequence of a statute made in the reign of Edward III. importing, That a parliament should be held once a year, or oftener, if need be. He said, that acts of parliament were not like women, the worse for being old: that although the words, "if need be," were suppressed when the act was renewed, the original statute had

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had never been repealed, nor could the king set it aside, without violating the Magna Charta. He was seconded by the earls of Salisbury, Shaftsbury, and the lord Wharton. Their arguments produced violent debates; but, as they tended towards an abolition of all that had been transacted in this parliament, as well as to sedition and anarchy; those four noblemen were committed to the Tower. Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, after having been confined some months, made their submissions to the king, who ordered them to be released. Lord Shaftsbury moved, in the king's-bench, that he might be discharged: but the court refused to take cognizance of the matter. He remained a whole year prisoner, and then made that submission by which he might have obtained his liberty, when the other three lords were discharged. The house of commons now voted the sum of five hundred and eighty thousand pounds to his majesty, to defray the expence of building thirty ships of war: then they presented an address, desiring his majesty would take effectual measures for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. As the king's answer was general, they petitioned him again upon the same subject; adding, that in case of a war with France, they would support him with all their power. He gave them to understand, that the best method for consulting the safety of the kingdom would be to enable him to put it in a proper posture of defence. They accordingly dispatched the money-bills, which received the royal assent; and then the parliament was adjourned.

§ XLVIII. The vigour of the commons had been quickened by the success of the French in Flanders. In March Lewis took Valenciennes: then dividing his army, he sent his brother the duke of Orleans to besiege St. Omer, while he himself invested Cambray. The prince of Orange marched to the relief of St. Omer, and was defeated by the duke of Orleans and Luxembourg at Montcassel, from whence he retired to Ypres. Both towns fell into the hands of the enemy; and all the Spanish Netherlands were left exposed. The commons had exhorted Charles to contract such alliances as would be sufficient to check the ambition of the French monarch; and he had demanded a supply of six hundred thousand pounds. When they met in May, they expected he would impart to them the connections he had made during the adjournment. He had taken no such measure; but sent a message to the house by secretary Coventry, desiring they would dispatch the money-bills, as he intended in a little time to put an end to the session. Though they were well enough disposed to grant the money, they insisted upon having some certainty of its being applied to the proper purposes; and Charles refused to engage in any alliances, until he should be in possession of the supply. He expressed an apprehension that they intended to involve him in a war with France; and then leave him in the midst of his difficulties, unless he should purchase their assistance by some concessions to the prejudice of the crown. Perhaps their mutual distrust was not altogether without foundation. In a speech to them at Whitehall, he assured them, upon the word of a king, that they should have no cause to repent the confidence they might repose in him, with respect to the steps necessary for the safety of the kingdom. He at the same time declared he would not hazard their safety and his own, until he should find himself in a condition to defend his people, and attack their enemies; and he told them

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it would be their own fault if proper provision should not be made for their defence.

§ XLIX. The opposition in the lower house was now become too powerful for the court-party, which consisted chiefly of needy cavaliers, and men of desperate fortunes, who received pensions from the government, and devoted themselves to the most arbitrary measures of the crown. This infamous practice of corruption was introduced by Clifford: but the interest of the ministry had been weakened by the disgrace of Buckingham, and the defection of Shaftsbury. Many members were irritated into opposition, by disappointments in their expectations from the court; and others by the pernicious conduct of the administration. After very warm debates upon the king's speech, the country-party prevailed, and an address was presented to the king, importing, That it was not the custom of parliament to grant money for the support of alliances, before the nature of them was known. They intreated him to conclude a league offensive and defensive with the states-general of the United Provinces; to curb the growing power of France, and preserve the Spanish Netherlands; and they explained their reasons for thinking that a war with France was absolutely necessary. Charles, in his answer, complained that they had violated his prerogative, by insisting upon his engaging in alliance with any power whatsoever. He said the power of making peace and war was a right inherent in the crown, from which he would never recede; and then he ordered them to adjourn to the tenth day of July.

§ L. The earl of Danby, by the suggestions of Sir William Temple, who had been recalled to England, proposed a match between the prince of Orange and the princess Mary, eldest daughter to the duke of York. She and her sister Anne had been educated in the protestant religion, by the king's express command; and the prince of Orange seemed to relish the prospect of such a marriage. The king at first was neutral, or rather seemed averse to this alliance, which he knew must be extremely disagreeable to his brother: but, when Danby represented that this marriage would in all probability bring over the prince of Orange entirely to his views, he began to see it in a different light, and permitted his nephew to visit England, after the campaign should be finished. He accordingly arrived in England in the month of October, and repaired to the court, which was then at Newmarket. He was extremely well pleased with the character and person of Mary, who possessed many amiable qualities; and made a formal demand of her in marriage. The duke treated him coldly, but declared his submission to the commands of the king, which indeed he always scrupulously obeyed; and Charles consented to the match, on condition that he and the prince should first agree upon the plan of a pacification. The prince refused to treat of a peace, until the marriage should be consummated. He said, he would not give his allies reason to believe that he had purchased a wife at their expence; nor was he of a humour to barter his honour for any woman upon earth. He said to Temple, that he heartily repented of his coming to England: he desired him to tell the king, that he was determined to depart in two days; and that he left it in his majesty's choice, whether they should live for the future, as the best friends, or the greatest enemies. The king was intimidated by the resolute deportment of his nephew.

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He knew he was extremely popular in England; and that he had maintained a correspondence during the last war with the chiefs of the English malcontents. Temple and Danby did not fail to represent and exaggerate the pernicious consequences of a rupture with the prince of Orange; and Charles agreed to the prince's own terms. The portion of the princess was fixed at forty thousand pounds; the marriage-articles were executed: the king declared the match in council: the city of London received the news with extraordinary demonstrations of joy and approbation: the mayor regaled the whole court with great magnificence: and the nuptials were celebrated on the fourth day of November.

§ LI. This affair being happily concluded to the general satisfaction of the nation, the king and prince entered into conferences for a plan of pacification, at which the duke of York, the earl of Danby, and Sir William Temple assisted. After some dispute they agreed, That Lewis should restore all he had wrested from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine: That there should be a reciprocal restitution between France and Holland; and, That Spain should be re-established in possession of Aeth, Oudenarde, Charleroy, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Saint-Guillain, and Binch. The prince promised to use his utmost endeavours in persuading the states-general to accept of these conditions; and Charles undertook to recommend them to the French monarch. He declared he would never depart from this plan, but declare war against the French king, should he prove refractory; and, with this assurance, the prince returned with his bride to Holland. Mr. de Duras, afterwards earl of Feverham, was sent as ambassador to France, with intimation of this agreement; which, though it must have been extremely disagreeable to Lewis, he received without any emotion of resentment. He said, the king of England knew he might always command a peace; but he thought it was hard to part with some of those towns in Flanders, upon the fortifications of which he had expended considerable sums of money: he hoped his brother would not break with him for a few towns; but even with regard to these, he would send instructions to Barillon, his ambassador at London.

§ LII. The French king knew he was master of one argument which would always have weight with such a necessitous and prodigal prince as Charles. Barillon received orders to give up all the towns except Tournay, and even promise an equivalent for that, rather than break off the treaty: but that minister cajoled the king in such a manner, that his agreement with the prince of Orange was soon forgotten, and a negotiation of a very different nature begun. This was no other than a stipulation of conditions, in consideration of which the king of England should forbear from declaring in favour of the allies, notwithstanding the importunities of his parliament. The treaty was carried on by Montague, the English ambassador at Paris, who demanded two hundred thousand pounds a year, while the war should continue; but Courtin, who resided in London, prevailed upon Charles to rest contented with two millions of livres. Montague afterwards received instructions from Danby, to insist upon the king's receiving from Lewis six hundred thousand livres annually for three years, after the peace should be ratified; on the supposition that he could expect no supplies from parliament for that period.

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§ LIII.

§ LIII. Charles had prolonged the adjournment, until he should have concluded a new league with Holland, which was signed in January. Though this was only a defensive alliance, to prevent the French king from extending his conquests in the Low Countries, the king thought it would dazzle the eyes of his parliament so as to produce wonderful effects in his favour. When they assembled in January, he told them he had concluded an alliance with Holland, which could not fail of preserving Flanders, unless the commons should refuse the necessary supplies. He said, that finding his endeavours after peace ineffectual, he had recalled his troops from France: that, in the present situation of affairs, the nation could not be without ninety ships of the line in commission, and an army of thirty thousand men: that they might take what precautions they should judge proper for appropriating the supplies to the purposes of the war. He communicated the marriage of his niece with the prince of Orange: he demanded an aid proportionable to the necessities of the kingdom, and the important designs he had projected for the honour and advantage of his people. The commons, instead of signifying their approbation of his conduct, and their readiness to acquiesce in his proposals, petitioned, in an address, That he would not engage in any treaty with France, until she should be reduced to the same condition in which she was at the peace of the Pyrenees: and they gave him to understand, that whenever he should be pleased to communicate the nature of his alliances to his faithful commons, they would enable him to prosecute the war, or procure an honourable peace. He complained of this address as an invasion of his prerogative. He told them they were mistaken if they thought he would give up his undoubted right of making peace and war; but, that if once he should be enabled by their means to undertake a war, it should not be finished until he should have procured a solid peace for all the powers of Christendom: in the mean time, he observed that new alliances could not be contracted without the necessary supplies, which he therefore recommended to their attention.

§ LIV. During these disputes between the king and parliament, the king of France, taking the field early in the spring, reduced Ghent and Ypres, and then distributed his troops in quarters of refreshment. This progress alarmed the Dutch in such a manner, that they resolved to conclude a separate peace. Lewis, knowing his own advantage, and that he had nothing to fear from the king of England; talked in the strain of a conqueror, and insisted upon terms very different from those which had been planned by Charles and the prince of Orange. In April the chancellor told the two houses, in the king's name, that the Dutch certainly intended to conclude a separate peace with France; and his majesty demanded their advice on that subject. The commons exhorted him to declare war against France: then they voted the alliance with Holland not answerable to their address, nor sufficient for the security of the kingdom. Charles expressed his dissatisfaction at this vote, notwithstanding which they presented another address, desiring to know the resolutions he had taken in consequence of their advice; that he would pay more attention to their addresses; and that he would remove the duke of Lauderdale from his councils. The king replied, That he was surprised at the extravagance of their address, to which he would not at present make the answer it deserved. As they

they had already passed a poll-tax for the service of the year, he began to make levies, which were carried on with such surprising diligence and success, that in six weeks his army of thirty thousand men was completed. The duke of Monmouth was sent over with three thousand to garrison Ostend, a fleet was equipped, and the court breathed nothing but defiance against the French monarch.

§ LV. The states-general, apprised of these preparations, dispatched Van Lewin as their ambassador to London, with instructions to declare, That if the king of England would immediately denounce war against France, they would break off their negotiation with Lewis, and act vigorously in conjunction with their allies. Charles, finding himself obliged to give a categorical answer, told Sir William Temple, who brought the proposal from the Dutch ambassador, that, seeing the states were contented to accept of the conditions which France had prescribed, and Lewis had offered to purchase with a sum of money his consent to that which he could not prevent, he saw no reason for rejecting the gratuity. He therefore ordered Temple to treat with Barillon, the French ambassador; but Sir William refused to be concerned in such a scandalous negotiation. He found others, however, who undertook the office. The bargain was struck for three hundred thousand pounds; but Barillon afterwards gave him to understand that his master would not pay the money unless he would engage, by a secret article, that he would never maintain an army that should exceed eight thousand men, reckoning the whole force in his three kingdoms. When this demand was signified to Charles, "Cod's fish! (said he) does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises to make me absolute master of my people come to this? Or, does he think it a thing to be done with eight thousand men?" This exclamation plainly proves, that Charles had entertained such a design; though the preparations in which he was now employed, seem to have been made with a view to raise the price of his neutrality with the French monarch. At this juncture he certainly held the ballance of power in Europe: but he had neither ambition to act as umpire among the princes of Christendom, nor resolution to prosecute any plan of importance; and, with respect to the interests of his country, he was absolutely indifferent. He never exerted himself but in transient efforts, as he chanced to be stimulated by the clamours of his parliament, the importunity of his wants, or the incessant instigation of those who enjoyed his confidence.

§ LVI. When the two houses met in May, in vain he had recourse to promises and intreaties. The commons resolved, that should his majesty think proper to declare war against France, they would enable him to maintain it: otherwise they would concert measures for disbanding the army. The king alledged, that Lewis had offered a truce till the twenty-seventh day of July; and until that term should be expired, it would be improper to disband the forces. Notwithstanding this declaration, they voted that the troops levied since the month of September should be dismissed. On the eighteenth day of June, Charles told the two houses, in a speech, that the peace between France, Spain, and Holland, was almost as good as concluded: he said, the Spaniards had positively declared they were not able to bear the expence of maintaining garrisons in Flanders, which must be left exposed, unless England would undertake to support the fortifications: he therefore observed, it would be necessary to keep a good fleet

at sea; and, in particular, to provide for the safety of Ostend, where otherwise the French might maintain a fleet of forty ships of war, exactly opposite to the mouth of the Thames. If they desired he should live in strict union with his parliament, they would make an addition of three hundred thousand pounds to his revenue, in which case they might bring in a bill for appropriating fifty thousand yearly to the support of the fleet and artillery: then he would be always ready to pass whatever acts should be proposed for the benefit of the nation. Finally, he desired they would remember that he had engaged to pay forty thousand pounds for the portion of the princess Mary: that the first moiety was already due, and demanded by the prince of Orange. This speech had no other effect but that of irritating the commons, who absolutely rejected the proposal touching the augmentation of the revenue. They likewise finished the bill for disbanding the army; granting, however, six hundred thousand pounds for the payment of it. The king having passed it, together with another for an additional tax upon wine for three years; and a third, decreeing that the dead should be buried in flannel, for the benefit of the woollen manufacture; the parliament was prorogued.

§ LVII. Mean while the states-general negotiated a peace with France for themselves and Spain; and Lewis having agreed to restore Ghent, Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, and Limbourg, to his most catholic majesty; the Dutch ambassadors received orders to sign the treaty: but, when the Spanish ambassador demanded of the French plenipotentiaries at what time those towns should be restored; they were given to understand that the French king would detain them until the allies should have made restitution of the places they had wrested from the crown of Sweden. This declaration retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Charles was so incensed at this conduct of Lewis, that he forthwith sent Sir William Temple to the Hague, with full power to sign a mutual league with the states, by which the contracting powers obliged themselves to compel France by force of arms to restore the six towns in Flanders. This treaty was concluded in a few days, to the general satisfaction of all those states that dreaded the power and ambition of the French monarch.

§ LVIII. This was a vigorous measure, which the king of England had not steadiness enough to support. He sent Du Cros, the Swedish agent at London, with an order to Temple, commanding him to repair forthwith to Nimeguen, and tell the Swedish plenipotentiaries, in his name, that if they would consent to the immediate evacuation of the six places in Flanders, he would, after the conclusion of the peace, employ all his interest in procuring the restitution of the towns which their master had lost during the war. Du Cros no sooner arrived in Holland, than he visited the deputies of the states apart; and not only made them acquainted with the order he had received for Sir William Temple; but assured them, at the same time, that the kings of France and England had already agreed upon a plan of a pacification, from which Charles would never deviate, notwithstanding his last treaty with the states-general. Nevertheless the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen resolutely refused to sign the peace, unless the French king would engage to make immediate restitution of the six towns; and the French ambassadors seemed inflexible till the very last day of the congress, which was the first of August, when all of a sudden they desisted from their pretensions, and the treaty was signed. This was soon followed by an accommodation

accommodation between France and Spain; and, in a few months, all the confederates enjoyed the benefit of a pacification, except the duke of Lorraine, who was not restored to his dominions.

§ LIX. The duke of Luxembourg had formed the blockade of Mons, and Lewis endeavoured to protract the treaty, until that place should be reduced. Even after the treaty was signed, the prince of Orange, who had not yet received a formal intimation of it from the states, marched up to the duke of Luxembourg, who rested secure on the faith of the treaty, and attacked him with great fury at St. Denys, where the French sustained some damage. This action was the effect either of ambition or of revenge; for the prince certainly knew that the peace was signed at Nimeguen.

§ LX. For a course of twelve years, Lauderdale had governed Scotland with the most cruel and perfidious despotism; except during a small intermission while the government was in the hands of the earl of Tweeddale and Sir Robert Murray, men of moderate principles, and discretion. Episcopacy had been settled in that kingdom, but was so contrary to the genius of the people, that conventicles multiplied every day. The established clergy were insulted; and the covenanters became extremely insolent and troublesome, not contented with the indulgence and toleration they enjoyed by the connivance of the government. The two acts procured in the parliament of Scotland, relating to the king's supremacy and the militia, rendered Lauderdale as absolute as any eastern emperor. He passed other laws against nonconformists, by virtue of which he fined, imprisoned, and banished the subject: so that his administration was a most cruel and perfidious inquisition, promoted by Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrew's. His conduct in civil affairs was equally unjust and oppressive: he laid restrictions upon trade; imposed heavy duties, and granted monopolies to his own creatures. A party was formed against him by the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Tweeddale, and some other noblemen, who represented his iniquity to the king. They were graciously received; but Lauderdale still continued in authority. He now gave a loose to the most furious revenge. He influenced the privy-council of that kingdom to convert the houses of those who had complained of his administration into garrisons for suppressing conventicles; and the soldiers were encouraged to plunder and destroy the effects of those whom they had dispossessed. The lawyers of Edinburgh having asserted, that appeals to parliament were legal, the king's order was obtained for banishing them twelve miles from that city: and the course of justice was stopped for a whole year. Twelve of the chief magistrates were declared incapable of public office, for no other crime than that of refusing the most servile compliance with the orders of Lauderdale. Individuals were imprisoned in the most arbitrary manner, and all employments set to sale. Bonds were imposed upon the landholders of the western shires in which presbyterianism chiefly prevailed, obliging them to be answerable in the affair of conventicles, for their servants, tenants, and dependants. Because they refused to sign these iniquitous obligations, the country was deemed to be in a state of rebellion. Eight thousand Highlanders, in consequence of an order of council, were assembled by some of the chieftains; and these being joined by the guards, marched into the West, where they lived at discretion for two months, during which they committed every species of cruelty, rapine, and outrage. A great number of preachers and their hearers

were "intercommuned;" a step taken in that country, previous to outlawry; and, that the cry of the oppressed people might not reach the throne, all noblemen and landholders were forbid, under severe penalties, to quit the kingdom. Notwithstanding this injunction by act of council, the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Cassels and Tweddale repaired to London, and layed the miserable state of their country before Charles, who issued orders for discontinuing the bonds and writs of intercommuning; but expressed no indignation against Lauderdale, who had abused his authority. In the absence of these noblemen, the duke was allowed to summon a convention of the estates; which, in their addresses to the king, expressed their entire satisfaction with Lauderdale's administration: a sure mark of the abject slavery to which that wretched people were reduced.

Burnet.
Temple.
Rapin.
Hume.

C H A P. III.

§ I. Intimation of a conspiracy against the king's life. § II. Information of Titus Oates. § III. Murder of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey. § IV. The parliament espouses the notion of the plot. § V. Bedloe commences informer. § VI. Improbability of what he asserted. Disputes between the king and the commons about the militia. § VII. Coleman condemned and executed. § VIII. Oates and Bedloe accuse the queen. § IX. Trial and execution of Ireland, Grove, and Pickering. § X. The earl of Danby impeached of high treason. § XI. The parliament dissolved. § XII. Miles Prance apprehended for the murder of Godfrey. § XIII. His confession. § XIV. Berry, Green, and Hill, condemned and executed. § XV. New parliament. The duke of York retires to Brussels. § XVI. The earl of Danby committed to the Tower. § XVII. The king changes his council. § XVIII. Proposes limitations on a popish successor. § XIX. Violence of the commons against the duke of York. § XX. They bring in the bill of exclusion. § XXI. Bill of Habeas Corpus. The parliament dissolved. § XXII. Trial of five jesuits. § XXIII. Langborn is convicted, and suffers death. § XXIV. Sir George Wakeman acquitted. § XXV. Rebellion in Scotland quelled by Monmouth. § XXVI. The duke of York repairs to Scotland. § XXVII. Meal-tub plot. § XXVIII. Earl of Shaftsbury expelled from the council. § XXIX. Monmouth returns to England without the king's leave. § XXX. The opposite factions distinguished by the name of Whig and Tory. § XXXI. The king's declaration with regard to the illegitimacy of Monmouth. § XXXII. Death of Bedloe the informer. § XXXIII. The duke of York presented as a popish recusant. § XXXIV. Resentment of the commons in the new parliament against the duke of York. § XXXV. Arguments for and against the bill of exclusion. § XXXVI. It passes in the lower house, and is thrown out by the lords. § XXXVII. Trial of lord Stafford. § XXXVIII. He is condemned and executed. § XXXIX. The commons oppose the court-measures with redoubled vigour. § XL. The king dissolves the parliament. § XLI. Spirit and violence of the whigs. § XLII. Information by Fitzbarris. § XLIII. Parliament at Oxford. § XLIV. The commons impeach Fitzbarris. § XLV. Expedients proposed by the king for restricting a popish successor. § XLVI. The parliament is suddenly dissolved. § XLVII. Charles triumphs over all opposition. § XLVIII. Execution of Plunket, titular archbishop of Armagh. § XLIX. Shaftsbury committed to the Tower. Trial of College the protestant joyner. § L. Bill of indictment against Shaftsbury rejected by the grand jury. § LI. Affairs of Scotland. The earl of Argyle condemned. § LII. Cruelties exercised upon the covenanters of that kingdom. § LIII. The king finds means to influence the elections of the magistracy in London. § LIV. He seizes the charters of the city. Other corporations voluntarily surrender their charters. § LV. Plan of an insurrection against the government. § LVI. Rye-house plot discovered by Keeling. § LVII. Trial of lord Russel. § LVIII. And of Algernoon Sidney. § LIX. Fatal catastrophe of the earl of Essex. § LX. Execution of Bailie in Scotland. § LXI. The princess Anne married

ried to prince George of Denmark. § LXII. The king is reconciled to Monmouth, who nevertheless is soon disgraced. § LXIII. Sketch of affairs on the continent. § LXIV. The great credit and arbitrary disposition of the duke of York. § LXV. The king's death. § LXVI. His character.

§ I. **A**T this period, the attention of the English nation was engrossed by a very remarkable instance of villainy and imposture, that raised an universal ferment among the people, and operated in defiance of common sense and demonstration. On the twelfth day of August, one Kirby a chymist, approaching the king in St. James's park, "Sir (said he) keep within the company: your enemies have a design upon your life." Being questioned further in consequence of this strange intimation, he offered to produce one doctor Tongue, a weak, credulous clergyman, who had told him, that two persons, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to murder the king; and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken to take away his majesty's life by poison, should the attempts of those assassins miscarry. Tongue was introduced to the king, with a bundle of papers, relating to this pretended conspiracy, and referred to the lord treasurer Danby. He said the papers were thrust under his door; and afterwards declared he knew the author of them, who desired his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the resentment of the jesuits. The information he gave was so vague and improbable, that Charles concluded the whole was a fiction. A packet of letters, directed to Bedingfield, confessor to the duke of York, no sooner came to hand, than he delivered them to his royal highness, as papers of dangerous import, which he did not understand: but they seemed calculated to involve him in trouble, and were manifestly forged; as he knew the hand-writing of the persons in whose names they were subscribed. The king had been previously informed of this packet by Tongue, who declared it was sent by the jesuits who had conspired against his life. When he therefore compared this intimation with the behaviour of Bedingfield, and the contents of the letters; he was more and more persuaded that the whole plot was an imposture, and desired that it might be concealed from the knowledge of the public, lest it should produce a new flame among the people. The duke, however, was so solicitous to acquit the jesuits, and especially his own confessor, of all imputation, that he insisted upon a minute inquiry before the council.

§ II. Then Titus Oates, the fountain of all this intelligence, made his appearance. He was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, afterwards chaplain of a king's ship, and dismissed for unnatural practices. Then he professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer, where he was for some time maintained in the English college. The fathers of that seminary sent him with some dispatches to Spain; but, after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue in the college, and he came over to London, where he could hardly subsist on the miserable pittance which they allowed for his support. There he cultivated an acquaintance with Tongue and Kirby, and probably, with their assistance, contrived this plot, partly to improve his circumstances, and partly to gratify his

his thirst of revenge against the jesuits, who had treated him with such contempt. Finding the king had paid very little regard to the suggestions of his two friends, he resolved to try his fate with the public, which always listened greedily to every charge against the catholics; and for this purpose voluntarily swore to the truth of his information, before Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who lived in Westminster. He pretended that the pope had assumed the sovereignty of England as St. Peter's patrimony, and delegated his authority to Oliva, general of the jesuits, who had expedited commissions for all the offices civil and military in the government of Great Britain and Ireland: that the ecclesiastical dignities were likewise conferred upon Roman catholic priests, foreigners as well as natives: that they had tried the king under the name of the black bastard, condemned him as an heretic, and resolved to deprive him of life: that, when he (Oates) returned from France, a general meeting of the jesuits had been held at the White Horse tavern in the Strand, where they determined to take off the king, by shooting, stabbing, or poison: that several attempts had been already made without success; and that Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was not only acquainted with their designs, but also corresponded on this subject with father *La Chaize, confessor to the French king. A great number of jesuits, whom he named, were immediately taken into custody. Coleman at first retired; but next day surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and some of his papers were secured. Oates did not know him personally, when he was produced at the council, and only charged him upon hearsay: he likewise mentioned Wakeman the king's physician. Being asked if he knew any thing to his prejudice, he answered, "No;" adding, "God forbid I should say any thing more than I know: I would not do that for all the world." He said, in the course of his examination, that he had been in Spain, and conferred with Don John, who had promised to assist them powerfully in their designs. The king desiring him to describe the person of Don John, he said he was a tall thin man: but Charles himself knew he was short and corpulent. His majesty asked another question touching the situation of the jesuit college in Paris, in which Oates said he had been present at a consult; and he made such an answer as plainly proved he had never seen the place. He affirmed that the jesuits had counterfeited the duke's seal, which they used occasionally; and that they intended to take away his life, should he prove refractory: that they had destined a good number of noblemen and prelates to death: that they had used seventeen hundred fire balls, and fourscore firemen, in beginning the conflagration in London; and were determined to seize that opportunity of assassinating the king; but their hearts relented when they saw him exert himself with such humanity for the relief of the sufferers. He declared that the jesuits fomented the faction in Scotland against the duke of Lauderdale; and that he had seen and been intrusted with many letters relating to this conspiracy.

† Oates was so ignorant, that he called him father la Shee. He did not once mention Langhorne the lawyer, who was a person of note, and managed all the affairs of the jesuits in England. When Dr. Burnet asked him in private, what arguments the jesuits had used for his conversion

to the Roman catholic religion, he laid his hands upon his breast, saying, "God and his holy angels know I never changed; but went among them on purpose to betray them." He spoke with great passion against the society, and said he would have their blood.

§ III. The apprehensions of the people were surprisngly aroused, and their resentment kindled even to fury at this information, every particular of which they implicitly believed. It was supposed to be confirmed by Coleman's letters, which contained some mysterious hints about extirpating the protestant heresy, the great zeal of the duke, and the mercenary spirit of his brother. But what established its credit beyond all doubt or hesitation, in the opinion of the multitude, was the death of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, who, after having been lost for several days, was found dead in a ditch by Primrose-hill in the way to Hampstead. His own sword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound: so that in all probability he had been dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. His gloves lay by him; and there was money in his pocket. A broad, livid mark appeared quite round his neck, which was broken; his breast exhibited some marks of bruises; and on his breeches were found several drops of wax-lights, which he never used in his own family. The clamour was immediately raised against the papists, as the authors of this murder; and the duke of Norfolk incurred some suspicion, from the officious manner in which he had retailed different reports to the council, before the body was found. He told them Godfrey had made a scandalous marriage, and retired from the derision of the public: he shifted the scene of the transaction from place to place; and the deceased had been seen near Arundel-house, immediately before he disappeared. The populace were now exasperated to such a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of the Roman catholics. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession, preceded by seventy clergymen, attended with a vast multitude, and exposed in public for several days, during which this melancholy spectacle produced a most inflammatory effect upon the beholders. Even the better sort of people were infected with all the vulgar prejudices of the lower class; and the streams of resentment and credulity ran so high, that no man could, with any regard to personal safety, express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey.

§ IV. The parliament meeting while the people were in this agitation, Charles could not help taking some notice of the conspiracy; but he touched upon it slightly, saying, he should forbear delivering his opinion on the subject, lest he should be thought to say too much or too little. He was still desirous of stifling an enquiry which might involve the kingdom in confusion, and redound to the prejudice of his brother, whom he knew to be a bigotted papist. His intention, however, was frustrated by the earl of Danby, who, either from enmity to the catholics, or a desire of acquiring popularity, disclosed the whole affair in the house of peers, and expatiated upon the danger to which the king's life was exposed by this conspiracy. Charles was very much displeased at his conduct upon this occasion. "You have (said he) given them a handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb my affairs." The country-party in the parliament would not let slip such an opportunity of managing the passions of the people; while the creatures of the court were astonished and intimidated into silence and submission. An address was presented for a fast, and a new form of prayer composed for the occasion. The two houses petitioned that all popish recusants should be obliged to leave London; and that no stranger should be permitted to approach his majesty's person,

person. Yet, in all these three addresses, they did not limit their fears to the king's person; but expressed their apprehension of the danger that threatened the protestant religion. This was the note which had been so successfully sounded in the ears of the people, by the members of the former long parliament. Oates was now examined by the commons, and made several additions to his first declaration. He affirmed, that the pope had by commissions appointed lord Arundel of Wardour chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, Sir William Godolphin privy-seal, lord Bellasis general, lord Petre lieutenant-general, lord Radcliffe major-general, lord Stafford paymaster-general, Coleman secretary of state, and Langhorne advocate-general. This lawyer he had not mentioned at the council-board; but now he insisted upon having seen the commissions in Langhorne's chamber, and upon having delivered some of them with his own hands. He likewise accused Coleman and Wakeman, upon his own knowledge: the first as having employed four ruffians to assassinate the king at Windsor, in the preceding summer: the other, whose person he did not know at his first examination, he now charged with having undertaken, for the consideration of fifteen thousand pounds, to poison his majesty. If Oates had actually professed himself a Roman catholic, on purpose to betray the jesuits, and had even been intrusted with those commissions and letters, he certainly would have retained and produced some of them, in order to corroborate and ascertain the truth of his evidence. He had boasted to the king of having ventured his soul in his service; but, if he had really acted from such motives, he would not have allowed four ruffians to repair to Windsor, on purpose to assassinate his sovereign, without giving intelligence of their design. It were an idle task to detect the falshood of an information which contains such a number of palpable absurdities. The two houses voted it a most dangerous conspiracy; and the lords above-mentioned were committed to the Tower. The trained-bands of London were ordered to be in readiness: the two houses sat every day, to consider the dangerous plot: a committee of lords were appointed to examine witnesses; and they were supplied with blank warrants, for committing such persons as they should find cause to suspect. Oates was recommended to the king by the parliament, protected by guards, accommodated with a pension of twelve hundred pounds, and extolled as the saviour of the nation. The king expelled the catholics from London, and from his guards, by proclamation: but the parliament was not so easily satisfied. The commons brought in a bill for preventing the danger that arose from popish members, especially in the house of peers. This was a previous step to more vigorous measures concerted against the succession of the duke of York. The leading men in the upper house, at this juncture, were the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shaftsbury, the lords Essex and Halifax. They were all averse to a popish successor; but the two first acted from private animosity. The king perceived the drift of the commons, who had actually begun to debate upon an address for petitioning his majesty to remove the duke from his person and councils. He therefore, on the ninth day of November, in a speech to both houses, declared his readiness to pass all reasonable bills, provided they should have no tendency to destroy the right of succession in the true branch, nor to restrain his authority, and the just rights of his protestant successors.

§ V. During these transactions, a new informer appeared, in the person of one Bedloe, who, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry, from Newbury, on the road to Bristol, desired that he might be apprehended by warrant, as he could make some important discoveries. He was an infamous cheat, who had been detected in many different branches of knavery. He had made shift to live by imposture, and travelled over great part of Europe in borrowed characters. He was, according to his desire, arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London. He declared before the council, that he had seen the body of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey in the queen's palace at Somerset-house: that a servant of lord Bellasis had offered to gratify him with four thousand pounds, if he would assist in carrying it away; but that he had declined the office, and gone into the country, where he was so disturbed by the horrors of conscience, that he could enjoy no peace of mind, until he had addressed himself to the secretary. At his first examination, in the king's presence, he said he knew nothing of the plot; but had heard that forty thousand Spaniards were ready to rendezvous as pilgrims at St. Jago, from whence they would be transported to England. Next day, however, when examined by the committee of lords, he recollected all the particulars of the conspiracy, on his own knowledge; and, to render himself the more acceptable, added a great many circumstances of his own invention. The king told Dr. Burnet, that Bedloe had certainly been tutored, in the interval between his first and second examination. He now said, that there was a design of landing ten thousand men at Burlington bay, from Flanders; and of surprising the islands of Jersey and Guernsey by an embarkation from Brest. He affirmed, that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raise an army in Radnorshire, to join those that would arrive from Spain: that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London: that lord Stafford, Coleman, and Ireland, had received money sufficient to defray the expence of those armaments: that he himself had been tampered with, to undertake the murder of a man, in consideration of which he should have four thousand pounds, a commission from lord Bellasis, and the pope's benediction. He pretended they were resolved to assassinate the king, massacre the protestants; and, should the duke refuse to hold the kingdom of the pope, the chief authority would be vested in certain noblemen nominated by his holiness. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenel, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. He charged the fire of London, as well as a subsequent disaster of the same kind in Southwark, upon the catholics, who hoped to find an opportunity to massacre the protestants, in such scenes of tumult and confusion; or at least to enrich themselves with the spoils of their enemies.

§ VI. Bedloe's discovery needs no comment; though it may be necessary to observe, that France and Spain was at war when this project of invasion was supposed to be concerted between those two powers: that the king of Spain, far from being in a condition to transport forty thousand men upon such a project, could not afford garrisons for the towns in Flanders, which, at his desire, were secured by English troops; and that, after the most rigorous and unexpected search, no arms, ammunition, commissions, or papers, were found, to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. Nevertheless, such was the torrent of prejudice, such the frenzy of the people, that no inconsistencies

encies were seen, no facts compared, no objections started. Reason was wholly abandoned, and the most incomprehensible circumstances were the most devoutly believed. They threw a veil of mystery over the whole design, which did not fail to excite the veneration of the public, even to a dangerous degree of enthusiasm. The story would have been less believed, had it been more consistent and intelligible. The commons, in an address, besought his majesty to appoint commissioners for tendering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to his own domestics, those of the duke of York, and all residing in the palaces of Whitehall, St. James's, and Somerset-house. The king desired that the servants of the queen, and dutchess of York, might be excepted; but, in a second petition, they insisted upon their former demand. Understanding that commissions had been granted to officers who had not taken the oaths, they committed secretary Williamson to the Tower, for having countersigned such commissions. The king immediately released him. The commons justified what they had done in another address, desiring that he might be detained in custody; and that all the popish officers should be dismissed. Charles told them that Williamson was already released; but that he would dismiss the officers against whom they had objected. Then they proceeded on the bill for rendering papists incapable of sitting in parliament: they brought in another for disbanding the troops; and a third for maintaining part of the militia in arms for a certain term. Charles gave his assent to the two former; but this last he absolutely rejected, declaring, that he would not part with the command of the militia; no, not for an hour: he offered, however, to keep the third part of it on foot, for the security of the government, provided they would grant a supply sufficient to maintain such a force; but they did not think proper to embrace the proposal. When the bill for excluding all members who should refuse the test oaths, was brought into the house of peers, the duke of York moved that an exception might be admitted in his favour. He begged this indulgence, with tears in his eyes, declaring, that his religion was a private concern between God and his own soul; and that it should never appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding these earnest intreaties, he carried his point by two votes only.

§ VII. Edward Coleman being brought to his trial, was convicted on the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. The former swore he had sent fourscore guineas to the ruffian who undertook to assassinate the king: the date of this transaction he fixed to the month of August; but would not specify the particular day. Coleman could have proved he was in the country, during the greater part of that month; and therefore the witness would not be particular. His letters to father la Chaise were, in all probability, more heavy upon him than the evidence of Oates and Bedloe: not that they contained any treasonable expressions; but they were replete with marks of impertinent zeal against the protestant religion. After his sentence, many members of both houses offered to interpolate in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession. They hoped the love of life would have prompted him to accuse the duke his master; but he persisted to the last moment in protesting his own innocence, and vindicating the character of his royal highness. He owned the indiscretion of his own conduct, and some private frauds he had committed; but died in great composure, denying every tittle of what had been laid to his charge;

and declaring, before God, that he had never seen Oates but once; and never once saw Bedloe before he was apprehended.

§ VIII. Charles still maintained his first opinion of the conspiracy, which he ridiculed in private among those in whom he could confide; but he saw it was absolutely necessary to yield to the torrent, lest he should exasperate the nation. He therefore issued a proclamation, promising a reward of two hundred pounds to every person who should make any new discovery touching the plot, before the twenty-fifth day of December. Oates and Bedloe, though they had often declared that they knew of no person of distinction concerned in the plot, except those they had already named, now ventured to accuse the queen of being engaged in the design against the life of her husband; and the commons, in an address to the king, desired that the queen and her domestics might be immediately removed from the palace of Whitehall. It was well known that Charles had no great affection to the queen; and that her removal would have made way for another consort, by whom he might have had an heir of his own body, which would have quieted all the fears and jealousies of those who were averse to a popish successor. Nevertheless, he would not abandon the queen to the rage of a misguided people. He assured her she might depend upon his protection. In order to manifest his resentment at the insolence of Oates, he commanded him to be strictly guarded. Next day, however, the commons, in an address, insisted upon his being enlarged, and served by his own domestics: they likewise desired his majesty would grant a competent pension for his subsistence. They voted, that the king should be addressed, to cause all the papists in the kingdom to be arrested. On the sixth day of December, they impeached, at the bar of the upper house, the five lords who were confined in the Tower; but they had not time to present the articles of accusation.

§ IX. In the course of this month, Ireland and Pickering jesuits, with Grove a lay-brother, were tried at the Old Bailey. Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the order, and John Fenwick a member of the society, were likewise produced at the bar; but their trial was deferred on account of the absence of a principal evidence. Oates deposed, that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath, administered by Whitebread, to assassinate the king: that for this purpose they had provided themselves with screwed pistols and silver bullets: that Pickering actually attempted to shoot the king in the park; but his flint was loose, so that he lost the opportunity. Bedloe swore that Ireland, Pickering, and Grove, together with one Conyers a Benedictine monk, undertook to murder the king in his morning walk at Newmarket: that he had heard them declare this resolution, in the lodgings of father Harcourt, where it was determined that Grove should be gratified with fifteen hundred pounds, and Pickering with as many masses as the like sum would procure: in this particular he agreed with Oates. He likewise declared, that Knight, Pritchard, O Neale, and O Bryan, were employed to murder the earl of Shaftsbury, the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Ormond, and his son the earl of Ossory. Grove, in his defence, protested, that, as he had a soul to be saved, he was utterly ignorant of the whole affair. Pickering said he had never in his life fired a pistol; and Whitebread, who was present at the trial, declared, in the presence of God, that Oates had not spoke three words of truth in his whole

whole deposition. Ireland denied that he had ever seen Bedloe before that day, and desired him to produce a single witness to prove he had ever been in his company. Pickering affirmed that he was an utter stranger to the persons of both evidences. When Groves observed that he hardly knew Oates by sight, this informer reminded the prisoner of his having told him, that he and three other Irishmen had set fire to the Borough of Southwark; and that his share of the reward for this service, amounted to four hundred pounds. Ireland offered to prove, by twenty witnesses, that he had been in Staffordshire, and Cheshire, during the whole month of August, and part of September, the period which the informers had assigned for those consultations: but, as the witnesses were not present, the prisoner reaped no benefit from the proposal. Whitebread produced a certificate, under the seal of the college at St. Omer, importing, that Oates had resided in that place during the months of April and May, although he had sworn to his being present at a consult in London on the twenty-fourth day of April. But this certificate could not be admitted as evidence, by the laws of England. In a word, the three prisoners were condemned, and each protested, in his last moments, that he was as innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, as a child new born.

§ X. The opposition in the two houses of parliament was now grown too strong to be controuled; and their animosity against the court seemed to increase with their power. The earl of Danby lord treasurer was the chief object of their resentment. He knew that many members of both houses were bent upon his destruction; and the person whom he chiefly dreaded was Montague, who had been ambassador in France, and come over to England, without the king's leave, in order to fill a seat he had procured in parliament. The king, at Danby's request, sent a message to the commons, informing them of his resolution to bring Montague to a trial, for having corresponded with the pope's nuncio abroad: at the same time a warrant was granted to secure his papers. Warm debates arose in the house; and many individuals declared it was a high breach of privilege, to seize the papers of a member against whom no treasonable practices had been sworn. Montague had warily deposited all his credentials in the hands of a trusty friend, to whom he now sent a messenger for the whole collection. The box being brought into the house, he opened it, and produced two letters from the earl of Danby, directing him to treat with the king of France for six hundred thousand livres, to be paid annually to the king of England, for three years after the peace of Nimeguen, in consideration of his favouring the French interest at the congress. The house was kindled into a violent flame by this intelligence. Winnington the solicitor-general inveighed against the earl of Danby, as a minister who had been concerned in betraying the interest of England, and that of her allies, in selling the nation, and subverting the government: he therefore moved he might be impeached of high treason. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition by the earl's friends, who observed there was no treasonable fact charged upon him; and that he had done nothing but writ letters by the king's order; it was resolved, by a majority of votes, that the earl of Danby should be impeached; and in two days the articles were sent up to the house of lords.

§ XI. He was accused of having given instructions to his majesty's ambassadors, without the privity of the secretaries of state, or of the council: of
having

having endeavoured to subvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power : of having negotiated a disadvantageous peace with France, and sold the interest of the nation : of being popishly affected : of having concealed the late horrid plot contrived by the papists : of having wasted the public treasure, and obtained by indirect means several exorbitant grants from the crown. The earl of Danby was extremely embarrassed by some of these articles, which he could not answer in his own justification, without accusing the king, who had begged he would not divulge his secret negotiations. He recriminated upon Montague as the person who had advised and set on foot those private treaties ; and to prove this assertion, sent two of that minister's letters to the house of commons, who would not suffer them to be read. He observed, in the house of lords, That the French ministry had always looked upon him as an enemy to the interest of their nation : that he had exerted uncommon diligence in tracing out the conspiracy : and, that he had wasted no treasure, inasmuch as there was none to waste. He likewise insinuated, that it was in his power to vindicate his own conduct in such a manner as would clear him of every article of the imputation. Granting all the allegations in the impeachment to be true, there was not one that amounted to high treason ; and therefore the lords refused to commit him to the Tower. The commons insisted upon his being taken into custody : a contest ensued ; and the king dreading some fatal consequence from the violence of the lower house, prorogued the parliament, which he afterwards dissolved. At the same time he issued writs, convoking another for the sixth day of March. Charles found it was high time to put an end to this assembly, which had continued since the second year of his reign. Their former complaisance and confidence were changed into dissatisfaction and distrust. They were grown not only unmanageable, but even dangerous to his government ; and seemed to tread in the steps of the long-parliament that ruined his father. It must be owned however, that this change was in a great measure owing to his own misconduct.

Burnet.
North.
L'Estrange.
Rapin.

§ XII. On the twenty-first day of December, Miles Prance a goldsmith, who professed the Roman catholic religion, was apprehended on suspicion of having been concerned in the murder of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey. The informer was one Wren who had lodged at his house, and swore, that his landlord had been absent for several nights about the time at which the murder was committed. Prance being brought before the committee of lords at Westminster, denied the charge with the deepest imprecations ; but Bedloe being present, and affirming that this was one of the men whom he had seen with the dead body in Somerset-House ; he was committed to Newgate, loaded with irons, and confined in the condemned hole, which was cold, dark, damp, and almost intolerably offensive. There the poor wretch lay in all the horror of despair, groaning, shrieking, and exclaiming that he was not guilty. Next day, he desired he might be carried before the earl of Shaftsbury, who was president of the committee. This nobleman is said to have employed reproach and dreadful threats upon this miserable object, already half dead with fear, to extort an accusation against the catholics. At length, he discovered some particulars, and promised to make a more ample confession, if he could be assured of pardon. This being obtained, he was examined in Newgate by a committee of both houses, and afterwards brought to Whitehall before the king and council. There he declared

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declared that Godfrey had been murdered in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerald and Kelly two Irish priests, Robert Green cushion-keeper of the queen's chapel, Lawrence Hill footman to doctor Godden treasurer of the chapel, and Henry Berry porter of Somerset-palace. The next time Prance appeared before the council, he begged a private audience of the king, which being granted, he fell upon his knees, and declared, as he hoped for salvation, that his confession was totally false. He said, he was unacquainted with Bedloe, and utterly ignorant of the murder as well as of the conspiracy; but that Wren had informed against him in revenge for his having demanded the rent of his lodgings. Being sent back to his miserable apartment in Newgate, intimidated by the goaler, and exposed to the tyranny of the committee, he sent the keeper to tell the king, that his first deposition was true; and this he afterwards retracted. Doctor Loyd visiting him by the king's command, found him half dead with cold and terror. This humane clergyman ordered a fire to be made, and a bed to be provided for him; then he avowed his confession in such a manner as convinced the doctor of his sincerity. Perhaps, when he retracted his first deposition, he hoped the king would have taken him under his immediate protection; but, finding himself still at the mercy of the committee, he hazarded his soul rather than endure the hardships to which his body was subjected.

§ XIII. His confession contained the following particulars. Hill, Gerald, and Green, in consequence of a consultation with Kelly, Berry, and Prance, undertook to dispatch Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, as a violent persecutor of the Roman catholics, and a declared enemy of the queen's servants. On the twelfth day of October, they followed him at a distance, from ten in the morning till seven in the evening, when he entered a house in the neighbourhood of St. Clement's church, where he stayed till nine. When he arrived at the water-gate of Somerset-house, in his way homewards, Kelly and Berry feigned a quarrel, and Hill prevailed upon Godfrey to interpose as a justice of the peace. With difficulty he was prevailed upon to enter the gate, when Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, fixed it round his neck, and the rest falling upon him at the same time, he was immediately strangled; they knocked upon his breast with their knees, and twisted his neck until it was quite dislocated. The body was carried to a high chamber in the house of Dr. Godden, in which it lay two nights, and then it was removed to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe. They shifted it to a third place, and even brought it back to the room in which it had been at first deposited. Having kept it four days and four nights, they determined to convey it into the fields, with the rings on the fingers, and the money in the pockets; and to thrust the sword through it, that the public might believe Sir Edmundsbury had made away with himself. They accordingly brought a sedan chair into the court, and the body being placed in it, was at midnight carried by them to Soho: there Hill waited for them with a horse, upon which it was mounted before him, and they proceeded to Primrose-Hill, where they left it in a ditch, after Gerald had thrust the sword into it, and laid it in a proper attitude.

§ XIV. Berry, Green, and Hill, were upon the evidence of Prance and Bedloe, convicted of this murder, in spite of the most manifest contradictions in the depositions of the two witnesses, the different evidence given by each at different times, and the strongest presumptions in favour of the accused. These unhappy

men brought witnesses to prove that they were at home and in bed at the time in which they were said to be employed in removing the body. The centinels who stood that night at the gate of Somerset-house, deposed, that no sedan was brought out of the palace. The people who lived in Godden's lodgings, declared upon oath, that no dead body could possibly be brought into the house without their knowledge; and that they were every day in the room which Prance described, without seeing any thing of that nature. Green and Hill died, protesting their innocence, as they hoped for mercy at the judgment-seat of God. Berry professed himself a protestant, and died like a devout christian, denying his having been privy in any shape to the murder; though he might have saved his life by making a confession. Oates, Bedloe, and Prance, were undoubtedly false informers; and Berry, Green, and Hill, in all probability, innocent. But, certain it is, Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey was murdered; and the suspicion naturally falls upon the Roman catholics. Perhaps he was dispatched by the direction of those who did not know the particulars of the information to the truth of which Titus Oates had sworn before him; but, were apprehensive of some discovery that might be fatal to the catholic interest. The story of his death, as related by Prance, with the circumstances of his body's being removed from one apartment to another, conveyed in a sedan, and mounted on horseback, is altogether improbable. They might have stripped him of his money and rings, and thrown him into the river, without running any risque of being discovered; whereas the method described by Prance was the most dangerous they could have devised. If they were desirous of imposing upon the world with respect to the manner of his death, a single man might have carried out the body in a hamper, without the least hazard of detection. Besides, the cause assigned for murdering him, was absolutely without foundation. He was an enemy to all persecution, and lived upon good terms with the catholics; insomuch that he warned Coleman of his danger, and counselled him to retire before he was publicly accused. The drops of wax upon his breeches seemed to indicate, that he had been strangled by the light of tapers, which were used only by persons of the first fashion, and popish priests at their worship. At this period, Stephen Dugdale who had been steward to lord Ashton, offered himself as an evidence to make further discoveries concerning the conspiracy. He affirmed, that two hundred thousand papists were ready to take arms in England, and accused five jesuits and a priest, against whom the king issued a proclamation; but all of them escaped, except Gavan, who was taken and imprisoned.

§ XV. Charles exerted his utmost endeavours to influence the elections for the new parliament; but, the spirit of the times was such as defeated all his efforts. Almost all the active men in the kingdom were enemies to the court; and the people were so infatuated by the rumours of plots and conspiracies hatched by the papists, that their resentment confounded the king with the catholics, though, according to all the informations hitherto published, the immediate purpose of the conspirators was to remove the king by assassination. The presbyterians bestirred themselves with incredible ardour on this occasion. They bore the chief sway in corporations, and even introduced the practice of splitting freeholds, in order to multiply votes for members. In a word, Charles had the mortification to foresee that the spirit of opposition would revive with double violence in this new parliament. In order to avert part of the storm
with

with which he was threatened, he removed the duke of York from his presence, and that prince, in obedience to a written order, retired with his dutchess and daughter Anne to Brussels. The king likewise ordered a pardon to be expedited in favour of the earl of Danby, lest his enemies should renew the prosecution against that minister, and the fear of death compel him to discover his majesty's secrets. In his speech to the new parliament, the king mentioned the pains he had taken in punishing the conspirators, and the murderers of Godfrey. He made a merit of having removed his brother from the kingdom; and he demanded supplies, as well for disbanding the army as for maintaining the navy. The commons having chosen Edward Seymour for their speaker, the king rejected their choice; and an obstinate dispute ensued. They pretended that the new speaker's being presented for the king's approbation was a meer form; and he maintained that he had a right to disapprove of their choice, without disclosing the cause of his disapprobation. The question could not be decided by precedent: at length, the affair was compromised; and one Gregory a lawyer being elected by the house, was confirmed by the king. On the twentieth day of March, the house appointed a secret committee for preparing evidence against the lords who were in the Tower, and for receiving further information with regard to the conspiracy and the murder of Godfrey. Then they began to prepare new articles of impeachment against the earl of Danby.

§ XVI. They summoned Tongue, Oates, Bedloe, and one Everard, a new witness, to the bar of the house, to be examined concerning the plot. They addressed the king to gratify Bedloe with a reward of five hundred pounds, which he had promised, by proclamation, to the person who should first discover the murderers of Godfrey; and to commend him to the protection of the duke of Monmouth general of the forces. They voted, That an horrible conspiracy had been hatched by the papists for assassinating the king, destroying the protestant religion, and subverting the government: the peers concurred with them in this vote; and both houses petitioned for a day of fast and humiliation. The king going to the house of lords, interceded with the parliament for the earl of Danby. He said that nobleman had acted in obedience to the orders he received: that for their satisfaction he would deprive him of all his employments, and remove him from his presence; but, he insisted upon the pardon he had granted. The commons were not at all satisfied with this declaration. The houses were filled with Danby's enemies; and the commons were wholly influenced by Shaftsbury, who equally hated the king, the duke, and the treasurer, with implacable rancour. The design was to extort secrets of state, the discovery of which would reflect disgrace upon his majesty's character. The pardon, if valid, must defeat this purpose. The commons sent a committee to know of the chancellor in what manner the pardon had been sealed: then they understood that the king had withdrawn the seals from his custody for the time, that he might be screened from all blame. The whole house was in commotion. Nothing was heard but the most virulent invectives against the earl of Danby. Shaftsbury among the peers exhausted all his eloquence in stigmatising the government. He said popery and slavery were two brothers that walked hand in hand, sometimes the one and sometimes the other entered first; but, they never parted: that in England popery would enter first to pave the way to slavery; but, in Scotland, slavery had taken the lead, and popery would follow. Danby having

having withdrawn himself, the commons brought in a bill, obliging him to surrender himself into the hands of justice by a certain day, on pain of being proceeded against by an act of attainder. This bill was sent down from the lords with some amendments: a dispute arose, and conferences were held upon the subject: at length, the peers acquiesced and the bill passed. Then the earl of Danby surrendered himself to the usher of the black-rod, and was committed prisoner to the Tower.

§ XVII. Charles was now reduced to great perplexity. He saw his authority already disregarded, and ran the risque of being disgraced by the discoveries of Danby. In this emergency he consulted Sir William Temple, who advised him to weaken the opposition, by admitting the chiefs of it into his council. He forthwith tried the expedient. The earl of Essex, a conscientious nobleman, was created lord treasurer in the room of Danby; the office of secretary of state was bestowed upon the earl of Sunderland, who possessed a good capacity, and a talent for intrigue. Lord Halifax, celebrated for his genius, learning, and eloquence, was likewise sworn of the council; and these three, together with Sir William Temple, were first consulted in all affairs of importance. Shaftsbury was declared president of the council; but, finding himself excluded entirely from the king's confidence, he still adhered to the popular party, over whom he retained all his former influence. The city of London, and the kingdom in general, were overjoyed at this promotion, which seemed to prognosticate a change of measures; but, the king's intimation of it was received with great indifference by the house of commons. All the art and intrigue of Shaftsbury was employed in keeping up the flame of animosity against the king and his brother. The house of one Bird being set on fire by his maid-servant Elizabeth Oakely, she confessed she had been instigated to commit that crime by one Stubbs a catholic; and he being questioned, owned that father Gifford his confessor had assured him there was no sin in burning the houses of heretics. He and Oakely declared, that the catholics in England intended to rise in arms, and expected to be joined by an army of sixty thousand men from France. The commons immediately addressed the king for the execution of Pickering and the other condemned jesuits. They even assembled on Sunday, to concert measures for the preservation of the king's person, and the protestant religion against the attempts of the papists. They brought in a bill for banishing all Roman catholics from London: they voted, That the duke's being a Roman catholic, and the presumptive heir of the crown, was the chief encouragement to the designs and plots of the papists, against the king and the protestant religion.

§ XVIII. On the twenty-fifth of April, the earl of Danby being brought to the bar of the upper house, pleaded his pardon, and was reconveyed to the Tower. A committee of the commons being appointed to examine the nature of this defence, reported, That there was no example of any person's having pleaded a pardon in bar of an impeachment. Then the lower house desired the lords to ask if the earl would insist wholly upon his pardon. When this question was put, he desired time to consider of a reply, and was indulged with four days for that purpose. The king, in answer to the address of the commons for the execution of the persons under sentence of death, observed, that he had been always scrupulous of shedding blood; that he would take time to deliberate maturely.

maturely on their request, and make them acquainted with his sentiments on the subject. Being shocked at their vote against his brother, he, after a short speech to both houses, on the thirtieth day of April, desired they would use expedition in tracing out the particulars of the conspiracy, as well as in devising ways and means for disbanding the army, and maintaining a fleet for the defence of the kingdom. Then he told them, that as a mark of his care for the preservation of their religion, he had ordered the chancellor to communicate certain proposals for their consideration. Accordingly, the chancellor, in his majesty's name, proposed the following limitations upon a popish successor: That it should not be in his power to bestow ecclesiastical benefices or spiritual offices upon any but pious and learned protestants: That the parliament sitting at the death of the king should continue for a certain time; or in case there should be no parliament at that juncture, the last should assemble without any new writs of elections: That, in the reign of a popish successor, no members of the privy-council, or judges, should be appointed or displaced but by the authority of parliament; and that all justices of the peace should be protestants: That, with respect to the militia, no lieutenant of a county should be deprived of his office but by order of parliament. The chancellor said it would be difficult to conceive how the power of a popish successor could be more effectually limited, considering how much his revenues would depend upon the parliament: nevertheless, if they could add any thing for the security of religion and liberty, without destroying the right of succession, the king would willingly assent to their proposal.

§ XIX. The commons, without paying the least regard to these offers, proceeded with the bill for preventing the dangers that might arise from popery, in the reign of his present majesty, as well as in his successor's; and they ordered another to be brought in for vacating the seats of those members who should accept of any employment under the crown. On the fifth day of May, the house in a body demanded of the peers, that the earl of Danby should be brought to his trial. Then they presented a long address to the king against the duke of Lauderdale; and they finished the money-bill for enabling the king to disband the army. This act contained a clause, importing, That for the future, soldiers should not be quartered in private houses. The lords, by a message, informed the lower house of their having fixed a day for hearing council upon the validity of Danby's pardon, which the commons had declared null and of no effect. They were incensed at this message, and instantly voted, That any person presuming to defend the validity of Danby's pardon, should be deemed a betrayer of the liberties of the nation. They were now resolved to proceed to extremities; they presented an address to the king, representing, That London and Westminster were over-run with papists; and demanding, That the militia should be armed. Next day being Sunday, they ordered a bill to be brought in for rendering the duke of York incapable of succeeding to the throne of England. In an address to the king, they declared they would assist him with their whole power; and in case he should die a violent death, wreak their vengeance upon the catholics.

§ XX. The committee of both houses meeting to deliberate upon the manner in which they should proceed with the trial of the five lords that were prisoners in the Tower, the commons insisted upon excluding the bishops, as those were

cases in which life was concerned. The lords, on the other hand, alledged, That the prelates had a right to be present at all the proceedings, except the verdict. This difference produced a learned dispute, and many writings were published on both sides of the question. On the fifteenth day of May, the commons read, for the first time, the bill of exclusion, to render the duke of York incapable of succeeding to the throne of England. In this famous bill, they asserted, That the pope's emissaries had seduced James duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown: That they had converted him to the catholic religion, engaged him in divers negotiations with the pope, cardinals, and nuncios, for the interest of that communion: That by his means they had augmented the greatness of the French king, to the manifest danger of England: and, That by the accession of a popish prince to the throne, supported by foreign alliances, they would in time be enabled to execute their damnable enterprize. The proposed act therefore ordained, by the authority of the king and the two houses, That the said James duke of York, Albany, and Ulster, should be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their dependencies: or of enjoying the rights, titles, prerogatives, and revenues of the said crowns: That, in case of the king's death or resignation, they should devolve to the next person in the line of succession, as if the duke of York were dead: That all the acts of sovereignty or royalty exercised by him, should be null and punishable as treason: That all persons attempting to put him in possession of any one of those kingdoms, or corresponding with him for this purpose, should be deemed guilty of high treason: That he himself, upon setting foot in these kingdoms, should be held guilty of the same crime: and all persons were authorized to apprehend, imprison; and, in case of resistance, subdue him and his adherents by force of arms. This bill was read for the second time; and the question being put, whether it should be referred to the examination of a committee of the whole house, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-nine voices.

§ XXI. The next step of the commons was, to set on foot a severe inquiry against those members who received pensions from court; and eighteen were discovered. The standing army and the guards were voted illegal; and they brought in the bill of Habeas corpus, which was passed into an act before the end of the session. This is one great bulwark of British liberty, obliging the judge, under severe penalties, to grant a writ of Habeas corpus, at the request of every prisoner, directing the gaoler to produce him in court, and certify the cause of his commitment. The king had for some time entertained thoughts of proroguing the parliament; but, now his resolution was quickened by a hint of intelligence, importing, that the commons intended to draw up a remonstrance upon the grievances of the nation, like that which was presented to his father before the commencement of the civil war. Alarmed by this information, he repaired to the house of peers on the twenty-seventh of May, and sending for the commons, prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth day of August. It was afterwards dissolved, without the advice of council; and writs were issued for new elections. This was a desperate remedy, which Charles would not have used, had not he thought his servant's life was at stake, and his own crown in danger. He found himself at variance with a set of people whom he

could neither intimidate nor appease; he became pensive and sullen, and his temper visibly changed from this period.

§ XXII. After the prorogation, the five jesuits, namely Whitebread the provincial, Fenwick, Harcourt, Gavan, and Turner, were brought to trial. Oates deposed that Whitebread presided at the consultation, in which it was resolved to assassinate the king; and that the rest were assisting in the same design. Dugdale, the new informer, swore that he had seen a letter, in the hand-writing of Whitebread to father Ewers, desiring him to choose bold and faithful persons to murder the king; and that he had read an hundred letters to different people on the same subject. Considering the craft and circumspection of the jesuits, this circumstance is almost incredible. He likewise deposed, that Harcourt wrote an account of Godfrey's death to Ewers, in Staffordshire, on the very night in which that magistrate was murdered; so that it was known in the country some days before the body was discovered at Primerose-hill. Prance affirmed, that Harcourt told him, there was a design on foot to take away the king's life; and that Fenwick said, fifty thousand men were ready to take arms, under the command of the lords Bellasis, Powis, and Arundel. Bedloe declared, that he had heard the prisoners discoursing with Coleman about sending four ruffians to assassinate the king at Windsor: that he saw Harcourt take fourscore or an hundred guineas out of a chest, for the use of those assassins: that, at another time, this jesuit delivered an order for two thousand pounds, as part of a greater sum, to Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who said that fifteen thousand pounds would be but an indifferent reward for establishing religion, and preventing the ruin of three kingdoms. The unhappy prisoners observed, in their own defence, that the witnesses against them were persons of desperate fortunes and infamous characters; that it was very improbable they should communicate secrets of this nature to Oates, who had been expelled from St. Omer for scandalous practices, and even excluded from the sacrament. They enumerated the self-contradictions that appeared in his evidence: they produced sixteen witnesses of credit, students at St. Omer, and chiefly sons of reputable parents, who swore that Oates was in the seminary during the time at which he said the consultation was held in London. Eleven other witnesses declared upon oath, that Ireland, who had been executed, was in the country at the time of those pretended consultations, though Oates had sworn he was in town; and, in consequence of that deposition, the man had lost his life. Oates, indeed, provided himself with six or seven evidences, who declared they saw him in London at the time to which he had sworn; and, among the rest, one Smith, a school-master at Islington, upon whose credit he chiefly depended. These circumstances were supposed to invalidate the testimony of sixteen papists, whom even Scroggs the judge had discountenanced and ridiculed: yet Smith retracted his evidence in the sequel. Gavan was so weak as to desire that his innocence might be proved by the ordeal: in that case, indeed, there would have been a possibility of escaping; whereas there was none in the common form of trial before such a judge and jury.

§ XXIII. They were immediately convicted; though sentence was not pronounced till after the trial of Langhorn the lawyer, who was accused by the same evidences as a principal agent in the conspiracy. He objected to the credit of such infamous witnesses who had received pardon, and recompence for betraying their

their fellow-subjects. Oates declared, that instead of receiving a recompence, he had spent six or seven hundred pounds of his own money. Bedloe likewise affirmed, that he was seven hundred pounds in advance. Langhorn observed the improbability of these assertions, considering that when they first appeared they were in extreme indigence. He insisted upon the evidence by which Oates had been proved perjured; but the judge gave him to understand, that he could not reject an evidence as perjured, until he was formally convicted of perjury. Oates had sworn that he lodged in the house of Grove, at the time of the great consultation; Grove's wife and servant deposed, that he did not. The judge observed, that, being in disguise, he might have lodged there without being known. The witnesses for the prisoner were insulted by the court, and maltreated by the people. One of them was hurt, to the imminent danger of his life. A woman declared she could not give evidence, unless the court would promise to protect her. The judge told her, all he could do, was to punish those by whom she might be assaulted: Langhorn, rather than she should run the risque of her life, waved her testimony. When he was convicted, the barbarous multitude testified their joy by loud acclamations. He and the jesuits received sentence of death, and protested their innocence to the last moment of their lives. Whitebread, in particular, declared his abhorrence of all equivocation, and of the maxim espoused by some jesuits, touching the lawfulness of deposing and assassinating princes.

§ XXIV. The humane reader cannot, without horror, reflect upon the fate of those unhappy persons, who sell a sacrifice to the savage prejudice of the multitude, excited by the villainy of the most abandoned miscreants; and inflamed by the arts of a malignant faction. By this time, however, the populace began to be gorged with blood: the rage of their resentment had exhausted itself. The protestations, the composure, and pious deportment of the sufferers, made impression upon the minds of all who retained the least sentiment of humanity; and now they began to reflect upon the characters of the informers and the absurdities of their information; which, in the hurry and precipitation of their vengeance, they had wholly overlooked. On the eighteenth day of June, the chief justice proceeded to the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician. Oates had said, at his first examination, that he knew nothing against this person but by hearsay; yet now he swore he had seen a letter from him to Ashby the jesuit, advising him to use a milk-diet, and be pumped at the Bath: and likewise expressing his zeal for the design of assassinating or poisoning the king. He then repeated his former accusation of the queen. Wakeman reminded the judge of the informer's solemn declaration that he knew nothing against him but by hearsay. He proved, by his own servant, and the apothecary at the Bath, that he did not write, but dictate, the paper sent to Ashby; and that nothing could be more absurd than to prescribe a milk-diet with the use of the Bath-water. Bedloe prevaricated scandalously in his evidence against this physician; who, together with three Benedictine monks tried at the same time, were acquitted by the jury. Oates and Bedloe, perceiving their credit was now entirely blasted, loudly taxed the chief justice, Scroggs, with partiality; because he acted in these trials with unusual moderation. This judge thought proper to turn with the tide of popular prejudice; and, as the queen's character was, in a great measure, concerned with that of her physician,

fician, he was unwilling to give offence to the king, without any prospect of advantage.

§ XXV. In Scotland the duke of Lauderdale's interest declined apace. He had been accused before the council of England, by the duke of Hamilton, and several other noblemen, who proved him guilty of the most arbitrary and tyrannical administration. His memory had begun to fail him, and the king was desirous of letting him fall gently; being resolved to vest the government of Scotland in the hands of the duke of Monmouth, who was now the minion of the people. At present it was so relaxed, and the distractions in England were so well known, that the covenanters rejected all restraint, and took arms in defence of their conventicles. They hated Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrew's, with the most implacable enmity, as an apostate, and persecutor of God's people. A troop of these armed fanatics, chancing to meet this prelate and his daughter, in his coach, upon a heath in the neighbourhood of St. Andrew's, dragged him from the carriage; and, without paying the least regard to the cries and intreaties of his daughter, murdered him in the most barbarous manner. This cruel assassination was celebrated by the covenanters as an exploit meritorious in the fight of God. They became more and more insolent and enterprising. They published a declaration against prelacy, and burned several acts of parliament in the market-place of Rutherglen, a small borough near Glasgow. Captain Graham, afterwards lord Dundee, attacked one of their conventicles, and was repulsed with the loss of thirty men. They now resolved to try their fortune in the field. They took possession of Glasgow; expelled the established clergy; issued a proclamation, declaring, they had taken up arms against the king's supremacy, popery, prelacy, and a popish successor. The king was no sooner informed of this insurrection, than he dispatched Monmouth with some troops of English cavalry to Scotland. These being joined by the Scottish guards, and some regiments of militia, marched against the insurgents, who were posted at Bothwell-bridge, between Glasgow and Hamilton, to the number of eight thousand, commanded by their ministers. They defended the bridge until their ammunition was expended: then they retired; and Monmouth passing, drew up his forces without opposition. They could not stand the fire of his artillery; but immediately fled in confusion. Seven hundred were killed in the pursuit, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The duke treated them with great lenity. He dismissed those who promised to live peaceably under the government. Three hundred, who rejected this condition, were embarked for the plantations, and perished in the voyage. The duke of Monmouth was naturally brave and merciful; but he was supposed to have courted popularity on this occasion. He had married a Scottish lady, the rich heiress of Buccleugh, allied to all the chief nobility, and hoped to succeed the duke of Lauderdale in all his influence. He prevailed upon the king to grant an act of indemnity in favour of those poor wretches who had been harassed and hunted into rebellion by the severity of the government; but Lauderdale took care to draw it up in such a manner, that it seemed rather a full pardon to him and all his adherents, than an indulgence to the "intercommuned" covenanters.

§ XXVI. In the latter end of August the king was taken ill of an intermitting fever at Windsor. This being thought dangerous by the physician, Charles, with the privy of Essex, Sunderland, and Halifax, sent a courier for the duke of

of York, who returned privately to England; but, before he reached Windsor, the king was recovered. The duke of Monmouth had resigned himself to the management of Shaftsbury, and seemed to aspire at the succession to the crown. He was highly favoured by the king, and idolized by the people: nevertheless, the duke of York, being supported with the interest of the earls of Essex and Hallifax, refused to return to the continent until Monmouth was deprived of his commission, and ordered to quit the kingdom. This great point being gained, the duke of York retired again to Brussels; but he soon obtained leave to reside in Scotland, that he might have an opportunity of conciliating the affections of that people, and be at hand, in case of his brother's decease.

§ XXVII. Before he left England, he had prevailed upon the king to postpone the meeting of the new parliament by prorogation. He hoped, that as the nation began to cool, his right to the succession would regain the ground it had lost. Besides, he had some expectation from a new plot, which he thought would translate the odium from the catholics to the presbyterians. One Dangerfield, more infamous (if possible) than Oates and Bedloe, a wretch who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported for fraud, felony, and coining, hatched a plot, in conjunction with a midwife called Cellier, a Roman catholic of abandoned morals. They were said to be encouraged by the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five popish lords in the Tower. Dangerfield declared there was a design on foot to set up a new form of government, and remove the king, with the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodgings of one colonel Mansel, and then brought custom-house officers into the apartments to search for smuggled merchandize. The papers were found; and the council having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be searched; and, in the house of Cellier, the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, whence it acquired the name of the Meal-tub plot. Dangerfield, being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which he said was contrived by the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower: that the design was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates; to assassinate the earl of Shaftsbury; to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Hallifax, and others, of having been concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brother. The earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were sent to the Tower; and the king himself was suspected of having encouraged this imposture. But people, who reasoned without prejudice, believed the confession and information were equally false.

§ XXVIII. The earls of Essex and Hallifax pressed the king to assemble the parliament: but, he was afraid of finding them irritated by this new discovery; and therefore withstood all their importunities. Disgusted at this refusal, and dreading the popular resentment, they withdrew themselves from the king's confidence. Essex resigned the treasurer's staff, which was bestowed upon Laurence Hyde, who, with Sunderland, and Godolphin, became his chief counsellors. Lord Russel, one of the most popular and virtuous men in the nation,

nation, quitted the council-board: Sir William Temple retired to the country; and Shaftsbury being removed from the board, his place was filled by the earl of Radnor. The immediate cause of his removal was an insult he offered to the king in his absence. Charles had met his brother at Newmarket, from whence the duke of York set out for Scotland: this interview was no sooner known to Shaftsbury, than he called a council at Whitehall; and pressed them to present an address to his majesty, representing the danger to which his life was exposed from the duke's presence.

§ XXIX. This turbulent nobleman finding himself expelled from the council, and from all share in the administration, advised Monmouth to return to England, even without the king's leave. Charles refused to see him when he arrived in London, but ordered him to leave the kingdom. Instead of obeying this command, he accompanied Shaftsbury in a progress through many parts of the kingdom, among thousands of people who assembled to see this darling of the English nation. Such conduct seemed to indicate a design against the established government, and induced many persons of consideration to espouse the interest of the duke of York, rather than see their country reinvolved in the miseries of a civil war. Shaftsbury, by means of his emissaries, procured petitions to the king from different parts of the kingdom, demanding a parliament; and excited such a spirit of discontent against the government, as seemed to prognosticate a very dangerous rebellion. Charles was extremely incensed at the duke of Monmouth; and chagrined at seeing himself deserted by his counsellors. Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powel, discontinued their attendance at council; and some places in the admiralty were relinquished. All the antiministerial members were re-elected in the new parliament; and the whole nation was filled with murmurs, that foretold a storm like that which had swept his father from the throne.

Burnet.
L'Estrange.
Rapin.

An. Ch. 1680.

§ XXX. The nearness and importance of the danger seemed to inspire him with more vigour than he was ever known to possess. The parliament meeting on the twenty-sixth day of January, he told them, in a short speech, that the present state of the nation rendered an intermission absolutely necessary; and therefore he prorogued them to the fifteenth day of April. Then he declared in council, that he had ordered the duke of York to return to court, judging his presence necessary at a time when questions were started, in which his interest was so nearly concerned. That prince returned in February, and was received by his brother with extraordinary marks of affection. In all probability, his advice and exhortations corroborated the king's resolution: so that he determined to try his strength with that restless faction which he could not appease. The partisans of the court retorted the practice of petitions upon their antagonists. They took care to provide a great number of addresses to his majesty, expressing their abhorrence of the licentious freedom which had been taken in demanding a parliament. One side was distinguished by the name of Petitioners; the other acquired the appellation of Abhorrrers. As their mutual animosity increased, they reviled each other in the most opprobrious terms. The party in the opposition compared the courtiers to the Irish banditti, called Tories; and they, on the other hand, expressed their contempt of the anticourtiers, by classing them under the title of Whigs, a term of reproach formerly given to the rigid covenanters of Scotland, who were supposed to live upon a kind of

buttermilk called Whig in that country. From these beginnings were derived the famous names of Whig and Tory, which still serve to distinguish the factions of England, though they have strangely varied from their original signification.

§ XXXI. The whigs were headed by the earl of Shaftsbury, who was bent upon the ruin of the duke of York, in opposition to whom he set up the duke of Monmouth. He not only conducted him in the road to popularity, but circulated a report that the king had been actually married to Mrs. Walters the duke's mother; and that the contract of marriage was in a black box, intrusted to the care of Mr. Gilbert Gerard. The king, in a council assembled for the purpose, declared this rumour was false; and desired that a minute inquiry might be set on foot, to discover the author of such malicious slander. Gerard being summoned to appear, declared upon oath, that he never had any such contract in his hands, and never heard that any such writing existed. At last, the king published a declaration, that he never was married, nor contracted to Mrs. Walters, or Barlow, mother to the duke of Monmouth, nor to any person whatsoever, but queen Catherine. This declaration, attested by all the privy-counsellors then present, was entered upon record in the court of chancery. In the summer, the earl of Castlemain, and Cellier the midwife, were tried on account of the Meal-tub plot, and acquitted; and the grand-jury threw out the bill of indictment against the countess of Powis.

§ XXXII. Bedloe died in August at Bristol, and not only insisted upon the truth of his evidence against the jesuits, but also accused the duke and the queen of having been concerned in the design of introducing popery into England. He likewise declared he had many other circumstances to discover, of importance to the king and nation; and besought the chief-justice North, who visited him in his illness, to intercede with his majesty for some allowance on which he could subsist. This solicitation plainly proves he did not think himself dying, and invalidates the credit which is supposed due to a death-bed confession. Besides, if he was really guilty of the blood of so many innocent persons, he must have been hardened in a long course of villainy, beyond all sense of penitence and remorse.

§ XXXIII. Though the court-party had of late gained ground, those in the opposition made strong efforts to retain their influence in the nation. Clayton the mayor of London, having named a person for sheriff, who was disagreeable to the faction, the common-hall rejected him, and chose Bethel and Cornish, two noted independents and republicans, who sacrificed their religion to their interest, so far as to take the oaths and the sacrament, and renounce the covenant, to qualify themselves for this employment. Then the common-council desired the mayor to petition the king to assemble the parliament: and a proclamation was in a few days published, to inform the public that the parliament would assemble on the twenty-first day of October. Shaftsbury, attended by the earl of Huntington, the lords Russel, Cavendish, Grey, Brandon, Sir Henry Caverly, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and Sir William Cooper, appeared in Westminster-hall, and presented to the grand jury of Middlesex a bill of indictment against the duke of York, as a popish recusant. Before the jury fixed on any determination concerning this unexpected presentment, they were suddenly dismissed by the chief-justice. This step in Shaftsbury was a declaration of eternal

war

war against the duke of York, by which he ascertained his inviolate attachment to his party. Charles, alarmed at their presumption, thought proper to do something to render the parliament less implacable. He insisted upon his brother's returning to Scotland, until the storm should be overblown, assuring him he would never abandon his interest; and the duke, though not without reluctance, complied with his request.

§ XXXIV. When the parliament assembled, the king in his speech to both houses, informed them of his having concluded an alliance with Spain. He declared himself ready to concur with them in all reasonable expedients for the security of the protestant religion, provided no prejudice should be offered to the succession. He exhorted them to prosecute the inquiry into the conspiracy; demanded a supply for the support of Tangier, which he could not maintain without their assistance; and above all things recommended a strict union between them and him, as the chief article that would ensure the strength and prosperity of the nation. The commons having chosen their speaker, began the session by expelling some of their own members, who had subscribed the petitions of the abhorers: for the same reason they presented an address to the king, desiring he would remove from all public employment Sir George Jefferys recorder of London, and first-judge of Chester. They inherited all the eagerness of the last parliament, with respect to the conspiracy. They received the informations of the new witnesses, Dangerfield, Jennison, Dugdale, and one Turberville; and they recommended doctor Tongue to the king, for the first good benefice in the gift of the crown that should become vacant. The lords Russel and Capel expatiated upon all the steps which the government had taken to the prejudice of the nation. They imputed them wholly to the counsels of papists; and exaggerated the dangers to which the kingdom would be exposed from a popish successor. They were seconded by a great number of members, some of whom spoke of the duke in the most virulent terms. At length, the house renewed the votes which had passed against him in the former parliament, when lord Russel moved, that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne. This measure, so repugnant to the king's inclination, was espoused not only by the earl of Sunderland, but even by the dutchess of Portsmouth, who, in all probability thought, that should the duke of York be set aside, her son might have some chance for the succession.

§ XXXV. There was now a very powerful party formed against the court, whether we respect the talents or the interest of those that were in the opposition; but, Charles was assured of the church, which had ever adhered to lineal succession; of all those royalists who detested fanaticism and republican principles; and of a great number, who from a sincere regard to their country, dreaded the revival of that anarchy from which the nation had been so lately delivered. The motion for the bill of exclusion produced violent debates in the lower house, which were maintained with great eloquence and vivacity. It was supported by lord Russel, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, and Montague. It was opposed by Sir Leoline Jenkins secretary of state, Sir John Erneley chancellor of the exchequer, Sir William Temple, Hyde, and Seymour. The exclusionists asserted, That the king, lords, and commons of England, had a right to alter any part of the constitution: That the lineal succession to the crown of

England had been often set aside; and that such an expedient was never so necessary as at the present juncture, when the duke's bigotry to the church of Rome, his connexions with catholic princes, and his own arbitrary disposition, threatened the nation with the re-establishment of popery, the persecution, and even the extirpation of the protestants, together with such acts of oppression as would instigate the people to take arms in their own defence, and entail another civil war upon the kingdom. Those who opposed the bill, argued that the right of succession was deemed a fundamental principle in all European monarchies; and had never been set aside but by successful usurpation or absolute tyranny: that it could never be altered, without exposing the kingdom to the most violent convulsions, unless the whole nation concurred in the change: that a legislature which deviates from a fundamental point of the constitution, subverts that very principle of authority on which itself is founded: that although individuals acquiesce in common laws enacted by a majority in parliament, the case would be very different, were the lineal succession to be altered. A very powerful party would oppose this violation of the constitution, and numberless mischiefs would ensue: that the duke of York had solemnly promised his religion should never affect his public conduct: that the consideration of his own interest would prevent him from re-establishing a religion so diametrically opposite to the genius of the people; or, if that should prove too weak, the limitations which the king had proposed would effectually restrain him from giving way to the dictates of his superstition. Lastly, they observed, that the king was determined to risk every thing rather than sacrifice the right of succession; and therefore it would be necessary to consider the consequences of driving their sovereign to extremity.

§ XXXVI. Notwithstanding these arguments, the bill was carried by a great majority: but it met with another fate in the upper house, where the whole bench of bishops, except three, declared against it, as a dangerous innovation. It was defended by Shaftsbury, Essex, and Sunderland. They were answered by Hallifax, who displayed a surprising extent of capacity; and in eloquence far outshone his uncle Shaftsbury, against whom he was animated by resentment and emulation. The king was present at the debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night, when the bill was thrown out by a majority of thirty three. The commons were extremely mortified at this disappointment; and so incensed against Hallifax, that they addressed the king to remove him from his councils and presence for ever, on pretence of his having advised the late prorogation of parliament. When the king, by a message, exhorted them to dispatch the affair of the conspiracy, and proceed to the trial of the lords in the Tower; they answered, that the delay was occasioned by the pernicious counsels of those who had advised him to dissolve the last parliament, and prorogue the present. Instead of complying with his demand for the relief of Tangier, which was besieged by the king of Morocco, they recapitulated all the instances of his misconduct, which his whole reign afforded: some of the members plainly said, that should they grant a sum of money for this service, it would in all probability be converted to another use. They observed, that although above a million had been raised for a new navy, the king had not built one single ship; that two millions, granted for the support of the triple alliance, had been employed to destroy that connexion; and that the king had received

received a million to wage war with France, at a time when he was under a secret engagement with Lewis to effect a pacification. They drew up a remonstrance, in eighteen articles, representing the danger to which the nation was exposed, from the favour shewn to papists, and insinuating that the king was concerned in a conspiracy against the protestant religion, and the liberty of his people.

§ XXXVII. They resolved to wreak their vengeance upon lord Stafford, one of the prisoners in the Tower, uncle to the duke of Norfolk, a nobleman of narrow understanding, and already overwhelmed with old age and infirmities. On the thirtieth day of November, he was brought to trial by his peers, the chancellor, now created earl of Nottingham, being appointed lord high steward for the occasion. The evidences against him were Dugdale, Oates, and Turberville. The first deposed that lord Stafford, at Tixhall, the house of lord Aston, had tempted him with the offer of five hundred pounds to murder the king. Oates swore, that he saw lord Stafford receive from Fenwick a commission for being paymaster-general to the army. Turberville declared, that he had conversed with lord Stafford at Paris, where he promised to make his fortune, if he would assassinate the king, who was a heretic, and rebel against God Almighty. The prisoner made such a defence as equally surprised his friends and enemies. He proved Dugdale to be a knave, who had cheated lord Aston, defrauded his servants, and contracted debts, for which he had been committed to prison, from whence he had no other way of extricating himself but by turning informer. He likewise made it appear, that he was not at Tixhall on the day mentioned by the evidence. He invalidated the testimony of Oates, by enumerating the omissions, additions, and palpable contradictions in his former depositions; by reminding the court of his perfidious dissimulation in point of religion; his solemn abjurations and execrations to support that falshood by which he owned his credit was established among the jesuits; and the improbability that a man concerned in a conspiracy of such importance, should have been abandoned to that misery with which he was oppressed when he first turned informer. He proved that Turberville had eloped from a convent, and turned trooper in the French service, from whence he had deserted: that he lived in the utmost indigence in London, and had been heard to say, "By God! there is no better business than that of an informer:" and his servants swore they had never seen Turberville with their lord, either in France or in England. The prisoner observed, that through a course of forty years, he had preserved his loyalty, in the midst of danger, difficulty, and civil confusion; and that it was not credible he should now, in his old age, when broken with infirmities, renounce the ease and affluence he enjoyed, to belye his former conduct, and engage in such a villainous conspiracy against his sovereign, who had been always to him remarkably generous and indulgent.

§ XXXVIII. Notwithstanding the strength of his defence, the simplicity of his deportment, and his pathetic protestations of innocence, he was convicted of high treason, by a majority of four and twenty voices. Hearing the verdict, he exclaimed, "God's holy name be praised!" When the high steward gave him to understand that the peers would intercede with his majesty, that his sentence might be mitigated into decapitation, he shed a flood of

of tears, telling them he was not moved to this weakness by the fear of death, but by a deep sense of their goodness. Though he was not afraid to die, he discovered a desire of life; and sent a message to the lords, intimating that he would discover all he knew of any designs against the government. Being brought to the house, he disclosed some schemes in which he had been concerned, for obtaining a toleration in favour of the catholics; and mentioned the earl of Shaftsbury as one who had undertaken to procure this indulgence. The lords would not suffer him to proceed; but remanded him to the Tower, where he began to prepare for death with equal courage and resignation. On the twenty-ninth day of December, he was brought to the scaffold, where, in the most earnest manner, he declared himself innocent of the crimes laid to his charge. He spoke of the witnesses with charity and compassion; disavowed all the murdering and immoral principles imputed to the Roman catholics; and expressed his hope that the public would soon be undeceived, and do justice to his injured reputation. The populace were melted at the meekness, piety, and resignation of this antient nobleman, whose character had been always untainted, till the date of this accusation. When he repeated his protestations with regard to his innocence, they cried aloud, "We believe you, my lord---God bless you, my lord." Even the executioner was softened: he could not perform his office without hesitation and marks of sympathy; and, when he held up the head, according to custom, exclaiming, "This is the head of a traitor," no expression of assent was heard: all was still, silent, and sorrowful.

§ XXXIX. This was the last blood shed on account of that pretended conspiracy, which was invented by a few needy miscreants, for the purpose of raising themselves from indigence and contempt; and afterwards fostered by a dangerous faction, to blow up the flames of discord through the kingdom. To answer this perfidious aim, they scrupled not to abuse a whole people; to exasperate them into a savage disregard of truth and common justice; and to exercise such acts of barbarity as will remain upon record, an indelible stain upon the character of the nation. The commons demanded other victims than lord Stafford, who had disappointed them greatly, in the hope they had conceived that he would make some discovery that would serve to keep up the general ferment, which now began to subside. They voted, that a bill should be brought in for banishing the most considerable papists from the kingdom: that while the catholics retained any hope of seeing the duke of York ascend the throne, the person of the king, the protestant religion, and the lives and liberties of the people, would be in imminent danger. Then they resolved to prepare a bill for an association to defend the king's person, the protestant religion, and all persons of that persuasion, against invasion and opposition; as well as to prevent the duke of York, or any other popish prince, from succeeding to the throne of England. They proposed several other bills, as restrictions on the prerogative; and, in an address, besought his majesty to grant his assent to an act of parliament for excluding his brother from the succession. Charles, in his answer, said he was sorry to find them so much attached to the bill of exclusion, against which his own opinion was confirmed by that of the lords. He recommended to them the consideration of some other means for maintaining the protestant religion: he wished they would take cog-

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nizance of the state of the nation, and the situation of Christendom, in such a manner as would enable him to succour Tangier, support his alliances, and secure the peace of the kingdom. Before they received this answer, they had brought in a bill for exempting protestant nonconformists from the penalties imposed by an act in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and it passed through both houses: but the clerk of the crown concealed it, by the king's order; so that when he came to the house it was not to be found. He had always declared for a general indulgence, the benefit of which would have extended to his catholic subjects: but he thought the presbyterians, whose interest predominated in this parliament, had little reason to expect he would indulge them with an exclusive toleration. The commons drew up articles of impeachment against lord chief-justice Scroggs, for having endeavoured to stifle the conspiracy; and for having dismissed the grand jury of Middlesex in an irregular manner, when the duke of York was presented as a popish recusant. They concurred with the lords, in voting that there actually was, and had been for several years, a horrible conspiracy in Ireland, hatched by the papists, to massacre the protestants, and overturn the established government of that kingdom; and that the hope of seeing the duke of York upon the throne of England, had encouraged the said conspiracy. The lower house, after violent debates upon the king's last answer, resolved, that the act of exclusion was the only sufficient security for the king's life, the protestant religion, and the established government: that, until such an act should pass, the commons could not grant any supplies, without endangering the king's person and the protestant religion, and betraying the people they represented: that all those who had advised his majesty to persist in opposing the bill of exclusion, had given pernicious counsel, were favourers of popery, and enemies to the king and kingdom. They resolved that an address should be presented to the king, desiring he would remove from his presence and councils, the earls of Hallifax, Worcester, Clarendon, Feversham, and Laurence Hyde. They voted, that whoever should lend money, or promote loans to the king, upon the customs, excise, or other taxes, or accept or purchase tallies, or anticipations, upon the king's revenues, should be deemed an enemy to parliaments, and prosecuted as such by the two houses.

§ XL. These violent proceedings plainly demonstrated that they either intended to involve the kingdom in a civil war, or hoped the king's easy temper would be intimidated or influenced into a desertion of his brother's interest. Their insolence, however, served only to excite his resentment, without impairing his resolution. The dutchess of Portsmouth fell upon her knees, and begged he would not ruin himself for the sake of his brother. Mr. Sidney, his ambassador at the Hague, transmitted to him a memorial written by Fagel, pensionary of Holland, to prove that the king could not support the duke of York, without abandoning the interests of Europe. He resisted all importunities and remonstrances with surprising fortitude; and, rather than injure his brother, resolved to prorogue the parliament. This was a power which he had not, like his father, resigned. The commons receiving intimation of his design, before he went to the house of lords, voted, in a tumultuous manner, that whoever advised his majesty to prorogue the parliament, was a traitor to the king, the kingdom, and the protestant religion, a pensioner of France, and

and one who favoured the interests of that crown : that, in the opinion of the house, the acts made in the reign of queen Elizabeth, against popish recusants, ought not to extend to protestant dissenters ; and that the prosecution of protestant nonconformists is an oppression upon the subject : that it weakens the protestant interest, encourages popery, and is productive of dangerous consequences to the kingdom : that thanks be given to the city of London for their loyalty, care, and vigilance, in the preservation of the king and the protestant religion : that, in the opinion of the house, the great fire of London was kindled by the papists, in order to introduce popery and arbitrary power : that an address be presented to his majesty, desiring him to restore the duke of Monmouth to all his offices, of which he had been divested by the influence of the duke of York. These votes had scarce passed when the usher of the black rod came and summoned them to the upper house, where the king passed some bills ; and then the chancellor prorogued them till the twentieth day of January. In three days after this prorogation, the mayor and common-council of London presented an address to his majesty, beseeching him to re-assemble the parliament at the appointed time, that they might regulate the important affairs of the kingdom. This remonstrance served only to irritate the king, who issued a proclamation, dissolving the parliament. At the same time he convoked another to meet on the twenty-first day of March, at Oxford.

§ XLI. Though he knew the interest of the presbyterians still prevailed in all the corporations, he resolved to try every expedient for obtaining a parliament that should be less implacable ; and he was desirous of meeting them at a distance from London, which had been always unpropitious to him and his family. It was not without reason that he dreaded the inhabitants of this opulent city. They re-elected the four members who had represented them in the two last parliaments. They presented them with an address of thanks for their endeavours to obtain an act of exclusion against the duke of York. They expressed their hope that the members would never agree to any supplies, until the kingdom should be secured against popery and arbitrary power ; and declared they would support them with their lives and fortunes. The example of London was followed by almost all the corporations in the kingdom ; so that the king foresaw he should be at the head of the same parliament he had dissolved. The duke of Monmouth, with fifteen peers, presented an address to the king, petitioning that his majesty would not assemble the parliament at Oxford, where the two houses could not meet with safety, or debate with freedom, while exposed to the attempts of the papists, a great number of which had insinuated themselves into his majesty's guards. This was a mortifying remonstrance to Charles, who would not favour the petitioners with any answer, but eyed them with looks of indignation.

§ XLII. Each party had for some time reviled and ridiculed the other, in pamphlets and libels ; and this practice was attended with a remarkable incident. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent on the dutchess of Portsmouth, for whose perusal he used to purchase those occasional satires, proposed, to a Scotchman of the name of Everhard, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was actually a spy for the exclusionists. He believed this was a scheme to entrap him, and resolved to retort the intended

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mischiefe on the head of Fitzharris. He assented to the proposal, and they agreed to meet in a house where Everhard had previously posted Sir William Waller, an eminent justice of the peace, and two other persons, within hearing. There Fitzharris and Everhard composed a virulent libel against the king and his brother, replete with treason and scurrility. Waller immediately informed the king of this transaction, and obtained a warrant for apprehending Fitzharris, in whose pocket the libel was found. Seeing himself in the hands of justice, and knowing the management of all the former trials had been left to the country-party, he resolved to deserve their favour, and declared he had been employed by the court to write the libel, that the odium of it might be thrown upon the exclusionists. He said the intention of the ministry was to send copies of it to all the leaders of the opposition, and to arrest them immediately, as persons engaged in a conspiracy, the belief of which this paper would serve to confirm. He likewise pretended to make new discoveries about the popish plot, and told a great many improbable circumstances, which he had invented for the purpose. He was at first committed to Newgate; but the king, either believing that the opposite party would tamper with him, or hoping that he might be rendered useful to the designs of the court, granted an order for removing him to the Tower, where he is said to have been practised upon by Hawkins the chaplain, to own he was suborned by the country-party.

§ XLIII. When the parliament assembled at Oxford, the members on both sides were armed and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they had expected an immediate rupture. The representatives of London, in particular, were surrounded by a numerous band of horsemen, distinguished by knots of ribbons inscribed "No popery; no slavery." The king's speech to this parliament was couched in a very unusual style. He complained of the insupportable proceedings of the last house of commons; and plainly told them, that as he never intended to exercise arbitrary power over others, so he would not allow it to be exercised over himself. He said, if they would consider the provocations he had undergone, they would find more cause to wonder at his long patience, than at the resentment which he had lately expressed. He observed, that his assembling them upon this occasion plainly proved that no irregularities on their part should ever inspire him with a disgust for parliaments. He hoped the bad success of former animosities would dispose them to more moderation, and induce them to consider what steps it would be necessary to take in the present conjuncture. He expressed an earnest desire of removing all reasonable fears arising from the possibility of a popish successor; and added, that he would willingly listen to any practicable scheme for putting the government intirely into protestant hands, during the life of any prince who should profess the catholic religion. Some expedients had been suggested for this purpose; but they were even more disagreeable to the duke than was the bill of execution.

§ XLIV. The commons having chosen the same speaker who filled the chair in the last parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations. Then they set on foot a strict enquiry about the removal of the bill which had passed both houses in the last parliament, for repealing the statute of queen Elizabeth

against nonconformists. They took under their cognizance the affair of Fitzharris, who had by this time retracted his first confession, on pretence that it was extorted by the country-party. They resolved to try him by impeachment; and, to manifest their contempt for the court, ordered secretary Jenkins to carry up the articles to the house of lords. He was so incensed at being chosen for this employment, that he at first refused to comply with the order of the house; but he thought proper to submit, when they threatened to commit him for his disobedience. At the same time they voted the thanks of the house to Waller for his having arrested Fitzharris.

§ XLV. Their next step was to examine the expedients proposed in lieu of the bill of exclusion. It was proposed, That the duke should be banished, during life, to the distance of five hundred miles from any part of the British dominions: That the government should be wholly vested in a regent: That this office should be conferred upon the princess of Orange; and, in case of her death, devolve to her sister Anne: That should the duke of York have a son educated in the protestant religion, the said regent should act during his minority: That, though the kingdom should be governed in the name of James II. yet no man should take arms for him, or by virtue of his commission, on pain of being capitally punished: and, That the same penalty should be decreed against any person who should affirm that the simple title of King takes away all defects mentioned in this act, or in any shape eludes the obligation of it: That all officers, civil and military, should take an oath to observe this statute: That acts of the same nature should pass in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland: That, in case the duke of York should enter either of the three kingdoms, he should be excluded "ipso facto," and the sovereignty devolve to the regent: That all papists of any consideration should be banished by name, and their children educated in the protestant religion. Rigorous as these expedients were, the commons rejected them, and resumed the bill of exclusion. In a word, the leaders of the opposition were resolved to be dissatisfied with every thing the king could propose, in hope of humbling him into the most abject submission.

§ XLVI. The lords having rejected the impeachment against Fitzharris, and remitted his trial to the ordinary courts of judicature; the commons exclaimed against this refusal, which indeed was unprecedented. They voted, that the commons assembled in parliament had an undoubted right to impeach any person, whether peer or commoner, before the lords, for high treason, or any other crime whatsoever; and that the refusal of such an impeachment was a real denial of justice: that Edward Fitzharris having been impeached by the commons, the lords had denied justice, and violated the constitution of parliaments, in ordering him to be prosecuted at common law; and that no inferior court of judicature could proceed against Fitzharris, without violating the privileges of parliament. These violent resolutions being taken, they converted their attention to the bill of exclusion, against which no member presumed to speak, except secretary Jenkins, who underwent the most acrimonious raillery and derision. They had actually ordered the bill to be read a second time, when Charles seizing the pretence of the quarrel between the two houses, stole upon them and dissolved the parliament, before they had the least intimation of his design. He forthwith stepped into his coach, and retired to Wind-
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for; from whence he next day repaired to London, where he published a declaration, containing his reasons for dissolving the two last parliaments. He taxed the commons with having encouraged a spirit of cabal and sedition, which sought to shake the foundations of the monarchy, and raise an arbitrary power on the ruins of the constitution. The demagogues were confounded and abashed at this instance of vigour in a prince like Charles, who had been always remarkable for facility and irresolution.

§ XLVII. Their insolence and presumption were instantaneously succeeded by fear and dejection; and they retired quietly to their own homes, without having concerted any measures for their future conduct. On the other hand, many persons of consequence, who had hitherto adhered to a neutrality, declared for the king; convinced by his late resolute conduct, that he had courage to protect those who served him, against the persecution of his enemies. His declaration was no sooner published, than addresses were brought to him from all quarters of the kingdom, filled with the warmest expressions of duty; inveighing against the presumption of the commons; applauding the dissolution of the parliament; and extolling the king's conduct, in the most abject strain of adulation. They were greedily received by the king, though he knew how little he could depend upon such professions; while some addresses, penned in a different style, were rejected with marks of contempt or displeasure*. Fitzharris was, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, brought to his trial, found guilty of writing the libel, and condemned as a traitor. He pretended he had been suborned by Bethel and Cornish the two sheriffs, and Treby the recorder of London, to forge discoveries about the popish conspiracy; and persisted in this declaration at Tyburn. Nevertheless, he had sent a letter to his wife, in which he declared this was altogether false; and indeed it was supposed to have been extorted from him by promise of pardon.

§ XLVIII. Charles did not enjoy his triumph with moderation. His temper, which had been always easy and merciful, became arbitrary, and even cruel. He entertained all the false witnesses and informers who had been so infamously instrumental in shedding innocent blood. They had formerly served the purposes of the opposite faction. They now offered their services to the court, and met with a very favourable reception. The ministry seemed determined to retaliate and retort upon the Whigs, all the forgery and inhumanity which they had so long countenanced and supported. Fitzharris suffered in company with Oliver Plunket the titular archbishop of Armagh, a man of very moderate principles, who had always maintained a fair character, until he was accused by some profligate Irish priests, who came over to drive the trade of evidence. They were encouraged by the earl of Shaftsbury, though their information was absurd and contradictory, and their characters were in all respects vile and infamous. They swore Plunket had collected a vast sum of money, enlisted an army, and expected a descent from France, to favour a massacre of the protestants. His defence consisted in an absolute denial of all that was laid to his charge; notwithstanding which he was convicted and condemned, and suffered death with great composure, protesting his innocence to the last moment of his life.

* At this period, the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son by the dutchess of Portsmouth, was created knight of the garter, in the tenth year of his age; and Laurence Hyde was created earl of Rochester.

§ XLIX. The king, in order to convince the world of the superiority he had acquired, committed Shaftsbury to the Tower, and at the same time imprisoned several other persons of inferior rank, who had distinguished themselves as partizans of that party. Among these was one College, known by the name of the "Protestant joyner," a factious zealot, who had been used as a tool by the leaders of the party, and often spoken of the king and royal family with the most provoking insolence. He had accompanied the city-members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol, and was now presented by the grand jury of London, as guilty of sedition. Though the bill was returned "ignoramus," the court would not desist from prosecuting this unhappy man, who was the first victim devoted to their vengeance. After having been exposed to the most inhuman acts of oppression, he was conveyed to Oxford, on pretence of his having uttered treasonable expressions in that city. He was indicted for treason, and tried at the assize before a partial judge and packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others, who had prostituted their consciences against the catholics; and, when objections were made to their characters, the ministry observed that they were the same people whom the whigs had cherished and supported as evidences in the popish conspiracy. Nothing could be more savage and wicked than this kind of retaliation. College made a vigorous defence, and proved himself innocent, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced spectator; nevertheless he was found guilty, amidst the acclamations of the populace. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude, and at his execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

§ L. Titus Oates, the original informer, was the only person of that stamp whose services were now rejected; he was, by an order of council, ignominiously expelled from Whitehall, and even forbid to come within a certain distance of that palace. But the king's resentment was chiefly directed against the earl of Shaftsbury, who had certainly harassed him with the most implacable and indefatigable malice. No fums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses, against this nobleman. A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, the witnesses were examined in open court, and swore to such incredible circumstances as must have invalidated their testimony, even though they had not been already branded as perjured villains. Among his papers indeed there was a draught of an association, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the hand-writing of Shaftsbury, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any person, or signified his approbation of any such project. Bethel and Cornish had been succeeded in the office of sheriffs by Shute and Pilkington, men of the same principles; and they took care to summon a jury that rejected the bill of indictment against the earl; a circumstance so agreeable to the populace, that the whole city rung with acclamations.

§ LI. In Scotland the court met with no opposition, even in the most arbitrary measures. The duke of York, as king's commissioner, had assembled the parliament of that kingdom in July. They passed an act, acknowledging that the crown of Scotland had, by an inherent right, by the nature of the monarchy, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, always descended to the heir of blood; and that no law or consideration could alter the succession: they enacted another statute for imposing upon persons in office a test oath, ack now-

acknowledging the king's supremacy, renouncing the covenant, and espousing the doctrine of passive obedience: a clause, however, was admitted in favour of the protestant religion, ratifying an old confession of faith, in which the maxim of resistance was inculcated; so that the act was a collection of absurd contradictions, patched up in a hurry by people of different parties. A great number of ecclesiastics resigned their livings, rather than assent upon oath to such inconsistencies: the earl of Argyle refused to take it, without an explanation. He was a conscientious nobleman, of the presbyterian persuasion; he had adhered to the king in all his adversity, and been restored to his paternal honours and estate. He was afterwards unjustly convicted and condemned for "leasing-making," upon an old absurd statute; and obtained his pardon. When the courtiers in Scotland proposed that the princes of the blood should be exempted from the test oath, he argued strenuously against this exception, observing that the danger to which the protestant religion was chiefly exposed, arose from the possible perversion of the royal family. By this opposition he incurred the duke's displeasure; which, however, that prince carefully dissimulated. When the oath was tendered to Argyle, he said he took it as far as it was consistent with itself and the protestant religion; he declared he did not mean to bind himself up from endeavouring, consistently with his loyalty and conscience, to effect any alteration that might prove advantageous to church or state. For this expression he was committed prisoner to the castle, tried for leasing-making and perjury, convicted, and condemned to death. The king, however, ordered the execution of the sentence to be suspended until his pleasure should be farther known; in the mean time the earl escaped from his confinement, and took refuge in Holland. The partisans of the duke pretended that he had no design against the life of Argyle, but only against the hereditary jurisdictions, by which he maintained a very dangerous authority in the Highlands.

§ LII. The fanatics in Scotland continued to insult the law, through a misguided zeal for religion. They were actuated by two furious preachers, called Cameron and Cargill; the first was slain in a skirmish, after he had published a declaration at Dumfries, renouncing his allegiance to the king, because he had broke the covenant. Cargill was taken and executed, together with one Hackston, who had been concerned in the murder of archbishop Sharpe. This man was desperately wounded when taken. He was tried in a summary way, lest his death should anticipate the stroke of justice. He endured the amputation of his hands without shrinking; and then asked, with great composure, if they chose to cut off his feet. He was afterwards hanged, and his heart, being cut out, was seen to palpitate on the executioner's knife. About fifteen persons, male and female, suffered death rather than say, "God bless the king;" for, upon this condition, the duke offered to spare their lives. They gloried in their sufferings, and died in transports of joy. At length the duke, pitying their infatuation, put a stop to the executions, and ordered those poor deluded wretches to be kept to hard labour in a house of correction. In other respects he persecuted the presbyterians with great severity, and even incurred the imputation of barbarity, by seeming curious to observe the agonies of some wretches who were put to the torture by the despotism of the government. The king, having now obtained a complete victory over all opposition, the duke repaired to London,

L'Estrange.
Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.
Hume.

London, that he might share the fruits of his brother's good fortune; and acquired such an influence over Charles, that he in effect governed the three kingdoms. He made another voyage to Scotland by sea, in the Dolphin frigate, which, chancing to strike upon a sand-bank in the passage, was lost. The duke saved himself in the long-boat, with a few persons whom he named for admittance. On this occasion he is said to have saved some obscure priests, and a number of favourite dogs, while many persons of distinction were left to perish. Such was the loyalty of the ship's crew, that, when they saw him safe in the boat, they expressed their joy in loud acclamations, though they knew that they themselves would be drowned in a few moments. The government of Scotland he left in the hands of the earls of Aberdeen and Queensberry: the first was chancellor and the other treasurer of that kingdom, which they ruled with rods of iron. The Scots, since the restoration, had been subjected to such a succession of tyrants, that the spirit of liberty was almost extinguished in the nation. The imposition of the test oath was attended with such acts of oppression, that many thousands resolved to withdraw themselves into another country, where they might enjoy that liberty of conscience which was denied them at home; and they sent up agents to London to treat with the proprietors of Carolina about their settling in that colony. Yet, in the midst of all this despotism and national calamity, the duke had found means to conciliate the affections of the nobility and clergy, insomuch that the prelates of the kingdom wrote a letter to Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, extolling in the most hyperbolical terms the duke's mild and upright administration, and in particular his affection to the church.

§ LIII. The king, finding his authority absolute, resolved to humble the presbyterians, and even practised the most unjustifiable methods for the gratification of his revenge; in which he was instigated by the violent counsels of his brother. The nonconformists were rigorously prosecuted, on the statute enacted in the reign of queen Elizabeth; all magistrates, judges, justices of the peace, and lieutenants of counties, suspected of leaning towards republican principles, were divested of their employments, and their places filled with approved tories. The clergy testified their devotion to the court, in their writings and sermons: the pulpits resounded with the doctrine of passive obedience and nonresistance; and the king received an infinite number of addresses, professing the utmost abhorrence of the principles avowed in the association which had been found among Shaftsbury's papers. The mutual animosity between the two parties was now inflamed into rage and rancour; and Charles declared himself the head of a faction. The city of London still maintained its independence, and the sheriffs influenced the grand-jury in such a manner, as screened the presbyterians of that capital from oppression. Sir John Moor, the mayor, had been gained over to the court-interest; and he named two persons for sheriffs who he knew would be agreeable to the ministry. The common-hall and the citizens taking the alarm, insisted upon an election by liveryes, and Papillon and Dubois were elected by a great majority: nevertheless the mayor carried on a separate poll in favour of North and Rich; and, being supported by the ministry, forced them upon the public. In the same irregular manner he secured a successor in the mayoralty, whom he knew devoted to the king's commands. This was a point of great importance to Charles,

Charles, and so well understood by the earl of Shaftsbury, that he thought proper to quit the kingdom, and fix his residence in Holland; that very country, the ruin of which he had planned in the cabinet, and urged in parliament in the remarkable words, "Delenda est Carthago." The duke of York, now that the magistracy of London was at his devotion, sued alderman Pilkington on a writ of *Scandalum magnatum*, for having said of him, when he heard of his return from Scotland, "He has already burned the city, and now he is coming to cut all our throats." For this indiscreet expression he was cast in damages to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds. Sir Patience Ward, who gave evidence in his behalf, being sued for perjury, was convicted and condemned to the pillory. The earl of Sunderland had been dismissed from his office of secretary of state when he voted for the bill of exclusion, and his place had been filled with lord Conway; but, upon this nobleman's resignation, Sunderland was taken again into favour, and by some people suspected of having joined the exclusionists, on purpose to learn and betray their secrets to the ministry*.

§ LIV. Charles was at this time secure of the magistracy in London, but he foresaw a strong opposition at the next election, and that he would be every year exposed to the same struggles, and opposed, not only in London, but likewise in all the corporations which were under presbyterian management. While that interest prevailed he could never expect to see a parliament propitious to his desires; and he was so much involved in debts and difficulties, that he could hardly subsist without a parliamentary supply: he therefore formed a project for raising a despotic authority over all the corporations of England. He began with London, against which he issued a writ of "*Quo warranto*," to enquire into the validity of its charter, which he pretended the corporation had forfeited in two instances. They were charged with having imposed a toll, in order to defray the expence of rebuilding their markets after the fire of London, and of having presented an address to the king, containing a scandalous reflection upon his majesty and his administration. The cause was tried in the court of King's-Bench, and Treby and Pollexfen pleaded as counsellors for the city: they proved, that all corporations had a power to make bye-laws; that subjects were invested with an inherent right to petition the king; that the reflection in the address charged upon them as scandalous, was not levelled at the king, but his evil counsellors, who had advised him to prorogue the parliament; and they expatiated upon the injustice of annihilating a whole corporation for the faults of their magistrates, who were liable to prosecution as individuals. Notwithstanding these arguments, the judges, who were wholly influenced by the ministry, declared that the city of London had forfeited its privileges, and that its charter was at the king's disposal. The judgment, however, was not recorded until his majesty's pleasure should be known. The citizens of London were confounded and dismayed at this transaction. A common-council being assembled, the majority agreed to submit to the king's pleasure, before the sentence should be recorded. They accordingly presented a petition to that effect; and the king offered to restore their charter, on the follow-

* Prince Rupert, the duke of Lauderdale, the earls of Nottingham and Shaftsbury, died in the course of this year; and Mr. Thyn was assassinated

in the streets of London by count Coningsmark, two of whose accomplices were executed at Tyburn.

ing conditions : That no mayor or other officer of the commonalty should exercise his office until his election should be confirmed under the king's sign manual : That, in case his majesty should disapprove of their choice of a mayor and sheriffs, they should proceed to a new election; and, provided the second should be disagreeable to the king, he should appoint persons of his own nomination : That the mayor and court of aldermen should be empowered to divest any alderman of his office, by the king's permission : That, should an alderman after his election be deemed incapable by the court of aldermen, the quarter should be obliged to chuse another; and, should he prove unacceptable to the court, a third should be elected by the court itself; and that the justices of the peace in London should act only by virtue of the king's commission. These were severe terms, to which, however, the common-council submitted, by a majority of eighteen voices. Other corporations, seeing the fate of London, were easily induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king, from whence they were not retrieved but by the payment of considerable sums of money.

§ LV. Such an arbitrary and cruel administration could hardly fail to produce designs against the government, in a nation abounding with people who entertained even the most extravagant notions of liberty. The earl of Shaftsbury, even before the last parliament, had engaged the duke of Monmouth, the lords Russel and Grey, to rise in arms and oppose the duke's succession at the death of Charles : they afterwards associated the earls of Essex and Salisbury with them in the above design; but the imprisonment of Shaftsbury interrupted their consultations. These, however, were renewed when the new sheriffs were imposed upon the city; insurrections were planned, and correspondences established in different parts of the kingdom. The confederates depended chiefly on the city of London, which was devoted to Shaftsbury, who, being afraid of trusting himself in any other place, lurked among the citizens, meditating the most desperate schemes that blasted ambition and revenge could dictate. The conspirators met at the house of one Shephard, a wine merchant, in the city; they proposed their friends should rise in arms in London, Bristol, Devonshire, and Cheshire. The duke of Monmouth and Sir Thomas Armstrong viewed the guards; and were of opinion that they might be easily attacked and reduced. They agreed to a declaration for justifying their design to the public; but the enterprize was delayed in consequence of an intimation from Trenchard, who had undertaken to head the rising in the West, and now gave them to understand that he could not for some weeks be ready to take the field. Shaftsbury was so enraged at this delay, as well as intimidated by the authority which the king had established in the city, that he retired to Amsterdam, where he died very little regretted; though it must be allowed, that, notwithstanding all his inconstancy, party rage, dissimulation, and ruinous ambition, he was one of the most able and upright judges that ever presided in the court of chancery.

§ LVI. The chiefs of the conspiracy, after his departure, were the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Essex, the lords Russels and Howard, Algernoon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandson to the famous patriot who opposed Charles I. in the tax of ship-money : they corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents of Scotland, and still resolved to prosecute the scheme of insurrection,

rection, though they differed widely from each other in their motives. Monmouth aspired to the crown; Russel and Hambden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was a professed republican; Essex seemed to cherish the same principles; and lord Howard was an abandoned nobleman, who sought only to gratify his own interest and ambition. There was likewise a set of subordinate conspirators, consisting of colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer; lieutenant-colonel Walcot of the same stamp; Goodenough, under-sheriff of London; Ferguson, an hot-headed, factious, independent minister, who had been one of Shaftsbury's tools; and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen of London: but of these none had access to the lords, except Rumsey and Ferguson. The inferior order at their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions; they proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket. Rumbald, one of their number, possessed a farm on that road, called the Rye-House, whence the conspiracy was denominated "the Rye-House plot." They deliberated upon stopping the king's coach, by overturning a cart in the highway at this place, and shooting him from the hedges. It was likewise proposed that his guards should be engaged by forty horse under Walcot, while Rumsey should assassinate his person. In the midst of these consultations the house in which the king resided at Newmarket taking fire, he quitted the place sooner than he intended: so that the conspirators were disappointed in their aim of dispatching him on his return to London; and this escape was afterwards magnified by the courtiers, as an interposition of providence. One of the conspirators, whose name was Keiling, finding himself in danger of a prosecution for being concerned in arresting the mayor of London, at the suit of Papillon and Dubois, the two excluded sheriffs, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West a lawyer, no sooner understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidences, and surrendered themselves accordingly. Shephard being apprehended, confessed all he knew, and warrants were issued against the chiefs of the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded, Grey escaped from the messenger by whom he had been arrested, Russel was committed to the Tower; Howard, being found concealed in a chimney, was base enough to purchase pardon by betraying his friends: he informed against Essex, Sidney, and Hambden, who were immediately secured, and many other conspirators detected and imprisoned.

§ LVII. Walcot was first brought to trial, and condemned, together with Hone and Rouse, upon the evidence of Rumsey, West, and Shephard: they died with composure, acknowledging the justice of the sentence by virtue of which they were executed. The same witnesses were produced against lord Russel, whom, however, they accused with great reluctance. He was the best beloved nobleman in the kingdom, and even his enemies could not help reverencing his virtues. The lord Howard swore he was engaged in the design of an insurrection, but all three acquitted him of any share in the scheme of assassination. His own candour would not allow him to deny the design in which he really was concerned, though the laws against treason were wrested for his conviction. After his condemnation the king was strongly solicited in his behalf. His father, the old earl of Bedford, offered to purchase his pardon of

the dutchess of Portsmouth with the sum of one hundred thousand pounds; lord Russel's lady, daughter of the earl of Southampton, threw herself at the king's feet, in a flood of tears, and pleaded the merits of her father in behalf of her husband. Charles was inexorable; he dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Russel; he deeply resented that eagerness and perseverance with which he had opposed him in the late parliaments; he had even denied the king's power of remitting the barbarous part of the sentence pronounced against lord Stafford. Charles now mitigated his doom into simple decapitation, saying, "My lord Russel shall find I am possessed of that prerogative which he thought fit to deny me in the case of lord Stafford." Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Russel, offered to effect his escape, by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room; the duke of Monmouth sent a message to him, importing that he would surrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. Lord Russel generously rejected both these expedients, and resigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His lady, that he might not be shocked in his last moments, summoned up the resolution of a heroine, and parted from him without shedding a tear. "Now" (cried he) the bitterness of death is past; and afterwards behaved with surprising serenity of temper, exhibiting some extraordinary marks of good humour. On the day that preceded his death his nose beginning to bleed, he said to Dr. Burnet, who attended him, "I shall not now let blood to divert this distemper; that will be done to-morrow." Immediately before he was conveyed to the scaffold he wound up his watch, saying, with a smile, "Now I have done with time, and must henceforth think solely of eternity." The scaffold was erected in Lincoln's-inn-fields, that the triumph of the court might appear the more conspicuous in his being conveyed through the whole city of London. Even the populace wept as he passed along in the coach with Tillotson and Burnet. On the scaffold he presented a paper to the sheriffs, expressing his zeal against popery, protesting his own innocence with regard to any design against the king's life. He prayed God would preserve his majesty, and the protestant religion; and, without the least change of countenance, calmly submitted to the stroke of the executioner.

§ LVIII. The trial of Russel was followed by that of Algernon Sidney, brother to the earl of Leicester, a bold commonwealth's man, in whom the spirit of the antient republics survived. He had been deeply concerned in the war against the king's father, though he vigorously opposed the usurpation of Cromwell. He afterwards used all his endeavours to prevent the usurpation, and chose to live in voluntary exile, until his private affairs required his presence in England; then he solicited and obtained the king's pardon. Notwithstanding this indulgence, he joined the popular party, and entered eagerly into all their schemes against the government, in hope of seeing at last a perfect republic established. Lord Howard was the sole witness that appeared against him: but the prosecutors produced some Discourses upon Government, found among his papers; and affirmed that these were equivalent to another evidence. They were written in defence of liberty, maintaining the original contract upon which government was raised, and from which all power was derived; the lawfulness of resistance, in case of tyranny and oppression; and the maxim of preferring a republic to the government of a single person. There was nothing treasonable

treasonable in these doctrines. The papers appeared to have been long written. They could neither prove them to be in his hand-writing, nor that he had ever communicated them to any person upon earth : and he observed, in his own defence, that in a charge of treason, the law absolutely required two living witnesses. All these arguments were urged without effect. A jury had been packed for his trial, and the charge was given against him with great virulence, by the inhuman Jeffries, now chief-justice. He was convicted of course, and in a few days executed. He complained of the iniquity of his sentence, by which he lost his life ; but, far from denying his connections with Ruffel, and the other conspirators, he gloried in his sufferings for the good old cause, in which, from his early youth, he had been enlisted.

§ LIX. Howard being the sole evidence against Hambden, this last was indicted for a misdemeanour only, and cast in a fine of forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, one of the conspirators, had fled to the West Indies, from whence he was now brought back to England. He submitted to the king's mercy, and was executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong had been outlawed for the conspiracy, and fled to Holland, where he was betrayed into the hands of Chudleigh the English minister, who sent him over to England. He demanded a fair trial, to which he was intitled by the statute, as the time prescribed for his surrendering himself was not yet elapsed. Jeffries declared he was not intitled to the benefit of the statute, because he had not surrendered voluntarily : he insulted him from the bench, and condemned him to die the death of a traitor, which he underwent with great resolution. No incident that distinguished this period was more remarkable than the death of the earl of Essex, prisoner in the Tower, who, on the morning of Ruffel's execution, was found murdered in his apartment, his throat being cut from ear to ear. Though the coroner's inquest brought in their verdict self-murder, and the earl had been known subject to fits of melancholy, some circumstances seemed to countenance a suspicion of his having fallen by another hand ; and that suspicion did not even respect the king and his brother, who happened that morning to be in the Tower, which for many years before they had not visited. This, however, is a circumstance which might naturally be interpreted in their favour ; for, had they really been concerned in such an atrocious crime, they would have hardly appeared upon the scene ; a step which could not fail to arouse the suspicion of the public. Two children declared, that they saw a hand throw a bloody razor from the casement. Lady Essex made a very minute inquiry into every circumstance relating to this tragedy, and communicated all the particulars to Dr. Burnet, who says there was not the least foundation for a prosecution. He informs us also, that the earl was not only subject to gloomy fits of the spleen, but a professed advocate for suicide.

§ LX. The duke of Monmouth had engaged in a correspondence with the earl of Argyle, by whose means he hoped to be joined, or at least favoured by the covenanters in Scotland, who were indeed so cruelly oppressed by the government, that any risque was preferable to the misery they endured. Some of their leaders came to London, on pretence of treating with the proprietors of Carolina, and were consulted by Lord Ruffel, and the other noblemen concerned in the Rye-house plot. Argyle, who then resided in Holland, undertook to supply the covenanters with arms, if the duke of Monmouth would re-

mit eight thousand pounds for that purpose; and the agents from Scotland promised to bring their constituents into the field. Bailie of Jerviswood, a man of talents and integrity, managed this transaction; and he was apprehended among the persons concerned in the conspiracy. Being sent prisoner to Edinburgh, he suffered very rigorous treatment during a long confinement; and, as the ministry could find no evidence against him, they insisted upon his purging himself by oath, of all suspicion of having been concerned in the Rye-house plot, otherwise they would hold him guilty. He objected against this imposition, as an act of the most inhuman tyranny; he protested his innocence and abhorrence of all designs against the life of his majesty: but, he refused to answer upon oath all the questions they might propose. He was therefore fined in six thousand pounds; and detained in prison, to the manifest danger of his life. The duke of York was not satisfied with this punishment. He directed the ministry to search for evidence against Bailie; and they employed the most unjust and scandalous means to gratify his revenge: at length the earl of Tarras, who had likewise been imprisoned on account of the conspiracy, and Murray of Philiphaugh, were induced by threats to swear that Bailie had tampered with them to rise in rebellion; and this unhappy gentleman was convicted of treason. He was already reduced to the brink of the grave, by hard usage and distemper; and the judges were so much afraid that death would disappoint the duke's expectation, that they ordered him to be executed immediately after condemnation. He to the last denied all knowledge of any design against the king's life, or that of the duke, looked upon death as a deliverance, and died like an old Roman.

§ LXI. The severities exercised in the latter parts of this reign were generally ascribed to the influence of the duke, into whose hands the king, from indolence, had resigned the administration. The detection of this conspiracy furnished him with the means, not only to crush the opposition, but also to wreak his vengeance upon his own particular enemies, under the colour of justice. The nation in general considered the assassination-plot with horror, and as the people confounded this with the scheme for an insurrection, the whole party that opposed the crown began to lose their influence. Charles retrieved his popularity, and received the warmest addresses of congratulation from all parts of the kingdom. The university of Oxford testified their zeal for his person and family, by a solemn judgment and decree passed in the convocation, against certain republican maxims and opinions, advanced and defended by Buchanan, Milton, Hobbes, Goodwin, Baxter, and other writers. These they declared damnable and impious doctrines, serving to corrupt the morals and the minds of turbulent people, to excite tumults and rebellions, overturn states and kingdoms, and encourage regicide and atheism. In the midst of these prosecutions, the princess Anne, second daughter to the duke of York, was married to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark; and the nuptials were celebrated in London. As this city had not yet formally acknowledged their acquiescence in the sentence awarded against them, the king ordered the judgment on the "Quo warranto," to be recorded: then he seized the government into his own hands, and sent a commission to William Pritchard, continuing him in the office of mayor during his pleasure. He likewise confirmed the two

sheriffs under the same restriction, but dismissed the recorder, and appointed another in his place.

§ LXII. The credit and power of the duke of York were now become terrible even to the ministry; and the earl of Halifax resolved to balance them with another influence. He discovered the place of Monmouth's retreat, and prevailed upon him to send two submissive letters to the king, which awakened all the paternal tenderness of Charles, who permitted him to appear at court, and even endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between him and the duke of York. He prevailed with him to disclose the particulars of the conspiracy, upon promise that his testimony should never be produced against any of his friends and adherents. He called an extraordinary council, to tell the members that Monmouth was a sincere penitent; and had declared his resolution to avoid all such criminal designs for the future: a declaration to this purpose was inserted in the Gazette. Monmouth finding himself disgraced with all his party by this conduct, no sooner obtained his pardon in form, than he denied he had ever made any such confession. His partisans believed this assertion, and declared the whole was a fiction of the ministry. Charles was so provoked by Monmouth's duplicity, that he banished him from his presence, and afterwards ordered him to quit the kingdom. He retired to Holland, where he was hospitably received by the prince of Orange, and afterwards corresponded with his father, whose fondness for him revived; though he carefully concealed it from the knowledge of the duke of York. In the month of September, the king sent a fleet, under the command of the earl of Dartmouth, to demolish the town and castle of Tangier, which he could no longer maintain without a parliamentary supply. The mole was entirely destroyed, and the garrison being brought over to England, helped to form a little army, which was kept up to over-awe the malcontents of the kingdom.

§ LXIII. Charles no sooner found himself at liberty to consult his own inclinations, than he dropped all correspondence with Spain, and renewed his connections with Lewis king of France, against whose interest he had never acted without reluctance. Lewis, after the peace of Nimeguen, when other powers dismissed their forces, kept a great army on foot, dictated to the neighbouring states, and seemed to think himself within reach of universal monarchy. He erected chambers at Metz and Brisac, for enquiring into titles, and resuming such territories as had ever belonged to his new conquests. These courts of jurisdiction summoned princes to appear before them, and issued decrees occasionally, expelling them from their dominions. Lewis took possession of the free town of Strasburg. He demanded Aloft of the Spaniards; and, in consequence of their refusing to cede that place, reduced Luxemburg. He sent a fleet to bombard Genoa, because that state had stipulated to build some gallies for the Spaniards; and they were fain to deprecate his resentment by the most abject submissions. Spain was so exasperated at the insolence of the French monarch, that without considering her own weakness, she declared war against him; and had the mortification to see him over-run all the Spanish Netherlands, without opposition. The prince of Orange in vain endeavoured to interest Holland and England in the quarrel. The French interest prevailed among the states-general, and Charles had neither means nor inclination to embark in the dispute. The emperor of Germany had oppressed his Hungarian subjects
in

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.

An.Ch. 1684.

in such a manner, that they were driven to despair. The French ministers fomented their indignation, and they took arms under count Tekeli. This nobleman finding himself unable to cope with the whole Imperial power, solicited the protection of the Turks, who actually invaded Germany, and penetrated as far as Vienna, which they invested. The king of France assembled an army on the frontiers of the empire, in full confidence that Vienna would be taken, and the emperor ruined; and that the princes of Germany would appeal to him for protection. The city was already reduced to extremity by the grand vizir Cara Mustapha, at the head of one hundred and thirty thousand men, when John Sobiesky king of Poland, marching to the relief of the place, compelled them to abandon the siege; and, on the second day of September, defeated them with great slaughter.

§ LXIV. At this period, Charles reigned as absolute as any monarch in Christendom; and his government was sullied with numberless instances of partiality and oppression. Cruelty was not natural to his disposition, and therefore we must impute them to the sanguinary temper of his brother, which he had not resolution enough to restrain. That he disapproved of his conduct in many cases, is highly probable. He appeared dissatisfied and unhappy even in the midst of his success and triumphs over his enemies. He was even heard to say, "Brother, I am too old to go again to my travels; you may, if you please." This expression was probably used in answer to some violent proposal of the duke. The earl of Danby was now released upon bail, after a long imprisonment. Lord Petre, one of the popish noblemen, committed on the evidence of Dangerfield, had died in the Tower, after having written a letter to the king; in which he, on the faith of a dying man, protested his own innocence. The other four were admitted to bail, although the former judges had declared, that it was not in their power to enlarge, upon any security whatsoever, a peer of the realm, who had been committed by the parliament. The duke of York was not so favourable to his friends, as implacable towards his enemies. Dutton Colt, who had been member of the three last parliaments, was accused of having called the duke a papist; of having declared he would be hanged at his own gate, rather than suffer such a prince to ascend the throne; and of having reviled him with many expressions of abuse. For these offences, he was sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred thousand pounds. The same fine was awarded against Titus Oates, for having said that the duke was a traitor. Two indictments for perjury were laid against him, but these were not tried till the next reign; in the mean time he remained in prison. Since the detection of the Rye-house plot, two and thirty persons were condemned in ruinous fines, and some of these likewise sentenced to the pillory. When Charles had obtained possession of all the charters that constituted the corporations in England, he published a declaration, thanking his subjects, in the most affectionate terms, for having reposed such confidence in their sovereign; assuring them he would use it with moderation, and convince the most extravagant republicans, that as the crown was the origin of the people's rights, so it was the surest support of their liberties.

An.Ch. 1685.

§ LXV. He was actually supposed to have planned a total change in his conduct. Those who undertake to justify or excuse his character, affirm that he intended to emancipate himself from that intolerable slavery in which he was held

held by his brother; to send the duke of York beyond sea, or into Scotland, to recal Monmouth, and assemble a free parliament. If this was the case, death anticipated the execution of his laudable design. He was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit; after which he languished a few days, and on the sixth of February expired, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. Notwithstanding the errors in his conduct, and the blemishes in his character, he was personally beloved by the people, who were overwhelmed with grief and astonishment at his death. This sorrow and surprise, co-operating with the terror of his successor, and the detestation of popery, ingendered a suspicion of his having been taken off by poison; but this, upon inquiry, appeared without foundation. During his last illness, he received the sacrament from the hands of a catholic priest, and died in that communion. Two papers, written with his own hand, in defence of the Romish religion, were found in his closet; and the duke imprudently ordered them to be published. They served no other purpose than that of stigmatizing the memory of his brother, and confirming the opinion of the public with regard to his own bigotry.

§ LXVI. Charles II. was in his person tall and swarthy, and his countenance marked with strong, harsh lineaments. His penetration was keen, his judgment clear, his understanding extensive, his conversation lively and entertaining, and he possessed the talent of wit and ridicule. He was easy of access, polite, and affable: had he been limited to a private station, he would have passed for the most agreeable and best-natured man of the age in which he lived. His greatest enemies allow him to have been a civil husband, an obliging lover, an affectionate father, and an indulgent master: even as a prince, he manifested an aversion to cruelty and injustice. Yet these good qualities were more than over-balanced by his weakness and defects. He was a scoffer at religion, and a libertine in his morals: careless, indolent, profuse, abandoned to effeminate pleasure, incapable of any noble enterprize, a stranger to manly friendship and gratitude; deaf to the voice of honour, blind to the allurements of glory, and in a word, wholly destitute of every active virtue. Being himself unprincipled, he believed mankind were false, perfidious and interested; and therefore he practised dissimulation for his own convenience. He was strongly attached to the French manners, government, and monarch: he was dissatisfied with his own limited prerogative. The majority of his own subjects, he despised or hated, as hypocrites, fanatics, and republicans, who had persecuted his father and himself, and sought the destruction of the monarchy. In these sentiments, he could not be supposed to pursue the interest of the nation; on the contrary, he seemed to think that his own safety was incompatible with the honour and advantage of his people. Had he been an absolute prince, the subjects would have found themselves quiet and happy under a mild administration; but, harassed as he was, by a powerful opposition, and perplexed with perpetual indigence, he thought himself obliged, for his own ease and security, to prosecute measures which rendered his reign a misfortune to the kingdom; and intailed upon him the contempt of all the other powers in Europe. Yet that misfortune did not immediately affect the nation in its commercial concerns. Trade and manufac-
 ture flourished more in this reign, than at any other æra of the English monar-
 chy.

Burnet.

Wellwood.

Sheffield.

Rapin.

chy. Industry was crowned with success, and the people in general lived in ease and affluence †.

† Charles had no issue by his queen, but left a numerous progeny of natural children, by different concubines; the dukes of Monmouth, Cleveland, Grafton, Richmond, and St. Alban's, besides the undistinguished fruit of occasional commerce with a great variety of women.

In the reign of Charles II. the arts and sciences were cultivated with good success, tho' they were very little encouraged by the sovereign; yet he had himself made some proficiency in mechanics and chemistry, and was a good judge of genius. The most eminent men of the royal society, at its first institution, were the lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, Dr. Wilkins bp. of Chester, Mr. Robert Boyle, who had made great progress in natural philosophy, and Dr. Ward afterwards bishop of Exeter, a profound mathematician. This period likewise produced the immortal Newton, whose discoveries in nature will reflect eternal lustre on the nation that gave him birth; the learned Stillingfleet, the elegant, the rational Tillotson, besides many other excellent divines, such as Tenison, Patrick, Loyd, and Burnet, who distinguished himself by his history of the reformation.

The practice of medicine was greatly improved by the judicious Sydenham. The witty doggrelist Butler contributed more than any other person, by his poem of Hudibras, to bring fanaticism into contempt. The king admired this production, yet left the author to die in obscurity. Dryden shone unrivalled in poetry; but was vicious and incorrect from the depravity of the public taste, and the hurry in which he was obliged to write for subsistence. Otway's tragedies are celebrated above all others, for warmth and pathetic tenderness. He lived utterly neglected, and died of hunger. Even the courtiers of this reign were inspired with literary ambition. The duke of Buckingham acquired some reputation by writing the Rehearsal, to ridicule the false taste and absurdities of the dramatic writers. Rochester rendered himself famous for poignancy of satire and impurity. Wycherly displayed the genius of true comedy, though rude and licentious. The earls of Dorset, Roscommon, and Mulgrave, wrote with ease, spirit, and negligence. Halifax possessed refined talents; the writings of Sir William Temple are entertaining and instructive.

CHAP. IV.

§ I. James II. succeeds to the throne. § II. Servility of the Scottish parliament. § III. Trial of Oates for perjury. § IV. Complaisance of the English parliament. § V. The earl of Argyle makes a descent in Scotland. Is taken and executed. § VI. The duke of Monmouth lands in the west of England. § VII. Is defeated and brought to the block. § VIII. Cruelty of Kirke and Jeffreys. § IX. Execution of lady Lisle and others. § X. Bigotry of James. § XI. Government of Ireland conferred upon Tyrconnel. § XII. Prorogation of parliament. § XIII. Trial of lord Delamere. § XIV. The French king revokes the edict of Nantz. § XV. Tyrconnel oppresses the protestants in Ireland. § XVI. The king exercises a dispensing power. He favours the catholics. § XVII. Establishes a new ecclesiastical court. § XVIII. Endeavours to make proselytes. § XIX. Sends an ambassador to Rome. § XX. Publishes a declaration for liberty of conscience. § XXI. Prosecutes Magdalen-college at Oxford. § XXII. Endeavours to influence the election of members for a new parliament. § XXIII. The pope's nuncio makes his public entry into Windsor. § XXIV. James sounds the prince of Orange with respect to the repeal of penal laws. § XXV. The queen's pregnancy. § XXVI. The king's disgust to the Dutch. § XXVII. Seven bishops present a petition to the king. § XXVIII. They are committed to the Tower. § XXIX. Birth of the prince of Wales. § XXX. The bishops tried and acquitted. § XXXI. The army and navy averse to the king's measures. § XXXII. Servile adulation of some clergymen. § XXXIII. Views of the prince of Orange. § XXXIV. His correspondence with the malcontents in England. § XXXV. Preparations for his expedition. § XXXVI. James is alarmed. § XXXVII. He rejects the proffered assistance of the French king. § XXXVIII. He solicits the advice of the bishops. § XXXIX. He takes some steps for the satisfaction of his people. § XL. Proves the birth of his son. § XLI. Manifesto published by the prince of Orange. § XLII. He embarks, but is obliged to put back by stress of weather. § XLIII. James answers the prince's manifesto. § XLIV. The prince lands in England. § XLV. Is joined by many persons of distinction. § XLVI. The king goes to his army at Salisbury. § XLVII. Returns to London. § XLVIII. Is abandoned by his own daughter. § XLIX. He sends deputies to the prince of Orange. § L. Conditions imposed by the prince. § LI. The queen retires to France. § LII. The king disappears. § LIII. A panic in London. § LIV. The king returns to Whitehall. § LV. He retires to Rochester, by permission of the prince. § LVI. He withdraws into France. § LVII. The prince of Orange assumes the reins of government. § LVIII. He is invited to take upon him the administration of affairs in Scotland. § LIX. Writes to Tyrconnel in Ireland. § LX. Meeting of the convention. § LXI. The commons vote that king James had abdicated the throne. § LXII. Disputes in the upper house. § LXIII. They concur with the vote of the commons. § LXIV. Private declaration of the prince of Orange. § LXV. William and Mary voted and proclaimed king and queen of England.

§ I. Immediately after the decease of Charles, his brother James was proclaimed in London, without the least tumult, or shadow of opposition. On the contrary, the people seemed to rejoice at his accession. On the first day of his reign, he assembled the council at Whitehall. He disclaimed arbitrary principles: declared he would maintain the religion established by law, and defend the liberties of his people, for which he had already exposed his life upon more than one occasion. His speech was printed and read with universal applause. All those who possessed employments under the late king, were continued in their respective offices by proclamation: this was another popular step in the new monarch. The subjects did not seem much dissatisfied even when he went publicly to mass; but they began to be alarmed at a proclamation which he issued, for continuing the customs and excise, which had been granted to his brother only for life. He ordered Hudleston to publish an account of his brother's dying in the Roman catholic faith; and produced the two papers which had been found in his closet. The funeral of that prince was celebrated without any solemnity, and at a very little expence. The earl of Rochester was appointed treasurer, his brother Clarendon keeper of the privy-seal; and Hallifax, now a marquis, was created president of the council. The king received congratulatory addresses from all parts of the kingdom, and some of them couched in the most servile terms of adulation. He and his queen were crowned on the twenty-third day of April, when the populace observed that the royal diadem was too large for his head, and shook from side to side; a circumstance from which they deduced a bad omen.

§ II. On the day of the coronation, the parliament of Scotland was assembled by the duke of Queensberry, who represented the king's person as commissioner. That nobleman, though a faithful adherent to the royal family, assured the king that he could not serve him in any thing that should contradict the laws of his country. James, in his letter to the Scottish parliament, inveighed against the fanatics, whom he termed murderers and assassins; and desired the states would take proper measures to secure the kingdom against their machinations. The commissioner told them, his majesty was resolved to maintain and protect the established church, and the liberties of his subjects; and exhorted them to exterminate the fanatics. The earl of Perth, chancellor of that kingdom, extolled the king's virtues, and afterwards embraced the catholic religion; by which step he ingratiated himself so much with James, that he was able to supplant the duke of Queensberry. The parliament presented an abject address to the king on his accession: they confirmed the act of the preceding reign for maintaining the established religion: they annexed the excise to the crown: they enacted a statute, decreeing the penalties of treason and confiscation of goods, not only against those who should be present at conventicles, but even against such as should know and yet forbear giving testimony against traitors and nonconformists; and, in a vote which they called an offer of duty, they professed their abhorrence of all principles and positions derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute power.

§ III. Before the meeting of the English parliament, which had been convoked for the nineteenth day of May, Oates was tried in the court of king's bench, upon two indictments of perjury; and convicted upon the evidence of above sixty reputable witnesses, nine of whom were protestants. He was sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand marks; to be scourged through the streets
by

by the hangman twice in three days; to stand in the pillory at different parts of London and Westminster; to undergo this infamy once every year, and be imprisoned for life. Jeffries insulted him from the bench, and the executioner performed his office with great severity. He bore his fate with surprising resolution, protesting his innocence in the most solemn manner; was cherished and supported by a numerous party, who looked upon him as a martyr to the protestant religion; and, in the subsequent reign, he obtained his liberty, with a pension of four hundred pounds. Dangerfield, being also convicted of perjury, was sentenced to be scourged, and to pay a fine of five thousand pounds. After having undergone this corporal punishment, one Francis, a student in the law, reviled him with some acrimonious expressions; to which he replied with such virulence, as provoked the aggressor to push a small cane into his eye. Dangerfield died in two hours; and Francis, being convicted of the murder, was executed; notwithstanding the most earnest solicitations of some persons of great interest.

§ IV. The parliament having met and chosen their speaker, the king, in his speech to both houses, repeated the promises he had made to his council, touching the maintenance of the English church, and the liberties of the people. He demanded a supply for the support of the fleet and the occasions of the crown, assuring them that the more liberal they should be, he would always be the better disposed to meet them often. He gave them to understand, that the earl of Argyle had landed in Scotland, with a view to excite a rebellion, for which purpose he had brought arms and officers from Holland, and published two manifestos, accusing the king of tyranny and usurpation. The parliament were charmed with the king's speech; and that same day presented an address of thanks, in answer to which, he assured them they would find him a man of his word. The commons immediately voted, that all the revenues enjoyed by the late king should be granted to his majesty for the term of his life; and the upper house discharged the earl of Danby and the popish lords from their bail. They brought in a bill for reversing the attainder of lord Stafford, on the supposition of his having been falsely accused; and it passed by a majority, though not without great opposition, and a protestation of those lords by whom it was opposed. The commons, however, rejected the bill; for how complaisant soever they might be to the king, they had no intention to encourage the Roman catholic party. Not but that the art of corruption had been exercised in a shameful manner, to procure such a parliament as would enter into all the king's measures. The boroughs of England, by the seizure of their charters, were left intirely at the mercy of the court, and the corporation-men obliged to choose such members as were agreeable to the administration. The two houses voted, that they would assist the king with their whole power against the earl of Argyle and all other traitors. The committee for the affairs of religion prepared a vote for assisting the king in defending the established church; and another, that his majesty should be desired, in an address, to execute the laws against nonconformists: but these were rejected by the house, on the supposition that they would be displeasing to the king, who was himself a nonconformist. But they unanimously passed the following vote, That the house reposed itself intirely on the king's word and declaration, that he would support and defend the English church as by law established, which was dearer to them than their

lives. The same expression was used in the speaker's speech to the king, when he came to the parliament to pass the bill for his revenue.

§ V. The earl of Argyle, thinking himself released from the ties of allegiance by the injuries he had sustained, waited at Amsterdam for a favourable opportunity to raise an insurrection of his countrymen against James, who was the author of his misfortunes. He knew the presbyterians of Scotland were reduced to despair by oppression; and he did not doubt but they would join him at his first appearance. He held many conferences with the duke of Monmouth, who was likewise a refugee in Holland, and very well disposed to act against the king of England; and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection. Argyle persuaded the duke to try his fortune among the whigs in the west of England, who loved him almost to adoration: but they were destitute of money to forward the undertaking, and Monmouth had received no assurances of being joined at his landing by any person of consideration. At length, Argyle, being supplied with a sum of money by a rich widow in Amsterdam, purchased arms and ammunition for his enterprize, and set sail for Scotland, after having extorted the duke's promise that he would make a descent in England, as soon as he should hear of Argyle's arrival in the Highlands. This nobleman embarked with some Scottish officers; and, on the fifth day of May being off the Orkneys, sent his secretary on shore to sound the inhabitants, by whom he was detained prisoner. The earl, disappointed in this quarter, sailed round to Dunstaffnage, an old castle on his own estate, which he converted into a place of arms. He was immediately joined by five and twenty hundred of his own vassals and dependants: then he published his manifestos, and wrote circular letters to his friends; but they had been previously secured by an order of council, upon the news of his arrival at the Orkneys. By means of his three ships, and a great number of small boats, he transplanted his men to the isle of Bute, where he remained unactive until he received intelligence that three ships of war and some frigates were ordered to distress him by sea, while the duke of Gordon, the marquis of Athol, and the earl of Arran, advanced against him by land, at the head of different bodies of forces. Thence he passed over into Argyleshire, from whence he marched towards Dumbarton, after having moved his artillery and ammunition into another castle, and left a small garrison for its defence. The place was immediately taken, and his vessels fell into the hands of the enemy: this loss discouraged him and his followers to such a degree, that they now thought of nothing but providing for their own safety. Finding themselves hotly pursued from place to place, they dispersed into small bodies, that they might have the better chance for escaping. The earl himself, after having been wounded, thought proper to quit his horse, and was taken by a peasant, standing up to his neck in water. Being conducted to Edinburgh, he began to prepare for death with the most chearful resignation; and, in a few days was beheaded, in consequence of his former sentence. Rumbold, owner of the Rye-house, who had accompanied him in this expedition, together with one Aylaffe, nearly allied to the old earl of Clarendon, were brought to trial in London, and condemned. Rumbold denied that the persons in the Rye-house plot had ever formed a resolution to assassinate the king. He laughed at the notion of divine hereditary right: believed that allegiance and protection were reciprocal. He said he could not think God had made the greater part of mankind

mankind with saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths, and a few with boots and spurs to ride them at their pleasure. Aylaffe was examined by the king in person, who exhorted him to discover their correspondents in England, saying, "Mr. Aylaffe, you know it is in my power to pardon you." He boldly replied, that although it was in his power, it was not in his nature: and the king would not disprove the truth of the assertion; for both were executed.

§ VI. The duke of Monmouth, according to his promise, sailed from the Texel with three vessels, on the twenty-fourth day of May, and on the eleventh day of June landed with about fourscore followers at Lyme in Dorsetshire, of which he took possession without resistance. Here he published a manifesto, conceived in very bitter terms against the king, whom he reproached as author of the fire of London, of the popish plot, the murder of Godfrey, the assassination of Essex, the dissolution of parliaments, the subornation of juries, the most flagrant acts of tyranny and oppression. He taxed him with having poisoned his brother; declared he himself was come to redress the grievances of the nation; that his mother had been the lawful wife of Charles; and he invited the people to join him in his laudable undertaking. The parliament was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they presented an address to the king, assuring him of their zeal and assistance in quelling this rebellion. They besought him to publish a proclamation, offering a reward of five thousand pounds to any person who should take the duke dead or alive; and they brought in a bill of attainder against him; which, in two days, passed through both houses. They likewise voted a grant to the king of four hundred thousand pounds for his present occasions: then the parliament was adjourned. The country people flocked to the standard of Monmouth so fast, that in two or three days his army was augmented to two thousand men; but he was not joined by any person of consequence. Receiving intimation that the duke of Albemarle advanced with a strong body of militia to block him up in Lyme, he marched to Axminster; and Albemarle retreated with precipitation. At Taunton the duke of Monmouth was received amidst the loud acclamations of the people: his army being considerably increased, he assumed the title of King, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. He then issued a proclamation, setting a price upon the head of the duke of York; a second, declaring the present parliament a seditious assembly; and the third, denouncing Albemarle a traitor. On the twenty-first day of June he marched to Bridgwater, where he was likewise well received, and from thence advanced to the neighbourhood of Bristol, the inhabitants of which were well affected to his person and design; but they were kept in awe by their governor, the duke of Beaufort. Monmouth, understanding that the king's troops were on the march to give him battle, resolved to retire to Bridgwater. He was refused admittance into Bath; but he entered Froome without opposition. The king was not a little perplexed and alarmed at his progress. The regular troops being dispersed through different parts of the kingdom, he ordered the militia of the western counties to be raised: he recalled six regiments of English and Scots that were in the service of the states-general. The prince of Orange offered to come over and assist him in person; but this offer he declined. Having assembled about three thousand foot and dragoons, he bestowed the command of this little army upon the earl of Feversham, nephew to the famous marechal de Turenne; and this

this nobleman took post at Sedgemore, a village in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, while the militia of that country was assembled by the dukes of Beaufort, Somerset, Albemarle, and the earl of Pembroke.

§ VII. Monmouth, who had returned to Bridgewater, finding himself in danger of being surrounded by the enemy, whose number every day increased, resolved to attack the earl of Feversham at Sedgemore. On the fifth of July, he began his march about eleven at night in profound silence; but, falling in with Dumbarton's regiment, which happened to be in an advanced post, they alarmed the royalists, who were soon provided for his reception. The action began at day-break; and lord Grey, who commanded Monmouth's horse, was routed at the first onset. The duke, at the head of the infantry, maintained his ground with great gallantry, until he was charged in flank by the victorious horse of the enemy, and his men would no longer stand to their arms. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit. He retired with about fifty horse; but these soon dispersed, and he rode towards Dorsetshire until his horse could carry him no farther. Then he alighted, and exchanging apparel with a shepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they lay down in a field, and covered themselves with straw. The shepherd being found in his cloaths, was brought to lord Lumley, who, from his information and the sagacity of some hounds, detected the duke in this forlorn situation, with raw pease in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. His spirit had quite forsaken him; and he manifested the meanest dejection. He wrote a piteous letter to the king, imploring his compassion; and another to the queen dowager, craving her mediation. She interceded for him, and obtained the king's promise to give him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life in the most abject terms. James asked him several questions; desired him to sign a paper, declaring the late king had assured him that he had never been married nor contracted to the duke's mother. When he had made this acknowledgment, the king told him his crime was of such a nature, that it could not be pardoned; and, that he had nothing to do but prepare himself for another world. The queen, who was present, is said to have insulted him in the most outrageous manner. The duke, perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, recollected his spirits, rose and retired with an air of disdain; nevertheless, he renewed his intreaties for life, and even begged a respite for a few days; which was denied. All hope being vanished, he composed himself for death, which he encountered with indifference. On the scaffold he professed his sorrow for the blood which had been shed; and declared he had ever meant well to the nation. He touched the ax, and said, it was not sharp enough. He gave the executioner half of what he intended for his reward, telling him his servant would give the rest, provided he should perform his part with dexterity, and not behave so butcherly as he had done at the death of lord Ruffel. The man was seized with an universal trepidation. When the duke laid down his head and made the signal, he struck three times ineffectually, and then threw down the ax; but, the sheriff compelled him to resume the work, which with three other strokes he finished. The head and body were buried immediately in the chapel of the Tower. Such was the

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lamentable fate of James duke of Monmouth, the darling of the English people. He was brave, soft, and gentle, sincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and addicted to pleasure. Lord Grey was also taken; but he compounded for his life, by paying large sums of money, and discovering all the connections of Monmouth.

§ VIII. The king, however, was not satisfied with the vengeance he had taken. His officers acted with the most savage inhumanity towards the prisoners that were taken at Sedgemoor. Feversham ordered above twenty to be hanged immediately after the action. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, a brutal foldier who had served at Tangier. He continued to execute others occasionally, for his diversion, with such circumstances of wanton barbarity as are shocking to human nature. He ravaged the whole country, without making the least distinction between friend or foe. He allowed his foldiers to live upon free-quarter, and his own regiment, which was the most outrageous, he distinguished by the name of Kirke's lambs; an appellation still remembered with horror in that part of the country. The inhumanity of this ruffian was properly seconded by the furious Jeffries, who was sent on the western circuit, as another minister of the king's vengeance. His natural brutality and thirst of blood were inflamed with continual intoxication. He told the prisoners, that if they would save him the trouble of trying them, they might expect some favour; otherwise, he would execute the law upon them with the utmost severity. Many poor wretches were thus decoyed into confession; but, they found no mercy. He threatened juries, intimidated witnesses, rejected all intercession, and seemed to take pleasure in the work of death. At Dorchester, he ordered nine and twenty persons to be executed immediately after conviction. In this town two hundred and ninety-two received sentence of death. He prosecuted the same work of carnage at Exeter and Taunton. Two hundred and fifty persons were in this circuit sacrificed, under colour of justice.

§ IX. Lady Lisle, widow of one of the regicides, tho' herself a loyalist, was apprehended, in extreme old age, for having sheltered in her house two fugitives from the battle of Sedgemoor. She proved that she had ordered her servant to carry an information against them to the next justice of the peace, as soon as she knew in what enterprize they had been engaged. Twice the jury declared her not guilty. Jeffries sent them back with dreadful menaces; and at last they were intimidated into a verdict, by which she lost her life. In vain was intercession made for this aged matron. The king lent a deaf ear to all that could be said in her behalf; and she suffered an ignominious death. One of the rebels having escaped to London, took refuge in the house of Mrs. Gaunt an anabaptist, whose life was one continued exercise of benevolence. She concealed and maintained this fugitive, who was such an abandoned villain, that he informed against his protectress, for the reward and indemnity offered in a proclamation to those who should discover delinquents. He was pardoned and recompenced for his treachery; and she was burned alive for her beneficence. Those people in the West who escaped death, were ruined by fines, scourged, banished, and imprisoned. Cornish the sheriff, who had been so active against the court, being accused of treason by Goodenough and Rumsey, was prosecuted.

secuted so eagerly, that in the space of one week, he was tried, condemned, and executed. After his death the perjury of the evidences appeared so flagrant, that the king himself expressed some regret; granted the estate to his family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment. A surgeon of the name of Batteman, who had attended Oates with care and humanity, and cured him of the stripes he had received at the hands of justice, was accused of having uttered seditious discourse against the government, and committed to prison, where he lost the use of his reason: nevertheless, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed.

§ X. Nothing could be more flourishing than the king's present situation. He had quelled two dangerous rebellions; trampled faction under foot; and obtained a parliament that complied with all his desires. He saw a standing army at his beck; heard the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance echoed from every corner, as articles of the English creed; and found himself courted by foreign states, as a prince who had it in his power to regulate the interests of Europe. But, he had nothing so much at heart as the conversion of his people to the catholic religion. His own zeal was in this particular reinforced by that of the queen, who was a bigotted Italian, and continually whetted by the importunities and exhortations of some hot-brained jesuits, who had acquired the most absolute influence and tyranny over his conscience. His brother, even in his last agonies, dissuaded him from endeavouring to restore the catholic religion in England, because he thought it was a scheme extremely hazardous, and even impracticable. Don Pedro Ronquillo the Spanish ambassador, in his first audience observed to him, that he saw a great number of priests about his majesty's person; he therefore took the liberty to caution him against their importunities, lest he should repent of having listened to them, when it would be too late. The king took amiss the freedom of his advice; and asked, with an air of discontent, if the king of Spain consulted with priests. "Yes," replied Ronquillo) and for that reason our affairs are so unprosperous?" Pope Innocent XI. in a brief to James on his accession, after having commended his zeal for the catholic religion, expressed his apprehension that it might carry him too far; and, instead of contributing to the advancement of his own affairs, and the interest of religion, be of extreme prejudice to both. Notwithstanding these cautions, he resolved to proceed with his enterprize; as a previous step to which he thought it would be necessary to render himself absolute, and then he should be able to employ the most effectual means of converting his subjects.

§ XI. The duke of Ormond, who had deserved better of the royal family than any subject in the king's dominions, and was in all respects a nobleman of unblemished honour, had for some time governed Ireland as lord-lieutenant. Being a conscientious protestant, he was now recalled. The king appointed a new privy-council for that kingdom, and many members were catholics; these daily increased, until they became the majority. The protestants were now scandalously oppressed, on pretence of their favouring Monmouth's rebellion; and at length, the militia was wholly disarmed. Colonel Talbot, a furious papist, was empowered to model the army; and he dismissed the greater part of the protestant officers, filling their places with those of his own religion. After having

having performed this signal service, he came over to England, where he was created earl of Tyrconnel, and lieutenant-general of the Irish army, while the earl of Clarendon was appointed lord-lieutenant of the kingdom.

§ XII. The king's next step was to augment his standing army from seven thousand to fifteen thousand men. When the parliament met on the ninth day of November, he told them he had found by experience a militia altogether useless, and such a standing force absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of the kingdom. He therefore demanded a proportionable supply for their maintenance. With respect to the catholic officers whom he had employed, he said, they were men of approved fidelity; and that, after having enjoyed the benefit of their services, in times of danger and difficulty, he would not expose them to misfortune, nor himself to the necessity of being without them, in case of another rebellion. He concluded with a declaration, that he would risque his life for the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore he hoped, there would be no interruption of the harmony subsisting between him and his parliament. The two houses, notwithstanding their excessive loyalty, began to be alarmed at the king's large strides towards popery and arbitrary power. In the house of lords, the motion for an address of thanks to the king for his speech met with great opposition; and though it passed by a small majority, the house resolved to take the speech into further consideration. When it was read in the house of commons, a profound silence ensued. This was interrupted by the earl of Middleton secretary of state, who moved for an address of thanks to his majesty. After a second pause, lord Castleton opposed the motion; and the consideration of it was referred till the twelfth day of November. Then they debated with great freedom upon the consequences of a standing army, and the demand of a further supply, after so much had been given. But, the interest of the court predominated, and seven hundred thousand pounds were voted for the maintenance of the forces. Their complaisance, however, gave way to their fears, when they considered that article of the speech in which the king frankly told them, he had dispensed with the laws in favour of popish officers. In this address, they thanked him for having quelled the rebellions; but, they represented that the test-act rendered popish recusants incapable of exercising any employment under the government. That as his majesty had mentioned the services of the Roman catholic officers, they would prepare a bill for exempting them from the penalties they had incurred; but, as by continuing them in their employments, he assumed the power of dispensing with the laws; a power of the utmost consequence with respect to the liberties of the people, and the security of religion; they humbly besought his majesty to give orders for quieting intirely the fears of his faithful subjects. To this address the king replied, That he did not expect such a remonstrance from the commons, after he had demonstrated the advantages that would arise from a perfect union between him and his parliament; but, he declared that in whatever shape they might abuse the confidence which he had reposed in them, he should still punctually perform the promises he had made. This answer struck them with such a panic, that not a word was spoken for some time after they returned to their house. At length Cook member for Derby rose up, saying, "I hope
" we are all true-born Englishmen; and that a few hard words are incapable

"of deterring us from doing our duty." The majority were so intimidated that they sent him to the Tower for this honest expression. They began to deliberate on ways and means for raising the seven hundred thousand pounds which they had granted; and, in order to appease the king, they resolved to bring in a bill, empowering him to name a certain number of catholic officers to serve in the army. But as he could not obtain the extent of his wishes, he in a few days prorogued the parliament: the prorogation was continued from time to time, and at length it was totally dissolved.

§ XIII. The earl of Stamford and lord Delamere had been committed to the Tower in July, upon a general accusation of treason, and debarred all intercourse with their friends, by word or writing. They found means, however, to petition the house of lords, which desired the king would be pleased to declare the cause of their imprisonment. He told them those two lords were accused of treason; and that he had given orders for trying lord Delamere in Cheshire, where the crime was said to have been committed. As he did not signify his intention with regard to the earl of Stamford, the lords ordered that nobleman to be tried by his peers, with the consent of his majesty. Delamere was likewise tried in the same manner, contrary to the king's first resolution. The lords Howard and Grey, with another infamous informer, were produced in evidence against him. The two first said little or nothing to his prejudice: the last swore he corresponded with the duke of Monmouth; but no regard was paid to his deposition, and the prisoner was acquitted. The earl of Stamford they admitted to bail, and he afterwards availed himself of a general pardon, which the king granted by proclamation, in the course of the succeeding year. By this time the earl of Arlington was dead, and his place of chamberlain bestowed upon the earl of Mulgrave, who acquired a great share of the king's favour. Sunderland was appointed secretary of state, and became, in effect, prime-minister.

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.

An. Ch. 1686. § XIV. Popery now appeared more dreadful to England than even the prospect of slavery and temporal oppression; and what aggravated the terrors of the catholic communion, and the animosity against princes who professed that religion, was a late measure of Lewis XIV. diametrically opposite to good faith, humanity, and the interest of his kingdom. He revoked the edict of Nantz, by which Henry IV. had secured his protestant subjects in the exercise of their religion. This law, which had been declared irrevocable, he repealed; and persecuted those unhappy people with such severity and injustice, that above half a million of his most industrious subjects fled from their native country into other realms, where they could enjoy liberty of conscience. Together with great sums of money, they exported from France those arts and manufactures by which that kingdom had been enriched. Fifty thousand of these refugees arrived in England, and were hospitably received by James, who treated them with great humanity; and affected to exclaim against the persecuting spirit of the French monarch. They drew such pathetic pictures of the cruel sufferings they had undergone, as inflamed the people against the catholic religion; and the king's conduct in other respects did not serve to assuage their resentment.

§ XV.

§ XV. In Scotland the parliament was assembled by the earl of Moray, who in complaisance to the king had changed his religion. He delivered to them a letter from his majesty, recommending to their care and humanity his poor catholic subjects, who had always been faithful to the crown, that they might enjoy the protection of the laws, without taking oaths that were repugnant to their consciences and religion. This letter produced violent debates. At length, a bill was brought in for indulging catholics with the private exercise of their worship; but it was violently opposed and deferred to further consideration. Then the king ordered the commissioner to prorogue the parliament; and, by virtue of his own prerogative, established liberty of conscience through the whole kingdom. His power in Ireland was no less absolute. Tyrconnel had dismissed almost the whole number of protestants that were in the army; and encroached so much on the civil government, that Clarendon was left absolutely destitute of authority. At last this nobleman was recalled, and Tyrconnel appointed lord-lieutenant. This was a ferocious bigot, who exercised such acts of oppression, and encouraged the catholics to such a pitch of insolence and power, that the disarmed protestants expected another massacre. Many thousands relinquished their lands and effects, and came over to England, where they could be sheltered from the barbarity of such a tyrant; and the merchants of England who traded to that kingdom, withdrawing their effects, the country was reduced to unspeakable distress.

§ XVI. In England, the king prosecuted his design more gradually. He dismissed four judges, who refused to assert his dispensing power, and filled their places with such as promised to be more ductile. He resolved to put their obedience to immediate proof. The coachman of Sir Edward Hales, a new proselyte, was directed to inform against him as a popish recusant employed in quality of colonel in the service. He was prosecuted for the sum of five hundred pounds, and pleaded the king's dispensing power. The plea was argued with great learning and vivacity before the judges, who gave it as their opinion, that the dispensing power was a prerogative inseparable from the kings of England. Thus all the fences to the constitution were at once thrown down. The king now admitted four popish lords into his council, namely, the lords Arundel of Wardour, Bellasis, Dover, and the earl of Tyrconnel. The catholic worship was publicly performed, and the jesuits erected colleges in different parts of the kingdom. Four catholic bishops, consecrated in the king's chapel, were sent through the kingdom, to exercise their episcopal functions, under the title of apostolic vicars. Their pastoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and distributed through all the different counties. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their orders; and a great number of priests and friars arrived in England. The whole administration was managed by catholics. The king sent a circular letter to the bishops, ordering them to prohibit their inferior clergy from preaching on points of controversy; a practice which served only to foment animosities. But, this injunction was very little regarded by the protestant divines, who seeing their religion in such imminent danger, exposed the errors, absurdities, and cruelty of the catholic communion, with such learning, energy, and candour, as operated powerfully on the conviction of the public; and redounded to the immortal honour of those virtuous champions, the chief of whom were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Patrick, and Sherlock.

§ XVII. The king and his council were so displeased with those endeavours, so expressly contrary to the royal mandate, that they were resolved to establish a new ecclesiastical commission-court that should enforce obedience. This was accordingly instituted, and composed of secular as well as ecclesiastical members, among whom were some catholics. The prelates were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Durham and Rochester; but the metropolitan never took his place. Jeffries, now created a peer and lord chancellor of England, was one of the lay-members: such also were the earls of Rochester and Sunderland. They were impowered to exercise all sorts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to correct abuses in the spiritual laws, enquire into all offences, punish delinquents by censure, excommunication, suspension, and deposition; to examine statutes, rules, and charters of colleges, and other ecclesiastical communities; and make such corrections and alterations as they should think proper. Doctor Sharp having preached at St. Anne's church upon a point of controversy, the king, in a letter to the bishop of London, desired he might be suspended. The prelate represented, that there was no law for suspending a clergyman without a legal trial. Sharp himself presented a submissive petition to the king, of which no notice was taken. The bishop of London had proposed in the house of lords to examine the king's last speech to his parliament; and was therefore extremely odious to the ministry. Being summoned before the new ecclesiastical court, he declined their jurisdiction, affirming, that as a bishop he was subject to the metropolitan alone. His plea was over-ruled; he was suspended from all episcopal functions, for having disobeyed the king's order; and the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, were vested with the administration of his diocese.

§ XVIII. This decision excited loud clamours among the people, who were still more irritated, when they saw an army of fifteen thousand men encamped on Hounslow-heath in time of profound peace. A minister, whose name was Johnson, published a paper, addressed to the officers and soldiers, representing the guilt, the baseness, and infamy, of serving as instruments to destroy the religion and constitution of their country. The author, being tried in the court of king's-bench, for having written a seditious libel, was convicted, fined in five hundred marks, set in the pillory, scourged from Newgate to Tyburn, and solemnly degraded: nevertheless, his performance produced a wonderful effect upon the soldiery. Miles Prance, the informer, was now tried and convicted of perjury: but his punishment was remitted, in consideration of his having voluntarily retracted his evidence, by which three innocent men had lost their lives: perhaps he would not have been so gently used, had not he professed the Roman catholic religion. The king became every day more and more ambitious of making converts. Sunderland sacrificed his religion to his interest, though he would not make a public abjuration. The earl of Rochester consented to a conference with some popish priests; but declared himself dissatisfied with their arguments, and refused to change. He lost his office of treasurer, which was put in commission; but he was gratified with a considerable pension. The king deprived his brother Clarendon of the privy-seal, which was given to lord Arundel. He condescended so far as to exhort Kirke to become a profelyte. That ruffian told him he was pre-engaged; for he had promised to the king of Morocco, that should he ever change his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

§ XIX.

§ XIX. James, to crown all his endeavours in behalf of the catholic communion, sent the earl of Castlemain with a splendid embassy to the pope, to acknowledge the king's spiritual obedience to his holiness, and reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic religion. This nobleman was received at Rome with the most mortifying indifference. Innocent was at variance with the French king. He looked upon James as the partisan and pensioner of this monarch. He dreaded the effects of his frantic zeal, and knew his connections with the jesuits, whom Innocent detested. Though he granted audiences to the ambassador, he always pretended to be seized with a fit of coughing, which interrupted the earl's speech, and obliged him to retire. At length he complained loudly of this contemptuous treatment, and threatened to return. The pope, in answer to this expostulation, advised him to travel in the cool of the morning, and repose himself during the heat of the day; otherwise the climate of Italy might prove dangerous to his health. All that he could obtain was a dispensation for father Peters, the king's confessor, permitting him to enjoy a bishopric, which, however, he did not obtain. The pope likewise sent over a nuncio to London; a compliment which he could not decently avoid.

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.

§ XX. James, notwithstanding all discouragements, still persisted in his favourite design of converting the three kingdoms; and finding himself deserted by the church-party, he affected to caress the presbyterians. He sent a declaration to Scotland, granting full liberty of conscience to all his subjects of that kingdom, by virtue of his sovereign authority, his royal prerogative, and his absolute power, which all his people were bound to obey, without reserve or restriction. He, by the same power, annulled all laws enacted against Roman catholics; and abrogated all oaths by which nonconformists were rendered incapable of trust and office. The covenanters were not a little rejoiced, to find themselves delivered all at once from those restrictions in spirituals, of which they had so long complained; and the council thanked the king, in the name of the whole nation, for this mark of his princely clemency and indulgence. The success of this measure in Scotland, encouraged him to practise the same expedient in England. Accordingly, on the fourth day of April, he published a declaration for liberty of conscience to the same effect, though he mentioned his absolute power in more moderate terms, and said he did not doubt of its meeting with the approbation of the parliament. It was so agreeable to all the nonconformists, that he received the warmest addresses of thanks from the anabaptists, quakers, independents, and presbyterians. In these they extolled the regal power, which they had so long endeavoured to abase. They triumphed over the churchmen, and published many virulent invectives against the established form of discipline. The king fomented this difference between two parties, to which he was equally averse. In private conversation, he talked of nothing but the injustice and oppression to which the nonconformists had been subjected by the church of England. He pursued this artifice so far as to give order for a revision of the suits which had been instituted in the ecclesiastical courts against the dissenters. But this animosity was of short duration; they soon perceived the king's drift, and all their mutual resentment subsided. Some of the English bishops were so abject, as to influence their inferior clergy to send flattering addresses upon the declaration. Crew of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Chester, Wood of Litchfield and Coventry, and Watson.

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son of St. David's, recommended themselves by such adulation. Parker of Oxford could prevail upon one minister only, to subscribe an address of this nature.

§ XXI. The king having hitherto succeeded even beyond his own expectation, resolved to open a way for the Roman catholics, into the church and universities of England. He recommended father Francis, a benedictine monk, to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. They perceived all the dangerous consequences of such an admission. They presented a petition, beseeching the king to revoke his mandate. They sent a deputation to London, with a remonstrance on the same subject. Their petition was disregarded; their deputies were denied a hearing. The vice-chancellor was summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical court. He was deprived of his office; yet the university still refused to admit Francis, and the king thought proper to desist from his purpose. His attempt upon Oxford he prosecuted with more perseverance. The place of president in Magdalen-college being vacant, he sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, whose character, in other respects, lay under imputation. They petitioned the king that they might be allowed to chuse their own president, according to the statutes of the college; or that his majesty would recommend a person properly qualified for such an important office. As no answer was made to this remonstrance, the fellows of the college elected Dr. Hough, a man of learning, integrity, and resolution. The king was incensed at their presumption. The vice-president and the fellows were cited before the ecclesiastical court, for having disobeyed the king's order. They represented, that they were restrained from chusing Farmer by their statutes, and the nature of the oath they had taken. They proved Farmer in every shape unqualified for such an office. Notwithstanding their defence, the court decreed that the new president should be deprived of his office; and that the vice-president and one of the fellows should be suspended. But, the king being informed of what had appeared to the prejudice of Farmer's character, sent another mandate in favour of Parker bishop of Oxford, who was as profligate as the other. The fellows refused to comply with this injunction. The king repaired in person to Oxford, and the fellows were brought into his presence. He reproached them with their insolence and disobedience, in the most imperious terms; and commanded them to chuse the bishop of Oxford their president, without further delay. They presented a petition, which he would not receive; and Parker was still rejected. He afterwards established an inferior commission to visit Magdalen-college. The chiefs of this delegation, were Cartwright bishop of Chester, and one of the judges. They endeavoured to intimidate the fellows into compliance by menaces: but, finding them resolute, they proposed an expedient for saving the king's honour by means of a declaration, which the members of the college were willing to subscribe. The king was not satisfied with this medium. He insisted upon their owning their contempt of his order, and promising they would comport themselves with more respect for the future. He demanded that they should acknowledge the justice and legality of the ecclesiastical court, implore his forgiveness upon their knees, and submit to the bishop of Oxford as their president. Those conditions being rejected by all the fellows, except Charnock, and one other; the recusants were, by the sentence of the commissioners, expelled from the college, and

and deprived of their fellowships. This judgment was affirmed by the ecclesiastical court, which moreover decreed, that the president and the fellows should be declared incapable of holding ecclesiastical benefices. Notwithstanding this sentence, the president refused to quit his house, until he was forcibly expelled. Then the college was filled with catholics, and Charnock appointed vice-president.

§ XXII. This flagrant invasion of the laws and religion of the kingdom proved one of the most unpopular acts of the king's whole reign: but, indeed, by this time he had made considerable progress towards absolute dominion, and had some reason to think the nation in general acquiesced in its slavery; for he was flattered even in his highest pretensions by the clergy, the laity, and all sorts of communities; among these the society of the Temple distinguished themselves by a fulsome address, in which they declared, that the prerogative being the gift of God, no earthly power could diminish it, and that it necessarily remained entire and inseparably attached to his royal person. Yet the tory parliament, submissive as they were in the beginning, and attached to the king by the ties of affection, could never be brought to a compliance with his ultimate designs upon the religion and constitution of their country. He had disposed of all the great employments to persons of his own communion. The justices of the peace were either catholics, or protestants devoted to his will; and they employed all their influence in establishing the king's dispensing power. James intended to call a new parliament, and began to take measures for the election of such members as would pay an implicit obedience to his commands. He closeted individuals, and endeavoured to convince them of the necessity for abolishing penal laws. He employed arguments, threats and promises alternately. The same methods were practised by his ministers, deputy-lieutenants, judges, and justices, in different parts of the kingdom. Writs of Quo Warranto were issued against some refractory corporations, which were obliged to submit to his commands; and he himself made a progress through several counties, in order to intimidate and cajole the people. But all his endeavours proved unsuccessful: he met with nothing but coldness, reluctance, and disaffection; so that he would not hazard the meeting of a new parliament.

§ XXIII. The pope had, in the preceding year, conferred the dignity of nuncio upon Ferdinand Dada, who had resided privately in England, and attended the king's person ever since his accession to the throne. Now James resolved to pull off the masque, and produce him in public to his people; though, by the laws of England, no person could assume the character of pope's nuncio, without incurring the penalty of high treason. On the third day of July, this priest made his public entry into Windsor, in his pontificals, preceded by the cross, and attended by a great number of monks, in the habits of their respective orders. The duke of Somerset being lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, refused to conduct the nuncio to an audience, alledging that he could not obey the king's order without transgressing the law. ^{Burnet.} The duke of Grafton was not so scrupulous; and Somerset lost his office, together ^{Welwood.} with a regiment of dragoons, which he had for some time commanded. ^{Rapin.} All these unpopular measures of the king are said to have been suggested by the queen, and father Edward Peters his confessor, a shallow bigot, who was publicly

publicly admitted as a member to the council-board, contrary to the advice of all the leading men among the catholics †.

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§ XXIV. James knowing how popular the prince of Orange was among the dissenters in England; and that the nation in general revered the prince as presumptive heir of the crown, resolved to procure, if possible, his concurrence in repealing the penal laws, believing this would dispose the parliament to a compliance with his will, in confirming the declaration. In order to sound the prince, he employed one Stuart, who was acquainted with Fagel the pensionary, to assure this counsellor, in a letter, that the interest of England, as well as of the prince, required the abolition of the test and penal laws. As Fagel made no reply to this address, Stuart renewed the attack in a second and third letter; till at length, tired by the pensionary's silence, he gave them to understand, that the king had employed him to write, and desired to know the sentiments of the prince on this subject. Then Fagel, by direction of the prince, wrote an answer, which was published. He said the prince and princess would willingly agree to indulge the catholics with liberty of conscience; and ardently wished that the protestant dissenters were allowed the free exercise of their religion: but they would never consent to the abolition of the test and penal laws, which were enacted to exclude the catholics from parliament, and public employments, that they might never be in a condition to overturn the protestant religion.

§ XXV. Their opinion was supported by very clear and convincing reasons, which, while they irritated the king against his son-in-law, served to confirm great part of the nation in the resolution which they had lately taken to oppose the arbitrary designs of the ministry. They began to perceive that the kingdom would infallibly be reduced to slavery, and the protestant religion extinguished, unless they should engage in some speedy and effectual measures for their own preservation. They turned their eyes upon the prince of Orange; and some were inclined to wait patiently, until the princess should succeed to the throne by the course of nature: but they banished those forbearing maxims, when a proclamation was published, declaring the queen's pregnancy, and ordaining a day of thanksgiving for the occasion. These tidings filled the catholics with excessive joy, and the rest of the nation with the most dismal presages. The jesuits were bold enough to prophecy that the queen would bring forth a son. They pretended her conception was the miraculous effect of vows made by her and her mother to the blessed Virgin, and our lady of Loretto. Addresses of congratulation were immediately waisted to the king from all corners of the island, as if the whole nation had thought the birth of a prince would be a public blessing. But these addresses were procured by the emissaries of the ministry. All the protestants in the kingdom were alarmed, as at the eve of a terrible calamity. A great number fondly believed that the queen's pregnancy was counterfeit. She had been for some years in an ill state of health; and this circumstance, considered through the medium of passion, suggested the belief of an imposture. Before James ascended the throne, this lady had been pregnant, and at that time her enemies circulated a report of

† In the course of this year, the duke of spised by all the world, died in great want and Buckingham, deserted by his friends, and de- obscurity.

the same nature; but, as the infant proved a female, they took no step to confirm or extend the suspicion.

§ XXVI. The king was so elevated with this prospect of male issue, that he seemed to set the prince of Orange at defiance. He disclaimed the correspondence between Stuart and Fagel: he countenanced the Algerines, who were at war with the Dutch: he recalled the six British regiments that were in the service of the states-general: he augmented his navy, and seemed to wait for nothing but a pretence to declare war against Holland. The states, in answer to his demand, represented, that, by treaties, they were not obliged to part with the regiments, except when he should be at war with some foreign power, or in case of an actual rebellion in his dominions. He renewed his demand; they pleaded the letter of the treaty: at length he published a proclamation, recalling all his subjects that were in the service of the states-general. The prince of Orange offered passports to such English or Scottish officers as desired to quit the service; and, by this expedient, purged the troops of those individuals in whose attachment and fidelity he could not confide.

§ XXVII. James, in order to demonstrate the constancy of his councils, and his contempt for the malcontents of the kingdom, published another declaration, granting liberty of conscience, and abolishing the penal laws. At the same time the bishops were enjoined, by an order of council, to cause this declaration to be read in all the churches of their different dioceses. This scheme was calculated to mortify the church of England, against which he was remarkably irritated, and to ensnare the bishops into the guilt of disobedience, unless they would become the instruments of his designs against the protestant religion. Loyd bishop of St. Asaph, Ker of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol, being then in London, no sooner received these orders, than they hastened to Lambeth, to consult with Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury. There they deliberated upon the subject; and agreed in opinion, that they could not obey the king's command, without betraying their consciences, and their duty to God and their country. They therefore drew up and signed a petition to the king, representing their unwillingness to be concerned in publishing the declaration. They protested their reluctance did not proceed from any spirit of opposition to his majesty's will; nor to a defect of tenderness for the nonconformists; but solely from the nature of the declaration itself, founded on a dispensing power, which the parliament, on several occasions, had declared illegal. They said they could not be concerned in publishing it, with any regard to prudence, honour, and conscience; and therefore they earnestly and respectfully besought his majesty to excuse them from obeying the order of council. On the eighteenth day of May, they went in a body to the palace, without having communicated their design to any person whatever, and presented this petition to the king, who received and read it with marks of surprize and displeasure. He said he did not look for such an address from the English church, particularly from some among them: that they should hear from him, should he change his opinion; if not, he expected they would obey his order. They answered, that they were resigned to the will of heaven; and retired.

§ XXVIII. He resolved to prosecute those prelates in the most rigorous manner. The king's measures were now become so odious to the people, that although the bishops of Durham and Rochester, who were members of the ecclesiastical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the churches of their dioceses, the audience would not stay to hear them; and one minister told his congregation, that though he had positive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it; a hint in consequence of which they evacuated the church, and then he recited it in private. The petitioning bishops being brought before the council, were asked if they owned the petition; and the archbishop acknowledged it was written by his own hand. Then the chancellor demanded if they would give bail to appear in the court of king's-bench, and answer the charge that should be brought against them, of endeavouring to diminish the king's authority, and interrupt the peace of the nation. They refused to appear in that court, alledging their privilege in quality of peers, which they were obliged to maintain, as well as the interest of the church, according to the oath they had taken to oppose all innovation in church and state. The chancellor threatened to commit them to the Tower, unless they would immediately retract their assertions and withdraw the petition. They said they were ready to go wheresoever the king should please to send them: they hoped the King of kings would be their protector and their judge: they were not afraid of man; and, as they had done nothing contrary to law, no menaces could shake their resolution. An order was immediately expedited for their commitment; and the attorney-general was commanded to prosecute them for having written and published a seditious libel against his majesty's government. The king resolved they should be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion. The people were no sooner informed of their destination, than they ran to the side of the river, which was lined with an incredible multitude. As the reverend prisoners passed, the populace fell upon their knees, and great numbers ran into the water, craving their blessing, calling upon heaven to protect them, and exhorting them to suffer nobly for their religion. The deportment of the bishops was modest, humble, and resigned. They conjured the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. A vast croud was assembled at the Tower, where they were received in the same manner. The very soldiers by whom they were guarded, affected by the spectacle, kneeled before them, imploring their benediction and forgiveness. The prelates went immediately to the Tower-chapel, to thank heaven for those afflictions, which, for the sake of religion, they were thought worthy to endure.

§ XXIX. On the tenth day of June, the queen was suddenly seized with labour-pains, and delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of James, and declared prince of Wales. All the catholics and friends of James were transported with the most extravagant joy at the birth of this child; while great part of the nation consoled themselves with the notion that it was altogether supposititious. They carefully collected a variety of circumstances, upon which this conjecture was founded; and, though they were inconsistent, contradictory, and inconclusive, the inference was so agreeable to the views and passions of the people, that it made an impression which, in all probability,

will

will never be totally effaced*. Certain it is, the pride and haughty disposition of James, and his queen, hindered them from taking such precautions as would have prevented, or effectually disproved this calumny. Great rejoicings were made through the whole kingdom, and another set of addresses presented, some of them replete with the most extravagant adulation.

§ XXX. Mean while the seven bishops were admitted to bail, and the twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial. They were attended to Westminster-hall by nine and twenty peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense croud of people. This cause was looked upon as a crisis that would produce either national slavery or freedom; and therefore it was heard with the most eager attention. The dispute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. Halloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themselves in favour of the bishops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night; but next morning they returned to the court, and pronounced the bishops "not guilty." Westminster-hall instantly rung with loud acclamations, which were communicated through the whole extent of Westminster and London. They even reached the camp at Hounslow, while the king was at dinner in lord Feversham's tent. This nobleman went out to learn the noise of those shouts; and, when he returned, he told the king, it was nothing but the joy expressed by the soldiers at the acquittal of the bishops. "Call you that nothing! (said the king) but so much the worse for them." He forthwith returned to Whitehall, and published a proclamation, forbidding the populace to assemble in the streets: but, notwithstanding this prohibition, the whole city was lighted up by bonfires and illuminations. The same rejoicings were made in all the principal towns of England, to the unspeakable mortification of James, who threatened to deliver up the bishops to the ecclesiastical court; and, as a mark of his indignation, deprived Halloway and Powel of their offices.

§ XXXI. This unhappy prince, perceiving the disposition of his people was very unfavourable to his designs, determined to force them into a compliance with his will, provided he could depend upon the attachment of the army. He thought if one regiment would promise implicit obedience, their example would be followed by the rest of the forces. In this hope, he ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence; and the major, by his command, desired all those that would not contribute to the repeal of the test and penal laws, to lay down their musquets. He was equally surprised and chagrined to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a very few soldiers, who were Roman catholics. After some pause, he commanded them to take up their arms, telling them, that for the future he would not do them the honour to ask their advice. His next scheme was to dis-

* Doctor Burnet, who seems to have been at uncommon pains to establish this belief, and to have consulted all the Whig nurses in England upon the subject; first pretends to demonstrate that the queen was not with child; secondly, that she was with child, but miscarried; thirdly, that a child was brought into the queen's apartment in a warming-pan; fourthly, that there was

no child at all in the room; fifthly, that the queen actually bore a child, but it died that same day; sixthly, that the supposititious child had not the fits; seventhly, that it had the fits, of which it died at Richmond: therefore the chevalier de St. George must be the fruit of four different impostures.

miss the greater part of the protestant officers and soldiers, and fill their places with catholics. He began by new-modelling the regiment commanded by his own natural son the duke of Berwick. Five Irish soldiers were enlisted in every company. The national prejudice against the natives of that kingdom had been very keen since the massacre of the protestants; and now it was inflamed by the fears of popery, aggravated in ballads and pamphlets, which had a wonderful effect upon the common people. Beaumont the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and several captains, refused to admit Irish recruits. They were immediately tried for mutiny by a council of war, and dismissed from the service. The navy was not more complying than the army. Admiral Strickland having ordered masts to be celebrated on board of his ship, such a tumult ensued among the sailors, that he could hardly hinder them from throwing the priests into the sea.

§ XXXII. The king's obstinacy and perseverance seemed to encrease in proportion to the people's opposition. His queen and his priests continually stimulated him with intreaties and exhortations to proceed in the execution of his project; and he was encouraged by the servile submissions of some protestant divines. The bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Chester, still approved of all his measures. The clergy of Cheshire presented an abject address, condemning the conduct of the seven prelates who had scrupled to publish the declaration. The bishop of Durham suspended thirty ministers of his diocese who refused to read it; and the inhabitants of Carlisle declared they would concur with his majesty in repealing the test and penal laws. James, far from altering his conduct, issued orders for prosecuting all those clergymen who had forbore to read his declaration. He sent a mandate to his new fellows of Magdalen-college at Oxford, to elect for their president one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whom he likewise nominated to the see of Oxford, in the room of Parker, lately deceased. Sprat bishop of Rochester, and member of the ecclesiastical court, seeing the king proceeding with such a career in the road to ruin, resolved to consult his own safety in time, and withdrew himself from the commission, on pretence that his conscience would not permit him to prosecute those who had refused to read the declaration.

§ XXXIII. Every individual, whether Whig or Tory, who knew the value of liberty, and was attached to the established religion, now plainly saw, that without an immediate and vigorous opposition to the measures of the king, the nation would be reduced to the most abject state of spiritual and temporal subjection. The principal persons of both parties began to reflect with remorse upon the mutual animosity which had weakened the common interest: they perceived the necessity of having recourse to foreign aid; and they looked upon the prince of Orange as their natural ally and protector. As a previous step towards an application to this auxiliary, they saw it would be necessary to compromise all their domestic disputes. Some moderate men of each faction exerted their endeavours for this purpose. Their efforts were crowned with success. The Whigs and Tories, united by the common ties of religion and liberty, agreed in private to lay aside all contention, and join heartily in opposing the arbitrary designs of their misguided sovereign. The prince of Orange was no stranger to the murmurs of the English. He had sent over Dykvelt as an envoy, on pretence of remonstrating to James on his conduct.

But he had given him secret instructions to treat with the chiefs of the malcontents. This agent executed his commission with equal secrecy and success. He assured the church party, of the prince's particular favour and regard. He exhorted the dissenters to beware of the king's caresses, which could not possibly be sincere, and hope for a toleration from a protestant parliament. They were satisfied by the solidity of his arguments, and professed the most perfect attachment to the stadtholder, in whom all their hopes were centered. The protestant prince's of the empire had formed a separate league at Magdeburg, for the defence of their religion; and some towns in Holland, which had been influenced by French councils, being alarmed and incensed at the persecution of the huguenots in France, dropped all their connections with the court of Lewis, and reposed an entire confidence in the stadtholder. By this accession of influence, he was enabled to form a league at Augsburg, in which all the princes of the empire united against the ambitious designs of the French monarch. Spain, Holland, and Savoy, acceded to this alliance.

§ XXXIV. While James sat upon the English throne, the prince saw no prospect of engaging this kingdom in the general association. The succession of the princess was defeated by the birth of the prince of Wales; and therefore he would not slight an invitation that so agreeably flattered his interest and ambition. Admiral Herbert, who was very popular among the seamen, resigned his commission in disgust, and retired to the Hague, where he assured the prince of a general disaffection in the navy. This assurance was confirmed by admiral Russel, who, passing and repassing frequently between England and Holland, served as a canal of communication between the prince and the English protestants. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernoon, went over to the Hague, under the pretext of going to Spaa for his health, and had frequent conferences with the stadtholder. Lord Dunblaine, son to the earl of Danby, made several voyages to Holland, in a frigate of his own, and conveyed not only assurances from a great number of noblemen and persons of distinction, but likewise considerable sums of money to the prince of Orange. Zuylestein, whom the prince had sent over to England with compliments of congratulation on the birth of the prince of Wales, carried back a formal invitation from the English nobility. The bishop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Hallifax, the earls of Dorset, Devonshire, Nottingham, and Danby, the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Pauler, Eland; many gentlemen of interest, and a great number of substantial citizens, joined in the application to the prince, intreating him to assist them in the recovery of their liberties, and promising to support his endeavours with their lives and fortunes. The earl of Shrewsbury, a very popular nobleman, who had renounced the Romish religion in which he was educated, and resigned his regiment, mortgaged his estate for forty thousand pounds, which he offered, together with his own personal service, to the prince of Orange. Lord Wharton, though overwhelmed with age and infirmities, visited the prince on the same errand. Lord Mordaunt resided at the Hague, and promoted the enterprise with all his power. Even Sunderland, the favourite minister of James, is said to have corresponded with the prince, and betrayed his infatuated master.

§ XXXV. So many concurring motives could not fail to influence the conduct of the prince, who undertook the expedition, and began to make preparations for it with equal prudence and dispatch. The competition between
prince:

prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furstenberg, for the archbishopric of Cologne, furnished the states-general with a pretence for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. The prince managed his intrigues in such a manner, that three or four members devoted to his interest, were intrusted with the direction of the affairs then in agitation. Orders were given to prepare a formidable fleet, and augment the army, as a war with France seemed inevitable. The prince had an interview at Minden in Westphalia, with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the princes of Lunenburg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. To them he communicated his scheme, which was of such consequence to the general interest of religion and liberty; and they engaged to defend Holland from the attacks of France, during the prince's expedition to England. A fleet of fifty large ships of war was equipped, with as many vessels as would serve for the transportation of twelve thousand land-forces. These were freighted on different pretences by the merchants of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other maritime places: they were distributed among different ports, where the troops were ordered to embark, and the rendezvous was fixed in the road of Goree, where the navy waited for their junction. The prince's correspondents in England agreed to disperse themselves into different parts of the country, on the first news of his landing, in order to excite insurrections against the government, and raise troops for his service; and he never doubted of being immediately joined by such a number, as would enable him to make head against the king's army.

§ XXXVI. Notwithstanding all his secrecy and discretion, the French and English ministers at the Hague took the alarm at those preparations, and communicated their suspicions to James, who thought they had refined too much in their conjectures. He persuaded himself that the intelligence his envoy pretended to have received, was no other than a rumour spread by his enemies, to divert him from the prosecution of his designs. Nevertheless, he thought proper to flatter his people with the promise of a new parliament, and gave orders to the chancellor to issue writs for elections, on the fifth day of September: but, as these writs were not expedited, in all probability he had no other design but that of amusing his subjects. At this period, Bonrepos arrived as ambassador from France, with offers from Lewis, to assist the king with a fleet and army of thirty thousand men, against all invaders: but this was declined, by the advice of Sunderland. He represented to James, that by introducing French forces into the kingdom, on the eve of a new parliament, he would entirely lose the hearts of all his subjects; and run the risk of seeing his kingdom conquered by his auxiliaries. It was supposed, however, that by means of this minister, a new alliance was concluded between the kings of France and England. Mean while, James ordered his ambassador in Holland to present a memorial to the states, desiring to know the destination of their extraordinary armament. He received an answer, importing, that they only imitated the example of the king of England, who had lately equipped a powerful fleet, and assembled a numerous army, without explaining his intentions; and they, in their turn, desired to know the nature of the alliance which he had concluded with the French monarch. This answer in some measure waked the suspicion of James, who ordered the towns of Portsmouth and Hull, the two keys of England, to be put in a posture of defence, and bestowed the governments of these places

places upon two Roman catholics : but he took no further precautions against the impending danger, and could not believe the prince of Orange would hazard a descent.

§ XXXVII. The court of France, at the request of Skelton the English minister, who acted on this occasion without orders, sent directions to the count D'Avaux, their envoy at the Hague, to declare, in a memorial to the states, that the intimate friendship and alliance subsisting between the kings of France and England would oblige his master, not only to assist the English monarch, should he be attacked, but also to look upon the first act of hostility against England, as a manifest violation of the peace, and a formal design to break with France. The states returned an ambiguous answer, and demanded of the English ambassador, an explanation of the last alliance between France and England. They made the same demand of the English ministry, by the mouth of Van Citters their envoy at London. James, with the concurrence of his council, disowned the memorial of D'Avaux ; and Skelton being immediately recalled from France, was committed to the Tower for his presumption. Sunderland still argued, that the belief of such a connection with Lewis, would ruin the king in the opinion of his subjects. This advice some writers impute to treachery. On the twenty-first day of September, the king issued a proclamation, declaring his design was to procure an entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects ; to maintain the English church, by confirming the acts of uniformity, without any other alteration than that of repealing the penal laws enacted against those who were not promoted to ecclesiastical benefices. He likewise expressed his readiness to consent to a law that should exclude Roman catholics from seats in the house of commons. This proclamation, which was not only ambiguous, but also self-contradictory, made no favourable impression upon the people, who expected redress of their grievances from the prince of Orange alone. The king of France had by this time sent a numerous army into the empire, under the command of the dauphin, and Philipsburg was invested. Barillon, the French envoy at London, advised the king of England to desire his master to abandon the siege, and send his forces to the frontiers of Holland ; a motion that in all likelihood would prevent the expedition against England ; but this advice was not taken. Sunderland still objected the jealousy of the subjects, as the friends of the prince of Orange had circulated a report, that the Dutch armament was destined to prevent the French from landing in England.

§ XXXVIII. James being now convinced of the prince's design, ordered the navy to be manned and prepared for sea ; set on foot new levies, and sent for some regiments from Ireland ; appointed the earl of Feversham general of his land forces, and conferred the command of the navy upon the earl of Dartmouth. He directed the marquis of Albeville his minister at the Hague, to assure the states, that there was no private treaty subsisting between him and the French monarch ; and to declare his readiness to concur with them in taking measures for maintaining the peace of Nimeguen. They paid no regard to this memorial. On the contrary, the pensionary frankly owned to the marquis, that the prince of Orange, in consequence of an invitation from the English nobility, was resolved to assist them in re-establishing the ancient constitution, which the king had entirely altered since his accession. When the minister communicated this information to the king, adding, that the Hague was filled

with English subjects, waiting to embark in the prince's expedition, he and his whole council were overwhelmed with consternation: they no longer doubted that the invader would be supported by the majority of the kingdom; and being incapable of distinguishing between their friends and enemies, they knew not whom to trust. In this emergency, James assembled the bishops of Winchester, Chichester, Rochester, Peterborough, Ely, Bath and Wells, and desired their advice and assistance. They obtained leave to go and consult with the archbishop of Canterbury, who was indisposed; and promised to deliver their sentiments in writing. Mean while the king published a proclamation, informing the subjects of a purposed invasion; exhorting them to lay aside their animosities, and join with him against the common enemy, whose intention was to enslave them: assuring them he would venture his life once more in their defence; and giving them to understand, that he could not conveniently assemble the new parliament, until this storm should be overblown. In order to conciliate the affection of his people, he ordered the bishop of London to be re-established in his episcopal functions: he appointed a new mayor for the city of London, because Eyles the anabaptist was not agreeable to the citizens, who were members of the English church. He assured the magistrates that he would restore their antient charter; and he published a general amnesty, with some exceptions.

§ XXXIX. On the third day of October, the archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by eight prelates whom James had consulted, was admitted to an audience at Whitehall, and presented the king with the result of their deliberation, in ten articles of advice. They counselled his majesty to put the government of the different counties into the hands of persons distinguished by their birth, and qualified by the laws of the land: To abolish the ecclesiastical court: To recal all the dispensations, by virtue of which disqualified persons had been admitted into civil and ecclesiastical employments: To revoke all the licences by which catholics were permitted to open public schools: To desist from all pretension to a dispensing power, or refer it entirely to the decision of parliament: To forbid the four apostolic vicars to continue invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which belonged to the bishops of the English church: To fill up the vacant bishoprics and benefices with men of learning and piety: To restore the charters which had been taken from corporations: To assemble a free parliament; and allow the bishops to offer such reasons as might induce him to be reconciled to the English church, in which he had been born and educated. Though these advices must have been very unpalatable to the king, as containing severe reproaches upon his past government, he affected to take them in good part, and even complied with them in several articles. He suppressed the ecclesiastical court: restored the old charter to the city of London. The lieutenants of the counties were enjoined to correct all abuses which had injured the corporations. The bishop of Winchester, as visitor of Magdalen-college at Oxford, was authorized to re-establish it in possession of all its rights and privileges. All corporations were restored to the enjoyment of their antient immunities. Several governors were changed: catholic justices and magistrates were deprived of their offices, which the king now bestowed upon protestants; so that in a few days the great work, in which the king had laboured so assiduously, was entirely undone. These hasty steps towards a reformation, though supposed to be the effect of fear, began to make some impression

pression upon the minds of the people, when he received intelligence that the Dutch fleet was dispersed and disabled by a tempest. He forthwith recalled the bishop of Winchester from Oxford, after that prelate had summoned the fellows of Magdalen college; and seemed inclined to retract all the steps he had taken for the satisfaction of his subjects: yet, hearing the news he had received were false, he commanded the bishop to proceed, and the fellows of the college were re-established; but, by his conduct in this affair, he brought his sincerity in question.

§ XL. As he dreaded the violence of the populace, he ordered all the Romish chapels in London and Westminster to be shut up; and the priests of that communion, foreseeing the approaching storm, began to disappear. A body of troops from Ireland landed at Chester, and three thousand men from Scotland arrived at Carlisle. Orders were issued to raise ten new regiments, and arm the militia; and a proclamation was published, commanding the subjects to remove their cattle to the distance of twenty miles from the place where the descent should be made. A writing being published in Holland, insinuating that the birth of the prince of Wales was an imposture; the king assembled a council extraordinary, to which he invited the queen dowager, with all the lords spiritual and temporal then in London, the lord mayor and aldermen, and the judges. He told them his enemies had pretended to doubt the birth of the prince of Wales; and therefore he had taken this opportunity to examine the affair in their presence, that he might clear himself from all suspicion of having practised such a vile imposture. Forty witnesses were produced; and, as far as the nature of the case would permit, ascertained the queen's delivery, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced hearer; but great part of the nation were incapable of conviction; and this proof served only to rivet their suspicion, or confirm their notions of the imposture. The depositions were recorded in chancery, printed, published, and dispersed through the kingdom. Many people concluded that there must have been something very weak and defective in a cause that required such extraordinary support, not considering that their own prejudices had obliged the king to have recourse to such an extraordinary investigation. In October the earl of Sunderland was dismissed from his two employments of secretary of state and president of the council. He was disagreeable to the king's catholic counsellors; and suspected, nay even openly accused, of corresponding with the enemy: in the sequel he published an apology for his conduct.

§ XLI. During these transactions, the prince of Orange was employed in drawing up a manifesto, explaining the motives by which he was actuated, and the purport of his expedition. He enumerated the grievances of the English nation: recapitulated the fruitless attempts which had been made for procuring redress in the usual way of petition and remonstrance: mentioned the circumstance of the supposed imposture in the birth of the prince of Wales: professed his own regard and that of the princess for the English nation, to the relief of which he had been invited by a great number of lords spiritual and temporal, gentlemen, and other persons of all conditions. He avowed his intention of visiting England with a body of forces sufficient to secure him from the attempts of those who might endeavour to thwart his measures. He declared his design was to convoke a free parliament, to which he would refer the

settlement of the nation; and the same promise he made with respect to Scotland and Ireland. This declaration was already printed, in order to be distributed among the English people, when he received information that the king had redressed some of the grievances of which he complained, and taxed him with a design to conquer England. He therefore made an addition to his manifesto, importing, that the forces he intended to transport, could not be supposed sufficient for the conquest of England; nor could the English noblemen and gentlemen, engaged in his undertaking, be supposed capable of contributing to the subjection of their country: that the late redress of some grievances, though a plain acknowledgment of oppression, was but a temporary expedient to cajole the people, who could have no security for their rights and privileges, but in the acts of a free parliament, which he promised to assemble in their behalf. The states-general, at the same time, published the reasons which had induced them to lend their ships and forces to the prince of Orange; namely, the invitation which the prince had received from the nobility and clergy of England, and the apprehension that king James, after he should have made himself absolute in his own kingdom, would join the French monarch in destroying the protestant religion, and exterminating the people of the United Provinces.

§ XLII. The prince of Orange, having taken leave of the states, embarked on the nineteenth day of October with the earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Paulët, Elan, and Dunblaine; admiral Herbert, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Russel, Doctor Burnet, and many other English subjects. He was also attended by the count de Schomberg and his son, with about three hundred French officers of the reformed religion. His fleet consisted of fifty sail of the line, twenty frigates, as many fireships, and about four hundred transports, on board of which twelve or thirteen thousand soldiers were embarked. Admiral Herbert led the van; the rear was conducted by Evertzen, and the prince commanded in the centre, with a flag displaying his own arms, circumscribed, "The protestant religion, and the liberties of England." Underneath, "Je maintiendrai," the device that distinguished the house of Nassau. The fleet had sailed but a few leagues when the wind suddenly shifted to the west, and blew a violent storm, which lasted two whole days, and scattered the ships in such a manner, that a whole week elapsed before they could re-assemble at their rendezvous. They had sustained very little damage: the states, however, magnified their loss in the gazettes, and declared that the prince would be obliged to postpone his expedition to the spring.

§ XLIII. This artful insinuation had the desired effect: James believed their fleet was actually disabled; and, on that supposition, recalled some of the concessions he had made for the satisfaction of his people. When he understood that the prince, in his manifesto, declared he was invited by a great number of lords spiritual and temporal, he summoned the archbishop of Canterbury and three or four other prelates into his presence, and insisted upon their signing a declaration to disprove the prince's assertion. They assured him of their fidelity in general terms, but desired to be excused from answering a writing which did not concern them in particular. The king was incensed at their refusal, and dismissed them with marks of the most violent indignation. Then he published an answer to the prince's manifesto, in which he endeavoured to justify

justify his own conduct, and blacken the character of the stadtholder. At this period two printed letters were distributed through England; one addressed to the English army by the prince of Orange, and the other directed by admiral Herbert to the sailors, by whom he was greatly beloved. These papers contained reasons and exhortations, dissuading them from acting as the instruments of tyranny against the religion and liberties of their country; and they produced a surprising effect.

§ XLIV. The damage sustained by the Dutch fleet, being in a few days repaired, the prince re-embarked on the first day of November, and at first steered to the northward, intending to land in the mouth of the Humber; but the easterly wind blew so strong in the night, that he changed his resolution, and stood to the westward. He sailed down the channel without seeing the king's fleet, which lay at the Gunfleet to the number of sixty ships, commanded by the earl of Dartmouth. The prince now determined to land at Torbay; but, in the night of the fourth, the pilot overshot the Start-point, and the gale was so fresh that it was found impracticable to beat up to windward. This accident would have obliged the prince to bear away for Falmouth, at the extremity of the island, had not the wind unexpectedly shifted to the west, and conducted them into Torbay; while at the same time it effectually hindered the English fleet to come down the channel. On the fifth day of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, the prince disembarked his troops at the village of Broxholme in Torbay. The baggage and artillery were sent to Topsham, the seaport of Exeter, and next day the prince began his march for that city, where however he remained ten days, without being joined by any person of consideration. The king no sooner received intelligence of his landing, than he ordered his troops to assemble on Salisbury plain. In order to vilify the prince's power, he distributed lists of all the regiments that composed his little army. Hearing the city of London, with the counties of Kent and York, intended to present addresses, beseeching him to effect an accommodation with the prince of Orange, he publicly declared, that he would consider as enemies all those who should propose such an accommodation. At the same time he published a declaration, charging the prince of Orange with a design to usurp the crown of England. Mean while the stadtholder passed his time very disagreeably at Exeter: the bishop had quitted the place at his landing, and repaired to London, where the king created him archbishop of York. When Doctor Burnet mounted the pulpit at Exeter, on the Sunday after the prince's arrival, in order to read the manifesto, all the canons and great part of the congregation left the church. Very few Englishmen offered their services to the stadtholder; and he met with very little success in raising three new regiments of infantry. Though the people were generally well affected to his design; the recent remembrance of the cruelties exercised upon the partisans of Monmouth, in that country, deterred them from engaging in any other enterprize against the government.

§ XLV. On the tenth day after the prince's landing, when he began to deliberate about re-embarking, he was joined by some persons of consequence; among these was Edward Seymour, who proposed an association for the defence of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, binding the subscribers to stand by the prince of Orange, and by one another, until, by means of a free parliament,

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their religion and privileges should be secured in such a manner, as to screen them from any future danger of popery and slavery. This association was subscribed by all present; and from this day, the prince's affairs assumed a more promising aspect. He began his march for Salisbury, and the number of his followers daily increased. Lord Colchester, son to the earl of Rivers, Mr. Wharton, colonel Godfrey, and Mr. How, joined him with about sixty horsemen well-mounted; these were followed by the earl of Abington, captain Clarges, and some others. Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, revolted to the prince with a good part of four regiments. Lord Delamere assembled his vassals in Cheshire, and openly declared for the stadtholder. Lord Lovelace began his march for Exeter, at the head of fourscore horse; but he was encountered by the militia at Cirencester, defeated, and taken prisoner. The two archbishops, five other prelates, the dukes of Grafton and Ormond, the earls of Dorset, Clare, Clarendon, Burlington, Anglesey, and Rochester; the lords Newport, Paget, Chandois, and Ossulston, meeting in London, drew up and presented a petition to the king, beseeching him to convoke a free parliament, and take measures for satisfying the prince of Orange. James declared, that he passionately desired to assemble a free parliament; and promised, upon his royal word, that it should meet immediately after the prince's departure from the kingdom: but he said, this step could not be taken while the enemy was in the country, and had it in his power to influence the elections.

§ XLVI. This unhappy monarch was now involved in a labyrinth of fears and perplexity. The defection of his subjects made a deep impression upon his mind. He had reason to believe the army was infected with the same spirit; and he began to distrust the fidelity of those who necessarily enjoyed a great share of his confidence. Resolving to head his army in person, he recommended the city of London to the care of the lord mayor. He made a speech to his principal officers, in which he solemnly renewed the promise of assembling a free parliament. He told them, if they desired any thing more, he was ready to gratify their wishes: he declared, that if any of them were still dissatisfied with his conduct, and inclined to join the prince of Orange, he would supply them with passports, in order to spare them the shame of deserting their lawful sovereign. He left a council at London, composed of the chancellor Jeffries, the lords Godolphin, Powis, Bellasis, and Preston; and set out for Salisbury, where he arrived on the nineteenth day of November. There he was complimented by the officers, who expressed their attachment to him in the warmest terms, and their indignation at the desertion of lord Cornbury. Notwithstanding these assurances, he was exposed to the most uneasy reflections. He saw all his schemes blasted, his people melting from him, his friends falling off, and his family in danger of immediate ruin. His internal disturbance had such an effect upon his constitution, that the blood gushed from his nostrils; and next day the same symptom recurred.

§ XLVII. The officers forgetting their late professions, now desired the earl of Feversham to tell the king, that they could not in conscience serve against the prince of Orange, who aimed at nothing but the security of the protestant religion, and the liberties of the people. This was a mortifying declaration to the king, who thus found himself deprived in a manner of all resource. Feversham

Verulam advised him to secure lord Churchill, whose fidelity was questioned. James had heaped such favours upon this nobleman, whom he had raised from obscurity, ennobled, and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, that he could not doubt his attachment. Next day, however, Churchill went over to the prince, accompanied by the duke of Grafton, colonel Berkeley, and several other officers. He sent a letter to the king, pleading conscience for his desertion; but, James imputed it to the fear of his falling fortune, operating upon a mind that felt no ties of gratitude. He was now wholly abandoned by his fortune, and returned to London in a state of dejection, after having published a proclamation, promising a free pardon to all deserters who in four and twenty hours should return to their duty. This produced no effect; but, he had the additional mortification to see himself forsaken by his son-in-law prince George of Denmark, who left him at Andover.

§ XLVIII. The prince of Orange who had advanced to Sherburne, receiving advice that the king had returned to London, and his army retired to Reading, marched towards Salisbury, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. In his route to this place, a skirmish happened between two parties of the opposite armies, in which the English gained some advantage. The earl of Bath governor of Plymouth, admitted the Dutch fleet into that harbour. The earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Guise expelled the duke of Beaufort from Bristol, by the assistance of the inhabitants, who declared for the prince of Orange. The earl of Devonshire having assembled a great number of gentlemen in Derbyshire, openly espoused the same cause. The earl of Danby secured the city and county of York in the same interest. Their example was followed by Nottinghamshire and the town of Berwick. Hull was delivered into the hands of colonel Copley by the garrison, after they had arrested the lord Langdale their catholic governor. The prince received tenders of service from the duke of Somerset and the earl of Oxford. The duke of Ormond entered the city of Oxford, and ordered the manifesto to be read in public. Finally, the king was abandoned by his own daughter Anne princess of Denmark, who escaped privately from Whitehall, and was accompanied by the bishop of London to Nottingham; from whence she repaired to Oxford, where she was joined by her husband. She sent a letter to the queen, containing an apology for her retreat, and the warmest expressions of duty to her father. When James was made acquainted with the flight of his favourite daughter, he could not help bursting into tears, and exclaimed, in an agony of grief, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me!" He now tottered on the brink of destruction. The queen was overwhelmed with consternation. Peters his confessor had retired to France, in the retinue of the earl of Waldegrave, who succeeded Skelton as ambassador at Paris; Jeffries was dismayed; and Barillon the French envoy, reproached the king with his having rejected the assistance of Lewis.

§ XLIX. Finding himself in this desolate condition, he assembled the few protestant lords spiritual and temporal who happened to be at London, and implored their advice. They were unanimously of opinion that he should immediately call a free parliament; grant an absolute pardon to all those who had joined the prince of Orange; send deputies to treat with him of an accommodation; and instantly deprive all catholics of the employments they possessed. He

He forthwith ordered the chancellor to prepare writs for the elections. He published a proclamation, declaring, That all peers and commons should be at liberty to vote or be elected without distinction, whether they had or had not joined the prince of Orange. Hales a catholic, was dispossessed of the lieutenancy of the Tower, and that command conferred on colonel Skelton. The marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Godolphin, were nominated as deputies to treat with the prince of Orange, who furnished them with a safe-conduct; and they set out on this embassy in the beginning of December. About this time, a paper was circulated thro' all England, entitled, "The third declaration of the prince of Orange." He disowned the paper, tho' it was published in his name. The author declared his highness did not intend to molest the papists, if they would be quiet; but, that all of that communion found in arms, or in the exercise of public employments, with their abettors, should be treated as enemies and perturbators of the public peace. All magistrates and officers, civil as well as military, were required to seize, disarm, and secure such disturbers, on pain of being deemed traitors to the religion, laws, and liberties of their country. This declaration, which was published by almost all the justices of the peace in the kingdom, completed the despair of the catholics: so that they durst not shew their faces in public. The hue and cry was raised against father Peters; and the earl of Salisbury was presented as a popish recusant, to the grand jury of Middlesex.

§ L. The king's deputies had an audience of the prince at Hungerford; and at his desire delivered their master's proposals in writing. James desired, that their difference might be left to the decision of a free parliament which he had convoked; and that the two armies should remain at an equal distance from London. The prince on the other hand proposed, That all papists should be disarmed and dispossessed of the employments they enjoyed: That all proclamations against himself should be recalled: That the command of the Tower should be put into the hands of the lord mayor: That, if the king should think proper to reside in London during the session of parliament, the prince should likewise remain in the same place, with an equal number of guards: or, That the king and he should reside at an equal distance from London: That the two armies should be removed thirty miles from the city: and, That no new forces should be brought into the kingdom: That Tilbury-fort should be put into the hands of the city-magistrates: That, until the parliament should meet, part of the revenue should be assigned for the maintenance of the prince's army: and, That in order to prevent an invasion from abroad, the fortress of Portsmouth should be committed to the charge of some person equally agreeable to the king and the prince. When James perused these proposals, he said, they were more moderate than he expected. He assembled the noblemen who were in London, to deliberate upon the present conjuncture of affairs. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, "My lord, (said he,) you are an honest man; have great credit; and can do me signal service." "Sir, (replied the earl,) I am a feeble, old man, very unable to do you any considerable service; but, I had a son (he added with a sigh) who, if now alive, could serve your majesty in a more effectual manner." He alluded to lord Russell, who had suffered death in the last reign. James was so struck with this reflection, that he could not answer one word.

§ L.

§ LI. Every thing now tended to an accommodation ; and the nobility were ordered to reassemble next day, to agree upon measures for re-establishing the peace of the kingdom. But, the king altered his resolution before morning. His private counsellors advised him to retire into France, where he would be protected by a powerful and generous monarch, who would enable him to resume the reins of government upon his own terms. Whereas, by remaining in England, he would be reduced to the shadow of royalty, and see himself compelled to retract all his concessions in favour of the catholic religion. They infused terrors into the queen, by representing, that the parliament would declare her delivery an imposture, the prince of Wales illegitimate ; and perhaps accuse her of treason for having favoured catholics, contrary to the laws of the realm. Thus alarmed, she resolved to retire immediately into France with the prince of Wales ; and extorted a positive promise from the king, that he would follow her without delay. On the tenth of December at night, she crossed the river with her infant in an open boat, exposed to the wind and rain ; and waited in the fields at Lambeth, until Lauzun provided a coach for her accommodation. In this she travelled to Gravesend, where she embarked on board of a small vessel that conveyed her and the prince of Wales in safety to Calais. From thence she hastened to Versailles, where Lewis received her with the most cordial hospitality.

§ LII. The king having sent an order to the earl of Feversham to disband the army, and caused the writs for the election of a new parliament to be burned, disguised himself in plain apparel, and about four o'clock in the morning, embarked in a boat at Whitehall, accompanied by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Abbadie his valet de chambre. He threw the great-seal into the Thames, that it might not fall into the hands of his enemies, and proceeded towards the mouth of the river, where a ship waited for his reception. He hoped his absence would produce a perplexity in the nation, which might be favourable to his cause : but the prince of Orange foresaw, that nothing would sooner promote the accomplishment of his own design. The king's disappearance was actually productive of consternation and confusion, as all government seemed to be suspended. The lords and bishops who were in London, together with some persons of distinction, held a consultation in Guildhall with the lord mayor and aldermen. They resolved to adhere to the prince of Orange ; and sent deputies to him with this resolution, subscribed by all the members of that assembly. They appointed lord Lucas lieutenant of the Tower, until the prince's pleasure should be known. The common-council of London sent a deputation to the prince with an address, craving his protection, and intreating him to honour the city with his presence. The populace plundered, burned, and demolished all the Romish chapels. Jeffries the chancellor being detected in the dress of a sailor, was maltreated by the multitude, and conveyed to the Tower, where death soon delivered him from the terrors of exemplary punishment.

§ LIII. When Feversham disbanded the king's army, some Irish soldiers finding themselves destitute of subsistence, were impelled by hunger to rifle a house in Uxbridge. This incident was swelled up into a report, that an Irish army had landed in England, and was in full march to the capital, burning, plundering, and massacring, without mercy or distinction. The rumour was in the circu-

circulation improved into a detail of the most dreadful circumstances. The city of London was alarmed with the account of their having reached Uxbridge. Some endeavoured to save themselves by flight; others ran to arms; all the windows were illuminated, that the enemy might not take advantage of the darkness; universal tumult and trepidation ensued. The panic extended itself to all parts of England with amazing rapidity; and, in the more remote counties, had resolved to put all the Roman catholics to the sword, when they were happily undeceived by learning the true cause of this commotion. The prince of Orange was no sooner informed of the army's being disbanded, than he published a proclamation, requiring the officers to reassemble their men, and wait in quarters for further orders; and another proclamation, to the same purpose, was issued by the noblemen assembled at London.

§ LIII. In the mean time, the small vessel in which the king had embarked, was detained at Feversham by the common people, who discovered Sir Edward Hales on board, and mistook the king for his priest or chaplain. In this opinion they arrested, insulted, and robbed their unfortunate sovereign of some valuable jewels, and about five hundred guineas. At length, he was known by a constable, who fell at his feet, begging pardon for the insolence of the people; and they now, with marks of contrition, offered to restore the plunder. He received the jewels, but desired them to keep the money. Then he sent for the earl of Winchelsea, who happened to be in the neighbourhood; and that nobleman persuaded him to return to London. The news of his being discovered in such a manner, had very different effects upon different persons. The nobility and magistrates of the city began to fear they had been too officious; for, they perceived the hearts of the people relenting at the distress of their sovereign. Having consulted together, they deputed four of their number to wait upon his majesty, and intreat him to return to Whitehall, where he should be received with the most dutiful respect. His coaches were immediately dispatched to Feversham. Then they sent an express, to inform the prince of Orange that his majesty was still in the kingdom. The prince had now advanced to Windsor, where he received this intelligence with equal concern and surprise. He forthwith dismissed Zuylestein with a message to the king, desiring he would retire to Rochester, until measures could be taken with regard to his affairs. But before this message could be delivered, the king arrived in London, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people, who rejoiced at his return, as if he had come from immediate conquest, and triumphed over the enemies of the nation. He took possession of Whitehall, and his domestics flocked around him; but, this gleam of good fortune was of a very short duration.

§ LV. He had sent the earl of Feversham with a letter to the prince of Orange, inviting him to St. James's with such a number of guards as he should think necessary, that they might confer together upon means for appeasing the troubles of the nation. The prince would not deign to answer this letter; but ordered the earl to be disarmed and arrested. He signed a written order to the marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Shrewsbury, and lord Delamere, to go and give the king notice that it would be proper for him to retire to Ham-house near Richmond; and that he might retain his own guards for the safety of his person. Then he ordered his regiment of guards to take possession
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either by fair means or force, of the two palaces of Whitehall and St. James's. The king desired the count de Solms colonel of the Dutch guards, to leave him for that night under the care of his own people. The count replied, that his orders must be immediately obeyed. One of his battalions marched at ten in the night, through the Park to Whitehall; and were drawn up in order of battle, opposite to the king's guards, with their matches lighted, ready to engage. The captain of the English guard refused to quit his post until the king ordered him to march off the Parade. Then the Dutch troops took possession of the palace, and placed double sentries on the king's person. About midnight the three noblemen deputed by the prince arrived at Whitehall; and insisted upon the king's being wakened, to give them audience. They recited the order in his hearing, and he acquiesced in the prince's command; but, expressed a desire of retiring to Rochester rather than to Richmond. The prince perceived his intention was to leave the kingdom; and in this hope readily complied with his request. Next day the king set out for that place, accompanied by the earls of Aylesbury, Litchfield, Arran, and Dumbarton; and attended by a detachment of the Dutch guards.

§ LVI. The prince of Orange that same day fixed his residence at St James's, where he received the compliments of the nobility and the lord mayor of London; and his arrival was celebrated by the populace with public rejoicings. After having reposed himself a few days, he assembled all the nobility, to the number of three-score. He desired they would concert proper measures for convoking a free parliament for the preservation of the protestant religion, and the security of the rights and liberties of the kingdom. Then he left them to their own deliberations. They voted an address of thanks to his highness; and resolved to meet every day in the house of peers, that they might deliberate upon what he had recommended to their attention. The king finding himself stripped of his authority, and reduced from the pinnacle of regal power to the lowest degree of dependence, resolved to withdraw himself out of the reach of a people who had renounced his government, and a rival, from whose ambition he did not think his life altogether secure. On the twenty-third day of December, he privately retired from Rochester, attended by his natural son the duke of Berwick, and two domestics, to the sea-side, where a vessel was prepared; there embarking he set sail for France, and arrived at the port of Ambleteuse; from whence he repaired to St. Germain, where he found his consort and the prince of Wales. He left a paper on his table at Rochester, written with his own hand. In this he complained of the disrespect with which he had been treated by the prince of Orange, who had rejected his proposals by the earl of Feversham; arrested that nobleman contrary to the law of nations; ordered his guards to take possession of the palace by night; sent an order to himself at midnight, commanding him to quit his own house; invaded his dominions, and countenanced a malicious report, on purpose to deprive his infant son of the succession. He said he was born free, and desired to preserve his liberty: that he had often exposed his life for the honour of his country; and hoped to venture it once more to redeem it from subjection: that he would not run the risque of being rendered incapable to serve his people, and therefore he had retired from confinement; but, he should be always ready to fly to the assistance of the nation, whenever their eyes should be opened, so as to see how much they had been

abused by the pretexts of religion and liberty. He hoped God would touch the hearts of his subjects, and inspire them with sentiments of moderation, that a free parliament might indulge all nonconformists with liberty of conscience, than which nothing would more contribute to the advantage and happiness of the nation. Thus ended the reign of James II. a prince in whom some good qualities were rendered ineffectual by mistaken notions of the prerogative, excessive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible severity of temper. He was brave, steady, resolute, diligent, upright, and sincere, except when warped by religious considerations; yet, even where religion was not concerned, he appears to have been proud, haughty, vindictive, cruel, and unrelenting; and though he approved himself an obedient and dutiful subject, he certainly became one of the most intolerable sovereigns that ever reigned over a free people †.

§ LVII. As the prince of Orange had been embarrassed by his presence, so now he was overjoyed at his retreat. James probably imagined that upon his retiring from the kingdom, a total cessation of government would ensue, and be attended with such anarchy, as would oblige the subjects, for their own sakes, to recal him to the throne: he deceived himself by this expectation. His departure was no sooner known than the peers, as possessed of hereditary jurisdiction, resolved to act as the guardians of the public. They presented an address to the prince, desiring he would take into his hands the administration of the government, civil and military, the management of the public revenue, and the regulation of the affairs of Ireland, until a convention of the estates should be assembled. In another address, they intreated him to send orders to all the places that were vested with the right of electing members, that they should in ten days chuse representatives to compose a convention, which might act as a parliament in settling the nation. Before the prince would take this step, he was resolved to be authorised by the commons as well as by the peers. He published an order, requiring all those who had served as members of parliament in the reign of Charles II. together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and fifty common-council men of London, to meet at St. James's, on the twenty-sixth day of December, that he might consult them on the present posture of affairs. They accordingly assembled at the appointed time, and adjourned to the house of commons: there, after some debates upon the authority by which they had been convened, they drew up and presented an address to the prince, desiring he would take upon himself the charge of the administration till the meeting of the convention, which they begged he would convoke for the twenty-second day of January. The prince assured them he would comply with their advice, and concur with them in every measure that should be judged necessary for the good of the kingdom. Being thus invested with the supreme authority, he ordered Barillon the French ambassador to quit the kingdom immediately. Next day he received the communion in the manner practised in the church of England. He published a proclamation, authorising all protestants who had public employments, to continue in the exercise of them till the meeting of the convention; and he dismissed all the catholic

Burnet.
Echard.
D'Avaux.
Rapin.

† In this reign the settlement of Carolina, and Penn the proprietor, who was himself one of those sectaries. Pennsylvania was completed. This last colony was peopled with quakers, under the auspices of

officers from the army : at the same time he released the earl of Feversham, at the desire of the queen dowager.

§ LVIII. The Scottish bishops had sent an address to the king, declaring their abhorrence of the invasion threatened by the prince of Orange : but his design was extremely agreeable to the generality of people in that kingdom, who professed the presbyterian religion. The retreat of James was no sooner known at Edinburgh, than the chancellor of the kingdom resigned the great seal, and retired from that capital : then the populace assembling, insulted not only the catholics, but likewise the favourers of episcopacy. They demolished chapels and plundered houses ; so that the bishops were obliged to fly with the utmost precipitation, while many noblemen and others of that country repaired to London, to observe the progress of the prince, and conform themselves to the conduct of the English nation. Those the prince assembled at St. James's, to the number of thirty lords and fourscore gentlemen, whose advice he demanded with regard to the affairs of Scotland. From thence they repaired to Whitehall, and having chosen the duke of Hamilton their president, deliberated upon the answer they should make to the prince of Orange. The earl of Arran proposed an address to the king, desiring he would return to Scotland and convoke a parliament : but this proposal was unanimously rejected. They besought the prince to assume the reins of government in Scotland, and convoke the states of that kingdom for the fourteenth day of March ; and they received nearly the same answer which he had made to the English.

§ LIX. The settlement of Ireland was a task of much greater difficulty. Tyrconnel commanded an army composed of papists, and it could not be imagined that he would voluntarily submit to the prince's orders : yet as the lords and commons of England had intreated the prince to regulate the affairs of that kingdom, and he had received an address from the protestant inhabitants, he could not help taking some notice of their interest. He wrote a letter to Tyrconnel, requiring him to submit to the regulations that should be made in England. Colonel Hamilton undertook to deliver this letter, and enforce it in such a manner that the earl would submit ; but, far from performing his promise, he encouraged him to set the prince at defiance. It was at this juncture, that the archbishop of Canterbury, who had hitherto stood neuter, went, accompanied with eight other prelates, to make a tender of their services to the prince, and subscribed the association : at the same time he was complimented by ninety presbyterian ministers, who went in a body to pay their respects, and were civilly received. While the nation was employed in choosing representatives, William sent for the princess ; but she was for some time detained by a hard frost, which had locked up the harbours in Holland.

§ LX. The convention meeting on the twenty-second day of January, each house chose a speaker ; and then the prince's letter to both was read to this effect : that he had complied with their desires, in re-establishing the peace and public safety of the kingdom, and now it was their business to secure their religion, laws, and liberties upon a certain foundation. He observed, that the dangerous situation of the protestants in Ireland required immediate relief ; and that, except a disunion among themselves, nothing could be more fatal to foreign connexions, than a delay in their deliberations ; the states-general would have immediate occasion for the troops they had furnished, as well

as for the speedy assistance of the English, against a powerful enemy with whom they were at war: he persuaded himself, that besides the obligation of treaties, they would be ready to assist the Dutch as protestants and friends, who had expressed such ardour for the preservation of the English constitution. The two houses immediately presented an address to the prince, in which they acknowledged, that, under God, the nation was indebted to him for its deliverance. They approved of his administration; and begged he would continue to manage the affairs of government, until they should have occasion to present another address; and they promised to pay the utmost deference to all the contents of his letter. They ordained a day of thanksgiving for the happy deliverance of the nation; and the bishops, by command of the upper house, inserted in the service of the day, a particular prayer for the prince of Orange. The king had written a letter to his privy-counsellors, nearly in the terms of the paper he had left at Rochester, and desiring their advice in the present conjuncture. It was printed and published by his direction; but as he received no answer from those to whom it was addressed, he sent a letter to each house of the convention; in which he promised, on the word of a king, to grant a general indemnity, even to those who had betrayed him, excepting a very few whom he could not with safety forgive: but the two houses refused to examine the contents.

§ LXI. On the twenty-eighth day of January, Mr. Dolben, in the lower house, undertook to prove that the throne was vacated by the king's desertion. After a debate that lasted several hours, they voted, by a great majority, that king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract betwixt king and people; and having, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government; and that the throne was thereby vacant: and that experience had shewn, a protestant kingdom could not subsist under the government of a popish sovereign. As the elections had run in the old channel, without being exposed to any undue influence, almost all the representatives of the boroughs were presbyterians, who had now resumed their former principles of rejecting the right of hereditary succession. But in the house of peers the interest of the Tories was considerable. They now resumed those maxims of government, which they had deposited when they found themselves threatened with immediate slavery. Both parties had by this time forgot the coalition, and their former animosity revived.

§ LXII. The lords, without acquiescing in the vote of the commons, began to consider in what manner the government should be settled, supposing the throne was actually vacant. The earls of Rochester and Nottingham, leaders of the Tory party, proposed that the line of succession should be preserved, and a regent appointed during the king's life, as if James was actually in a state of lunacy. They produced a recent instance of this expedient in Portugal, where, after the deposition of Alphonso VI. his brother Don Pedro had been appointed regent of the kingdom. The marquis of Halifax speaker of the house, and the earl of Danby, who headed the opposite party, expatiated upon the difficulties, the confusion, and civil disorders, that would probably attend a regency, opposed by that very prince in whose name it must operate. The Tories urged, that the election of one king would form a precedent which would

would produce successive contests for the throne; so that the peace of the nation would be continually interrupted, and the monarchy degenerate into a turbulent republic: besides, it would be exposed to incessant danger, from the pretensions of him who would claim the crown by the right of succession; whereas should this be preserved intire, the administration would one day fall into the hands of the true heir; and then all disputes and disorders would naturally cease. The Whigs insisted upon the original contract, by which the people were intitled to take arms against oppression, and expel a tyrant from the throne. They explained the absurdity of resisting or punishing the partisans of a man, whom they acknowledged to be their lawful sovereign, in case he should attempt to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and grant commissions to his adherents. They enumerated other inconveniences that would arise from a regency. They observed, that unless they elected a new sovereign, they must acknowledge the succession of a child of a doubtful birth, who would be educated in principles destructive of the religion and liberty of the kingdom, and perpetuate those maxims in his family and descendents.

§ LXIII. After a long debate, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. Of all the prelates, the bishops of London and Bristol only, espoused this side of the question. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was a timorous man, absented himself from the house, that he might not be obliged to give his opinion on the subject. Next day the lords debated the question, Whether there was actually an original contract between the king and people? And it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seven voices. Then they disputed upon the grammatical signification of the word "Abdicated," and agreed that "Deserted" should be used in its place. The next word they examined was the term "Vacant;" and this question was proposed: "Whether, supposing king James had violated the original contract between him and his people, and abandoned the government, the throne was thereby become vacant?" The Tories maintained, that by the laws of England, the king could never die: of consequence the throne could not be vacant; and it passed in the negative by a majority of eleven: forty peers, however, entered a protest against this decision. Some of the Whig party moved that, supposing king James virtually dead, they should acknowledge the prince and princess of Orange king and queen of England: but this proposal was rejected by a small majority. On the second day of February, the lords sent down the vote of the commons, with their amendments, which were not approved by the lower house. A conference was held, without producing an accommodation: then the commons appointed four and twenty members, to maintain the opinions of their house, in a new conference; and the peers nominated the earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester, and Pembroke, the bishop of Ely, and some others, to support their sentiments in favour of the amendments they had proposed. This conference was managed with great ability on the part of the commons, by Hambden, Somers, Holt, Maynard, Treby, Sacheverel, Pollexfen, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Richard Temple, Foley, and Ayres: yet, rather than shock the Tories by attacking their favourite doctrines, they chose to wave some strong arguments they might have deduced from the necessity of the case, the first principles of the constitution, and the natural right that, in such emergencies, the people certainly had to provide.

vide extraordinary remedies for the preservation of the community. The report of this conference, made to the house of peers, produced warm debates: but at length the majority agreed to desist from their amendments; and the house concurred with the vote of the commons, "That king James had abdicated the government, and thereby the throne was become vacant."

§ LXIV. During these disputes the prince of Orange remained at St. James's, without making the least effort to increase the number of his partisans. Though naturally dry and phlegmatic, he was now more reserved than ever; and the members of both houses were surprised, that no application was made to them in his behalf. At length sending for the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Danby, Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, he told them he had hitherto kept silence, that he might not seem to interfere with the freedom of their deliberations. He said he knew some persons were inclined to a regency, to which he had no objection; but, for his own part, he would not undertake the office. Others, he observed, were desirous of raising the princess to the throne; and that he should reign by her courtesy. He declared his profound esteem for the princess, but he was not of a humour to hold a crown dependent upon any woman upon earth; nor would he have any share in the government, unless invested with it for life: nevertheless, if they thought proper to act in another manner, he would give them no opposition, but return to Holland, without meddling further in their affairs; but, in case they should invest him with the royalty for life, he would agree that the posterity of the princess Anne should be preferred to that which he might have by a second marriage.

§ LXV. When the house of peers proceeded to deliberate upon an expedient to fill the vacant throne, Halifax proposed that the prince of Orange should reign alone, and the princesses succeed in order, at his death. This motion gave rise to violent debates; and the two houses began to be divided into parties. The earl of Danby sent an express to the princess of Orange, with an assurance that if she chose to reign alone, he had interest enough to carry that point in her favour: she replied that she was the prince's wife, and would never cherish a separate interest from that of her husband, to whom she transmitted the earl's letter. At last the two houses agreed, and each voted apart, that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England; and that the administration should be in the hands of the prince alone. This vote, however, passed, by a very small majority, in the upper house, and not without a formal protest by the opposite party. Then the convention, after some disputes, reduced the oath of allegiance to its original simplicity, of being faithful to the king and queen. On the twelfth day of February, the princess of Orange arrived in London. Next day the members of the two houses, went in a body to the Banqueting-house, where the prince and princess sat in state; and * the Declaration of Rights being read, the marquis of Halifax, as speaker

Barnet.
Rapin.
Echard.
D'Avaux.
Ralph.

* Whereas the late king James the second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, without consent of parliament: by committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power: by issuing and causing to be executed, a commission, under the great seal, for erecting a court called, The court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes: By levying money

speaker of the upper house, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince replied

ney for and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament: By raising and keeping a standing-army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament; and quartering soldiers contrary to law: By causing divers good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law: By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament: By prosecutions in the court of king's-bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high-treason, which were not freeholders; and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects; and excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted; and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late king James the second, having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, burroughs, and cinque-ports, for the chusing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster, upon the twenty-second day of January, in this year 1688, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws and liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted: Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, pursuant to their several letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means

for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties; declare,

1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal. 3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious. 4. That levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal. 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal. 6. That the raising or keeping a standing-army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law. 7. That the subjects, which are protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law. 8. That elections of members of parliament ought to be free. 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament. 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 11. That jurors ought to be duly empannelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials of high-treason ought to be freeholders. 12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void. 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties: And no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Have

plied in gracious terms of acknowledgment; and that very day he and the princess were proclaimed, by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England.

Having therefore an entire confidence, that his said highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties; the lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions, to them the said prince and princess, during their lives and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess during their joint lives; and after their decease the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for

default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange.

And the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do pray the said prince and princess of Orange, to accept the same accordingly: And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated: I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties, king William, and queen Mary. So help me God. I A. B. do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, That princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.



EXPLANATION of the PLATES.

Frontispiece for Vol. I. exhibits the savage, uncultivated state of the antient Britons at the arrival of Julius Cæsar.

Britannia is represented sitting in a war-chariot, habited as Bonduica is described by Tacitus, with an hare in her bosom, as an omen of victory.

Father Thames appears asleep upon his urn, while a wolf drinks at his stream, to denote the barbarity of the times, and the total difuse of the river, with regard to commerce and agriculture.

Behind is seen a Druid sacrifice performed in a grove of oak.

Frontispiece for Vol. II. represents the restoration of liberty in the reign of king John; the scene Runnimeade, where he delivered the two charters to the barons.

The plate represents a baron of England armed cap-a-pee, introducing the nymph Liberty to Britannia, while Tyranny and Oppression are seen flying from the scene, with marks of rage and despair.

Thames points to his urn, as the source of wealth. Agriculture appears on the back-ground; and at a distance, the castle of Windsor.

Frontispiece for Vol. III. Britannia enjoys the perfection of liberty, commerce, and affluence. She appears in the garb of Minerva, leaning upon Liberty. Behind her stands her chariot, with an owl perched upon it, as the bird of Pallas. Above her head appears a medallion exhibiting the Temporum Felicitas. Commerce kneeling before her, presents bags and caskets of wealth. He is attended by the natives of Asia, Africa, and America, properly distinguished, and bearing the produce of their respective countries. Behind them is seen a ship at anchor; and on the other side is father Thames, resting upon his urn.